



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Prefaces, by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.).
Demy 8vo 264 + xii.

Foundations of Living Faiths, Vol. I (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures*), by Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 526 + xiv. Rs. 5-8.

The Changing Face of Bengal (*Readership Lectures*), by Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 294 + viii (with 22 maps). Rs. 4.

Rabirasmi Part I (in Bengali) by Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 452. Rs. 3.

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. and Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.), Royal 8vo pp. 116.

Girisnatya Sahityer Basista (in Bengali) by Amarendranath Ray Demy 8vo pp. 110 + 8. Re. 1-8.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol: XXX. Royal 8vo pp. 370 (24 Plates). Rs. 6.

Calendar, Part I, 1938. D/Demy 16 mo. pp. 1334 + xvi.

Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. I, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur. Demy 8vo pp. 282 + 16.

Paniniya Siksa, by Manomohan Ghosh, M.A. D/C 8vo 90 + lxvi + 8.

Books in the Press

JULY, 1938

1. History of the Bengali Novel, by Prof. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
2. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Successors of the Salavahanas in Lower Deccan by Dr. Dineshchandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
4. The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Decline of the Saljuqid Empire, by Dr. Sanaulla, M.A., Ph.D.(London), Barrister-at-Law.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Report on the Condition of Girls' Education in India, by Miss J. P. Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., Dip. Ed.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Patua Sangit, edited by G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S.
10. Political History of Ancient India, by Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
11. Studies in Tantras, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D.Litt.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
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15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
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17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXI.
18. Nyayamanjari, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Sree Chaitanya Chariter Upadan, by Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.

21. University Questions for the year 1931.
22. Khandakhadyaka, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Lakshodh-chandra Sengupta, M.A.
23. Lectures on Girishchandra, by Mr. Hemendranath Das-gupta, M.A., B.L.
24. Siddhanta Sekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Foundations of Living Faiths, Vol. II (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures*), by Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A.
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44. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr. Phil., D.Lit.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

X. MATHEMATICS

Collected Geometrical Papers, by Prof. Syamadas Mukhopadhyay, M.A., Ph.D. Crown 4to pp. viii + 158. Rs. 4-0.

Part II. Crown 4to pp. vi + 137. Rs. 3-8.

Parts I and II together Rs. 7.

Professor J. Hadamard, Paris : " My interest in your *new methods in the geometry of a plane arc*, which I had expressed in 1909 in a (anonymous) note in the *Revue generale des Sciences*, has far from diminished since that time.

Precisely at my seminaire or colloquium of the College de France, we have reviewed such subjects and all my auditors and colleagues have been keenly interested in your way of researches which we all consider as one of the most important roads opened to Mathematical Science."

Professor F. Engel, Geissen : " I am surprized over the beautiful new calculations on the right-angled triangles and three-right-angled quadrilaterals (in hyperbolic geometry).....Your analogies in the Gaussian Pentagramma Mirificum are highly remarkable."

Professor W. Blaschke, Hamburg : " I am much obliged to you for your kind sending of your beautiful geometrical work. When, as I hope, a new edition of my Differential Geometry comes out, I shall not forget to mention that you were the first to give the beautiful theorems on the numbers of Cyclic and Sextactic points on an oval."

Prof. Blaschke has quoted S. Mukhopadhyaya in the third edition (1930) of the first volume of his classical work on Differential Geometry.

Professor A. R. Forsyth, London : " The first part of your collected geometrical papers is an attractive record of fine mathematical attainment ; and I am glad to learn, not only of the manifest advances you have made in our science, but also of the stimulus your work has afforded to other investigators. I can offer you no better wish and suggest no prouder aim than continual success in your Researches."

Prof. T. Hayashi, Japan : " Your Collected Geometrical Papers, Part I, is very important to the progress of geometry and is to be highly appreciated by geometricians in the world. We regret indeed that most of your valuable papers have remained unknown till now.

But the collected papers should be welcome to raise your position in geometrical research."

Professor P. Cajori, California : " I congratulate you upon your success in research. If ever I have the time and opportunity to revise my *History of Mathematics* I shall have occasion to refer to your interesting work."

Professor P. Montel, Paris : "Many thanks for sending me your beautiful work 'Collected Geometrical Papers.' I am acquainted with many of the memoirs inserted therein and I am happy in having them in a handy united form. I am thus in a position to judge anew of the simplicity and rigour of your methods which have led you to elegant results."

Prof. L. Godeau, Liege : " A first reading of your papers has roused my keen interest. I intend making an exposition of these questions early to my students of *Geometrie Supérieure*, an exposition to which I reckon to join that of works of M. Juel."

Prof. T. Levi-Civita, Rome : " I have received the valuable, very ingenious papers you have had the kindness to send me. I have no special knowledge of the subjects you have treated in so deep and interesting manner. But also a general reader of mathematical papers is able to appreciate the results of your investigations and the penetrating methods you have employed."

Vector Calculus (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1917*), by Durgaprasanna Bhattacharyya, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 91. Rs. 3-0.

An attempt has been successfully made in this book by the author to place the foundation of vector-analysis on a basis independent of any reference to Cartesian co-ordinates and to establish the main theorems of that analysis directly from first principles as also to develop the differential and integral calculus of vectors from a new point of view.

Solutions of Differential Equations (*Premchand Roychand Studentship Thesis, 1896*), by Jnansaran Chakravarti, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 54. Rs. 3-12.

The subject of the book is an enquiry into the nature of solutions of differential equations, chiefly with reference to their geometrical interpretation, and the investigation of the connection that exists between the complete primitive and singular solution.

Reciprocal Polars of Conic Sections (*Premchand Roychand Studentship Thesis, 1900*), by Krishnaprasad De, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 66. Rs. 3.

An Introduction to the Theory of Elliptic Functions and Higher Transcendentals, by Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D.Sc., formerly Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 110. 1928. Rs. 3-12.

Theory of Fourier Series, by Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D.Sc.,
 Royal 8vo pp. 152. 1928. Rs. 5-4.

From a letter to the Registrar from Professor Henri Lebesgue of the Paris University, Member of the Institute of France (translated into English):--

PARIS,

The 19th October, 1928.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of 'Six Lectures on recent Researches in the Theory of Fourier Series,' by M. Prof. Ganesh Prasad.

I have pleasure in finding in that work a simple and clear exposition of the actual state of advance of certain of the most important problems concerning trigonometrical series. The documentation is true and complete; it is only once that I have had occasion to find anything in which the erudition of the author appears to be in default: M. Kolmogoroff, pursuing the studies indicated on p. 53, has obtained an example of a function of summable square of which the Fourier Series diverges everywhere.

For justifying the enunciation which he gives, M. Ganesh Prasad utilises the original demonstration of the first author then he gives a historical note, very interesting by the side of the old demonstration. M. Prasad gives always, whenever possible, as simple a proof as the question under consideration would allow. Many of these proofs are due to M. Prasad himself, for example, that which M. Prasad gives on pages 60-61 for a criterion for the summability (C₁) which I enunciated at another time.

M. Prasad presents his researches, elegant and interesting, by which he has carried further the classical work of du Bois-Reymond.

From the review by Professor L. Bieberbach of the Berlin University in the *Jahresbericht der deutschen Mathematiker-Vereinigung* (translated into English): "The work gives a comprehensive account of the results on the convergence and summability of Fourier Series, things about which the author has also earned merit."

Six Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, by Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D.Sc.
 Royal 8vo pp. 108 + viii. 1931. Rs. 3.

From a letter to the Registrar from Professor F. R. Hedrick of the University of California, Los Angeles, and President of the American Mathematical Society.

October 28, 1931.

DEAR SIR,

I am writing to thank you and to express my appreciation of the book itself and of your kindness in sending it to me. The scholarly work of Professor Prasad is known to mathematicians throughout the world and I feel sure that the present volume will add greatly to his reputation as an eminent mathematician.

From a letter to the Registrar from Professor A. Pringsheim of the University of Munich (translated into English).

MUNICH,

10th December, 1931.

VERY HONOURED MR. MUKHERJEE,

For the sending of the beautiful book of Prof. Prasad on the mean-value theorem of the Differential Calculus, which has interested me vividly, I express to you my sincerest thanks.

An Introduction to the Geometry of the Fourfold, by Surendramohan Ganguli, D.Sc. Demy 8vo pp. 445. 1934. Rs. 6-8.

The fascinating manner of exposition by which the notion of a four-dimensional space has been gradually introduced and the various new concepts explained will tempt even a non-mathematical student to know something of this mysterious world. In view of the wide scope of the subject, some representative topics have been selected, sufficient to give a general outline of the growth of knowledge in hypergeometry, and those interested in the subject will find in it much of the materials, collected and summarised so clearly and succinctly, necessary for a thorough grasp of the subject-matter. Attention may be called to the excellent arrangement of materials and the lucid exposition of the various angle-concepts, properties of curves, surfaces and hypersurfaces in a fourfold. In fact, the work is admirably adapted to its purpose and is expected to be very helpful to workers in the field of hypergeometry.

Prof. E. T. Whittaker says :—" Since its arrival, I have been reading it with much appreciation and admiration. The plan is excellent, the exposition clear, and the author well acquainted with the original memoirs in which the subject has been developed. It is in my opinion worthy of high recommendation."

Selected Problems of Differential Geometry (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures*, 1930), by Prof. W. Blaschke. Royal 8vo pp. 42. Re. 1.

Khandakhadyakam, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya. Demy 8vo pp. 217. 1925. Rs. 2.

The book is an astronomical work by the great Scholar Brahmagupta. It contains the commentary called *Vāsanā-Bhāṣya* by Amarāja. This is the only available work which describes one of the two systems of astronomy as taught by Āryabhata I (born 476 A.D.), generally known as *Ārdharātri* system and is different from the *Audayika* System as taught in his *Aryabhatiyam*. It was widely read by Arab Scholars and was known by the name of *Alarkand*. Hence it is a very important work on the History of Hindu Astronomy.

The Khandakhadyaka, an astronomical treatise of Brahmagupta, translated into English with an introduction, notes, illustrations and an appendix by Prabodhchandra Sengupta, M.A., late Professor of Mathematics, Bethune

College, Calcutta, sometime Lecturer in Indian Astronomy and Mathematics, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. xxx + 204. 1934. Rs. 3-8.

Prof. David Eugene Smith, Ph.D. of Teachers College, Columbia University, the world-renowned Historian of Mathematics, thus reviews the book in the "Scripta Mathematica" (August, 1934) :—

The name of Brahmagupta has long been known to students of the history of mathematics—to Hindu scholars through numerous Sanskrit manuscripts, to English readers through H. T. Colebrooke's *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration*, from the Sanskrit (1817), and to each through numerous more general treatises on the history of Indian culture. It is strange however—considering the fact that he was primarily an astronomer, living and working in the great astronomical center at Ujjain—that so little has appeared in European translation relating to his contributions to his chosen field of research. It is therefore a subject of congratulation that Professor Sengupta has published an English translation of the first part of Brahmagupta's most important work, and that there is a good prospect that the second part will appear later.

The major topics discussed in the ten chapters are as follows :—I. On the calendar; II. On the mean and true positions of the 'star planets' (Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn); III. On the three problems relating to diurnal motion; IV. Lunar eclipses; V. On solar eclipses; VI. On the rising and setting of planets; VII. On the positions of the moon's cusps; VIII. On conjunction of planets; IX. Corrections and new methods; X. On conjunction of stars and planets.

The work closes with three appendices : I. Hindu Luni-solar astronomy, in which the author suggests that 'so far as the lunisolar astronomy is concerned Hindu astronomy is independent of Greek astronomy in respect of astronomical constants,' that Hindu astronomy is generally more accurate than Greek astronomy, and that Hindu astronomers were not 'mere calculators' as the late G. R. Kaye had affirmed; II. Greek and Hindu methods in spherical astronomy; III. Hindu epicyclic theory. In this part of the work Professor Sengupta has given a careful comparison of the Greek and Hindu achievements in the domain of astronomy and has traced the growth of the oriental use of trigonometry as applied to this science. There is a satisfactory index, for which scholars will be grateful. As to the details of formulas and the accuracy of the computations, any critical discussion is possible only after a careful reading by an astronomer. Suffice it to say at this time that the work represents a high degree of scholarship and that the thanks of both oriental and occidental readers are due to the author, to Calcutta University, and to those who have control of the Research Fund in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy created by the late Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nandi, K.C.I.E. of Coimbatore. It is hoped that Part II of the *Khandakhadyake* will appear in due time, being a matter of great importance to scholars.

The Science of the Sulba (A study in early Hindu Geometry), by Bibhutibhushan Datta, D.Sc. Demy 8vo pp. 262. 1932. Rs. 3.

Ancient Romic Chronology, by H. Bruce Hannah, Barr.-at-Law. Royal 8vo pp. 60. 1920. Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the method of embodying some original researches of Mr. H. B. Hannah in the domain of Chronology and Computation of time in Ancient Egypt, as well as other connected matters, the process being shewn through various internal evidences.

AI. SCIENCE

Journal of the Department of Science (Ten volumes published). Each vol. up to Vol. X, Rs. 4-8. (For contents of each volume see pages 139-143.)

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Vol. II, *Science*. Royal 8vo pp. 484. Rs. 11-4. (For contents see pages 120-128.)

1. PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY

* **Progress of Physics**, by A. Schuster, D.Sc. Demy 8vo pp. 174. Rs. 3-15.

It traces the changes due to the sequence of discoveries in the domain of Physical Sciences during 1875-1908.

* **Theory of Electro-Magnetism**, by G. J. Walker, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Demy 8vo pp. 60. Rs. 3-6.

The book puts some of the most important developments of electro-magnetic theory into a connected and convenient form.

* **Optical Theories**, by D. N. Mallik, B.A., Sc.D. Demy 8vo pp. 191. Rs. 8-1.

The book traces the development of optical theories from the earliest times to the present day. Its subject-matter being the one great general problem of modern Physics, it will be really helpful to understand the relation between the different theories, so that one may be clear as to how much is known for certain and how much is mere speculation.

* The right of publication of this book is held by the Cambridge University Press (Fetter Lane, London, E. C. 4) on behalf of the Calcutta University and copies of the book may be had of the firm.

- * **The Principle of Relativity**, by M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., and S. N. Bose, M.Sc. (with a Historical Introduction by P. C. Mahalanobis). Demy 8vo pp. 248. Rs. 4-8.

English rendering of the original papers by A. Einstein and H. Minkowski.

- Molecular Diffraction of Light**, by Sir C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., N.L. Demy 8vo pp. 113. Rs. 3.

In this book the author discusses the classical theory of the molecular scattering of light in all refractive media, including in a comprehensive survey, the case of gases, vapours, liquids, crystals, and amorphous solids.

- Lectures on Wave Mechanics**, by Prof. A. Sommerfeld, D.Sc., F.R.S. D/C. 16mo pp. 128. Rs. 2.

- Organic Theo-compounds**, by Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 74. Re. 1-8.

2. BOTANY

- Indian Medicinal Plants**, by Lieut.-Col. K. R. Kiritkar, F.L.S., I.M.S., and Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.). Nicely bound in 2 vols. Plates kept in nice cardboard cases. Rs. 275.

The book contains botanical description, names in vernaculars, properties and uses of over 1,800 Indian plants. Neatly printed on thick art paper (1,419 pages) with clear illustrations in above 1,000 royal 4to-sized lithographic plates. A very rare and valuable work of reference to Botanists, medical men, manufacturers of indigenous drugs and Agricultural and Forest Departments.

"To real investigators in this field (of indigenous systems of medicine) the monumental work on *Indian Medicinal Plants* ought to be indispensable Apart from the value of the book to the medical profession, it is helpful also in tapping the resources of the country for the manufacture of drugs."
—*New India*.

"The Imperial and Provincial Agricultural and Forest Departments of British India should make use of the information brought together in this

* The sale of the book is restricted within India.

monumental work. All Native States should have medical plant gardens and pharmaceutical laboratories and their Agricultural and Forest Departments should be provided with copies of this book. Now that it has been published, the educated section of the public should insist that all indigenous physicians of repute and all the leading pharmaceutical factories should be able to scientifically identify the plants they use."—*Modern Review*.

Vanaspati (Hindu Knowledge of Botany and its application to the Sciences of Medicine and Agriculture), *Griffith Memorial Prize Essay for 1925*, by Girijaprasanna Majumdar, M.Sc., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 274. 1928. Rs. 3-12.

The work has been divided into three parts:—

- Book I—Botany and Philosophic Speculations.
- „ II—Botany and Science of Medicine.
- „ III—Botany and Science of Agriculture.

".....The information culled and presented in a systematic and readable form by the author shows how close and accurate was the study of the many phases of Plant-life even at that remote period though necessarily fragmentary and in many cases speculative.....Even as such many of the ideas bear a remarkably modern outlook."—*Journal, Indian Botanical Society*, viii. 1929.

"This book, based on all available Sanskrit literature, gives the status of plant knowledge in ancient India. It includes many quotations (in Sanskrit and translated into English) of references to morphology, physiology, ecology, taxonomy and evolution.....there are many passages that indicate a fair knowledge of fundamental principles. Special emphasis is placed on the use of plants in medicine and agriculture, both of which arts were fairly well developed."—*Biological Abstracts (U.S.A.)*, iv. 1930.

"The essay embodies not merely a collection of fragments of early speculation on plant-life but a critical survey of the botanical knowledge of the Hindus and its application to Medicine and Agriculture, in the searchlight of modern science. The author has, with the grasp of a trained botanist, succeeded in marshalling evidence to show clear indications of possession by the ancient Hindus of such knowledge of plant-life as prognosticate the dawn of science."—*Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis*.

* **Analytical Key to the commonly occurring Natural Orders of Bengal**, by Surendrachandra Banerji, M.A., B.Sc., F.L.S. (Lond.). Size 5½" by 7½" pp. 140. Re. 1-8.

3. MEDICINE, SURGERY AND HYGIENE

Chemistry and Toxicology of Nerium Odorum with a description of a newly separated Principle (*Coates' Memorial Prize, 1901*), by Rai Bahadur Chunilal Basu, M.B., F.C.S. Demy 8vo pp. 32. Re. 1-14.

A treatise on the properties of *Nerium odorum*, the sweet-scented oleander, known by the name of Karabi or Kaner.

Terminalia Arjuna (*Coates' Memorial Prize, 1908*), by Lal-mohan Ghoshal, L.M.S. Demy 8vo pp. 8, with a chart. Re. 1.

The book gives a description of the plant and explains its popular uses, chemical composition, and therapeutic action.

Diabetes, by Indumadhab Mallik, M.A., M.D., B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 43. Re. 1-14.

A treatise on Diabetes, a disease most widely prevalent in Lower Bengal.

Studies on Hæmolysis (1st edition), by U. N. Brahmachari, M.A., M.D., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 71. Rs. 2-4.

Among several other new facts brought to light by the author by the study of the physical aspects of hæmolysis, two discoveries, *vis.*, the fallacy of the hæmozonic value of blood, as worked out by Sir A. E. Wright, and a new method of testing blood, are of great value. All these are explicitly dealt with in this work.

Surgical Instruments of the Hindus (*Griffith Memorial Prize, 1909*), Parts I and II, by Girināranath Mukhopadhyay, Vishagacharyya, B.A., M.D., F.A.S.B. Demy 8vo pp. 476 and 172 respectively. (*Slightly damaged.*) Reduced price Rs. 6.

".....The book represents many years of laborious investigation—a work of real research and erudition. It is undoubtedly the most important work upon this subject which has yet been written in the English language. It is full of interesting information and is a valuable contribution to the history of Medical science. Dr. Mukherjee is a pioneer in this field of research. It is of course impossible in a short notice to give an adequate account of a scientific work devoted to a special study, but his discovery that

the surgical instruments in use in Europe were only modifications of those used by our surgeons in ancient days is no doubt startling. The book is exhaustive, original and informing and it reflects the utmost credit on the industry, learning and research of its author. From many neglected, forgotten and unexpected corners, he has accumulated a mass of materials and compiled a systematic account of the instruments used by the Hindu surgeons, about 3,000 years ago. A field of study which is unknown to many is here made accessible to all by the labour of an Indian. It has the advantage of being written by one, who is not only a noted surgeon of Calcutta but is also a profound Sanskrit scholar.....No brief analysis of Dr. Mukherjee's work is possible. The work is divided into nine chapters, in which he describes each instrument by its Sanskrit name with a comparative study of similar instruments from the surgical catalogues of other nations. Besides, there is a learned preface, and a carefully prepared index of Sanskrit and English words. The book is of extraordinary interest to those who would make an impartial study of the surgery of the Hindus. The foot-notes contain the Sanskrit originals, the source of Dr. Mukherjee's descriptions of the instruments. The subject of ancient Indian medical literature has been little noticed by the European scholars. The contributions from Wilson, Wise, Jolly, Cordier and Hoernle are no doubt important but their works cannot compare with the present in the amount of original research and complete mastery of the subject. Dr. Mukherjee quotes with becoming gratitude the help he had derived from his predecessors in his field of research. One is impressed as he advances through this valuable work that the author has spared no pains to make the work useful and instructive....."—*Bengalee*.

".....The results of your investigations have been a revelation to me.....In any case, a perusal of your two volumes must convince any unprejudiced reader that the development of the healing art in India must always occupy an important place in the history of civilisation. We hear a great deal of 'culture' now-a-days, and it does not always wear a beneficent aspect. But peace has her victories as well as war, and it is evident that the humane achievements of the Indian disciples of Aesculapius can no longer be ignored. It is a pleasant reflection that henceforth the medicine and surgery of the East will be allied in harmonious conjunction with the same sciences as cultivated in the West, and the happiest results may be expected from their sisterly rivalry....."—*Charles H. Tawney*.

History of Indian Medicine (*Griffith Prize Essay for 1911*), by the same author. With a Foreword by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., etc.

Vol. I. Demy 8vo pp. 403. Rs. 6.

Vol. II. Demy 8vo pp. 433. 1926. Rs. 6.

Vol. III. Demy 8vo pp. 386. 1930. Rs. 6.

The work consists of notices, Biographical and Bibliographical, of the Ayurvedic Physicians and their works on Medicine from the earliest ages to the present times. And as deities are said to be the propounders of the healing art, the notices of the gods have been culled from the Vedas and the Puranas. It traces the origin and development of Indian Medicine from the most ancient times and naturally the gods and goddesses, seers and sages, who celebrated the Science find a place here. .

"It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the work.....The valuable Bibliography is eloquent of the erudition and labour of the author,History of Vaccination and inoculation is a highly interesting study.Of its value as a work of reference it is indeed superfluous to speak.We hope that all educated men who are interested in the history of Medicine will welcome the comprehensive, Biographical and Bibliographical Studies of Ancient Physicians of India."—*The Indian Medical Record*, Feb., 1925.

Food (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for 1929*), by Rai Bahadur Chunilal Basu, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S. Demy 8vo pp. 122. 1930. Re. 1-8.

First Studies in the Health and Growth of the Bengali Students, by Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B.B.S. Royal 8vo pp. 60. As. 4.

Bhela Samhita (same as Vol. VI of the Journal of the Department of Letters). Royal 8vo pp. 286. Reduced price Rs. 4-8 (*slightly damaged*).

It contains the complete text (in Sanskrit) of the *Bhela Samhita*, one of the most ancient and valuable treatises on Indian medicine.

Lectures on Ethnography, by Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I., Lecturer in Anthropology, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Royal 8vo pp. 302. 1925. Rs. 6.

The materials gathered for the preparation of the lectures are mainly from a first-hand study of the people of South India in general and of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in particular. The lectures have been properly illustrated by photographs taken from different parts of South India.

Contents:—Anthropology, Ethnography and Ethnology—Race—Racial history of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore—Caste—Sex and Marriage—Family, Kinship and Social Organisation—Magic, Sorcery and Witchcraft—Evolution of Taste in Dress and Ornaments—Village Community in South India.

First Outlines of a Systematic Anthropology of Asia, by V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri (translated from Italian by Haran-chandra Chakladar, M.A.). Royal 8vo pp. 110. Re. 1-8.

It gives an account of the anthropometric characteristics in respect of stature, cephalic index, and nasal index of living subjects with additional information on the subject obtained by the author from different sources.

Hos of Seraikella, Part I (Anthropological Papers, New Series, No. 1), by Anathnath Chatterjee, M.B.B.S., and Tarakchandra Das, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 94. (Profusely illustrated.) 1927. Rs. 2.

This is the first of a series of papers started by the Anthropological Department of the University of Calcutta. The first part deals with the special characteristics of the life of the Hos of Seraikella, a state in the district of Singhbhum. The book is of special interest to all students of Anthropology.

The Bhumijas of Seraikella and the Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum (Anthropological Papers, New Series, Nos. 2 and 3), by Tarakchandra Das, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 65 and 40. 1931. Rs. 2-8.

The Bhumijas form an important branch of the pre-Dravidian peoples of Chota Nagpur. They are distributed over a wide range of territory including Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam though the main section inhabits the districts of Manbhum. The major part of the tribe has adopted Hindu manners and customs and has secured a place in the Hindu social system. But a few still persist in the observance of the older animistic faith together with their ancient manners and customs which also are undergoing modifications. The present monograph deals with a part of the latter section of the tribe inhabiting a small native state in the district of Singhbhum. It describes the social organisation, kinship system, religious beliefs and ideas and also the life-history of an individual. The monograph is well illustrated with several plates.

The Wild Kharias form an interesting tribe inhabiting the hills and jungles of Chota Nagpur and the hinterland of Orissa. Excepting one or two stray references in books of travel nothing is known to have appeared in print about this decadent tribe which still clings to the food-gathering stage of culture. The paper deals with the manners and customs, material culture and the religious beliefs and practices of the tribe. It is profusely illustrated. The ethnic types illustrated here are accompanied by records of anthropometric measurements—a novel feature in Indian ethno-photography.

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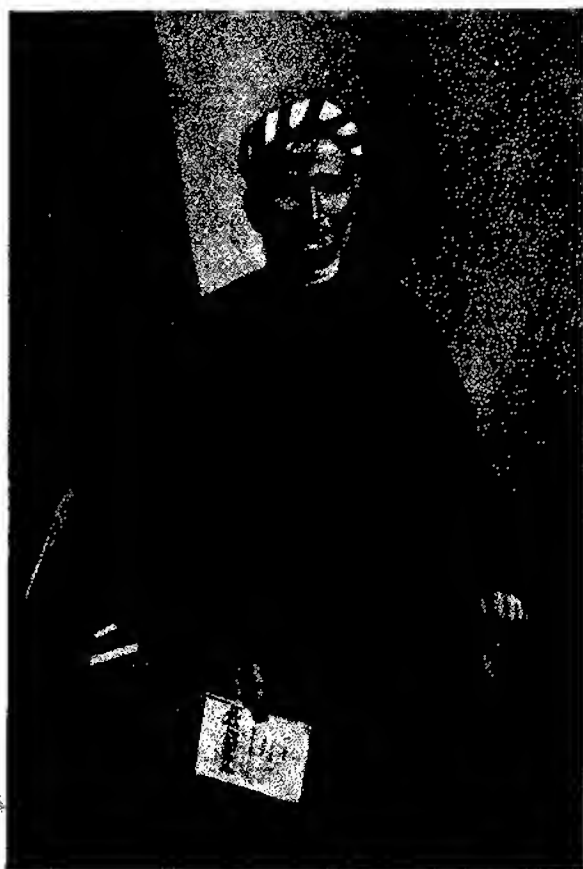
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

BORN

June 27, 1838

DIED

April 4, 1894

বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র

বাঙ্গালার সাহিত্য-গুরু, জাতীয় সাহিত্যের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা, প্রতিভার অবতার বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের শততম জন্ম-বার্ষিকী উপলক্ষে তাঁহার স্মৃতি-পূজার উদ্দেশ্যে বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য-পরিষদের উদ্যোগে যে মহাসম্মেলনের আয়োজন হইয়াছে, তাহার উদ্বোধন-কার্যের ভার প্রাপ্ত হইয়া আমি নিজেকে ধন্য বোধ করিতেছি। এই কার্যের আমি যোগ্য কি অযোগ্য, তাহা ভাবিয়া দেখি নাই, এবং তাহা ভাবিয়া দেখিবার প্রয়োজন বোধও করি নাই; কারণ স্বয়ং বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রই আমাদের কাছে শিক্ষাইয়া গিয়াছেন—“ভক্তিরই সর্ব সাধনের সার।” এবং সেই “ভক্তির সঙ্গে মিলিত হইলে সকল কার্যই মঙ্গলপ্রদ, যশস্কর এবং পরিশুদ্ধ হয়।” বাঁহারা আমাদের আজ এই সম্মানের আসনে বরণ করিয়া বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের প্রতি ভক্তি-প্রদর্শনের অবসর প্রদান করিয়াছেন, তাঁহাদিগকে আমার আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতাপূর্ণ ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন করিতেছি।

মনে রাখিতে হইবে, বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র যে তাঁহার দেশবাসীর হৃদয়-মন্দিরে দেবতার তুল্য আসন লাভ করিয়া এখনও বিরাজ করিতেছেন, তাহা তাঁহার অনন্য-সাধারণ ভক্তি-সাধনারই গুণে। ‘ইউরোপীয় patriotism’এর প্রতি তাঁহার আন্তরিক অশ্রদ্ধা ছিল। তিনি বলিতেন—‘ইউরোপীয় patriotism একটা

ঘোরতর পৈশাচিক পাপ। ইউরোপীয় patriotism-ধর্মের তাৎপর্য্য এই যে, পর-সমাজের কাড়িয়া ঘরের সমাজে আনিব। স্বদেশের ত্রীর্দ্ধি করিব, কিন্তু অগ্ন সমস্ত জাতির সর্বনাশ করিয়া তাহা করিতে হইবে।.....জগদীশ্বর ভারতবর্ষে যেন ভারতবর্ষীয়ের কপালে এরূপ দেশবাৎসল্য-ধর্ম না লিখেন।” স্মৃতরাং বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের দেশভক্তিকে যদি আমরা ইউরোপীয় patriotismএর নামান্তর মনে করিয়া তাঁহাকে বুঝিতে বা তাঁহার স্মৃতি-সাহিত্যের বিচার করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হই, তাহা হইলে অসত্যকে সত্য বলিয়া ভ্রম করিব। তাঁহার ‘আনন্দমঠ’ বা ‘বন্দে মাতরম্’ সম্বন্ধে আমাদের দেশের অনেকেই সম্প্রতি ঐরূপ বিচার-বিভ্রমে পতিত হইতেছেন। আনন্দমঠের ‘উপ-ক্রমগিকায়’ আছে—‘অনন্তশূন্য অরণ্য-মধ্যে সূচীভেদ অন্ধকারময় নিশীথে, সেই অননুভবনীয় নিস্তকতা-মাধ্য শব্দ হইল—“আমার মনস্কাম কি সিদ্ধ হইবে না?”.....এইরূপ তিনবার সেই অন্ধকার-সমুদ্র আলোড়িত হইল। তখন উত্তর হইল—“তোমার পণ কি?”

প্রত্যুত্তরে বলিল—“পণ আমার জীবনসর্বস্ব।” প্রতিশব্দ হইল—“জীবন তুচ্ছ ; সকলেই ত্যাগ করিতে পারে।”

“আর কি আছে ? আর কি দিব ?” তখন উত্তর হইল—“ভক্তি”।’

এই ‘ভক্তি’ শব্দটির প্রতি পাঠক-সাধারণের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণের জন্য বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র পুস্তক-মাধ্য উহা একটু বড় অক্ষরে মুদ্রিত করাইয়া গিয়াছেন। বাস্তবিক, একটু মনোযোগপূর্বক পাঠ করিলেই দেখা যায়, একমাত্র ভক্তিই আনন্দমঠের প্রত্যেক পাত্রে স্পন্দিত হইতেছে। ‘বন্দে মাতরম্’ অমর সঙ্গীতের মূল

উৎসও ঐ ভক্তি। আনন্দমঠের সম্ভানগণ কোনওরূপ জাতি-বিদ্বেষের বশে দেশ-ভক্ত হন নাই। তাঁহারা স্বদেশকে “হং হি প্রাণাঃ শরীরে” মনে করিতেন, এবং এই ভাব-প্রেরণার বলেই স্বদেশকে অত্যাচার-উৎপীড়নের কবল হইতে রক্ষা করিতে অগ্রসর হইয়াছিলেন।

‘গীতা’য় কুরু-বিদ্বেষ প্রচারিত হইয়াছে বলিলে যেমন ভুল হয়, আনন্দমঠকে তেমনি জাতি-বিদ্বেষমূলক গ্রন্থ বলিয়া প্রচার করিলে সত্যকেই গোপন করা হইবে। বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র বলিতেন— “দেশপ্ৰীতি ও সার্বলৌকিক প্ৰীতি উভয়ের অমুশীলন ও পরস্পর সামঞ্জস্য চাই। তাহা ঘটিলে, ভবিষ্যতে ভারতবর্ষ পৃথিবীর শ্রেষ্ঠ জাতির আসন গ্রহণ করিতে পারিবে।” বলা বাহুল্য, এই দেশ-প্ৰীতি সর্বদেশে, সর্বসময়ে, সর্বজনের আদর্শ হইবার যোগ্য। তাঁহার গ্রন্থে ইহারই চিত্র প্রতিফলিত হইয়াছে।

আরও মনে রাখিবার বিষয়, বঙ্কিমের অপূর্ব দেশভক্তিই বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রকে মাতৃভাষার পরমভক্ত এবং সত্যের পরম অনুরাগী করিয়াছিল। সত্যের নিকষে কষিয়াই তিনি এই আত্ম-বিস্মৃত জাতির কর্ণে সর্বপ্রথম এই সজ্জাবনী-বাণী ধ্বনিত করিয়াছিলেন— “আমাদের স্তরসা আছে। আমরা স্বয়ং নিগুণ হইলেও রত্ন-প্রসবিনীর সম্ভান। সকলে সেই কথা মনে করিয়া জগতীতলে আপনার যোগ্য আসন গ্রহণ করিতে যত্ন কর।...যে বলে বাঙ্গালী চিরকাল ভীরা, চিরকাল দুর্বল, তাহার কথা মিথ্যা, তাহার মাথায় বজ্রাঘাত হউক।”

প্রায় ৫৮ বৎসর হইল, কবিবর নবীনচন্দ্র তাঁহার ‘রত্নমতী’ কাব্যের উৎসর্গ-পত্রে বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের উদ্দেশে লিখিয়াছিলেন— “আর্য্য ! আজ মহানদী পদ্মার তীরে বসিয়া আমার এই কাব্য-

খানি শেষ করিয়া ভাবিতেছিলান, ইহা কাহার করে অর্পণ করিব। দেখিলাম, পদ্মাকে ক্ষুদ্রাদপি ক্ষুদ্রে পরিণত করিয়া বিশাল সময়স্রোত প্রবাহিত হইতেছে। সেই স্রোতে ভাসিয়া চলিলাম। দেগিতে দেখিতে বিংশতি শতাব্দীর সূর্য্য সেই সময়-সাগরে ডুবিয়া গেল। তখন ফিরিয়া দেখিলাম, বঙ্গের অসংখ্য জোনাকীরাশি একে একে নিবিয়া গিয়াছে, কেবল দুই-একটি নক্ষত্র মাত্র ইহার অদৃষ্টাকাশে জ্বলিতেছে! তাহাদের কিরণ যতই সুদূর-নিঃসৃত হইতেছে, ততই উজ্জ্বলতা বিকীর্ণ করিতেছে। ইহার একটিকে ভক্তিরে অভিবাদন করিয়া আমি একটি সামান্য উপহার প্রদান করিলাম। বলিতে হইবে কি, সেই নক্ষত্রটি আপনি।”

কবিরের এই ভবিষ্যদ্বাণী যে মিথ্যা হইবার নহে, এ কথা বোধ হয় এখন অনেকেরই স্বীকার করিবেন। ‘বিংশ শতাব্দীর সূর্য্য সময়-সাগরে’ এখনও ডুবে নাই বটে, কিন্তু অন্ধ শতাব্দীর উপর হইল, তিনি যাহা বলিয়াছিলেন, তাহার সার্থকতা আজ উপলব্ধি করিয়া তাঁহারই বাক্যের প্রতিধ্বনি করিয়া বলিতে ইচ্ছা হইতেছে—বঙ্কিম-জ্যোতিষের কিরণ যতই সুদূর-নিঃসৃত হইবে, ততই উজ্জ্বলতা বিকীর্ণ করিবে।

বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সঙ্গে বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্পর্ক ছিল। তাঁহার গৌরবে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় আজ গর্ব্ব ও গৌরব-প্রকাশের অধিকারী। যখন সর্ব্বপ্রথম এন্ট্রান্স ও বি. এ. পরীক্ষা গৃহীত হয়, তখন এই উভয় পরীক্ষারই উত্তীর্ণ ছাত্র-তালিকায় তাঁহার নাম আমরা দেখিতে পাই। তারপর ১৮৮৫ খৃষ্টাব্দ হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া যতকাল তিনি জীবিত ছিলেন, ততকাল বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সদস্যপদে নিযুক্ত থাকিয়া ইহার কল্যাণ-সাধনের জন্য যত্ন ও শ্রম করিয়া গিয়াছেন।

আজ তাঁহার শততম বার্ষিকী উপলক্ষে বাঙ্গালার ছাত্র-সম্প্রদায়কে উপহার দিবার উদ্দেশ্যে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হইতে ‘বঙ্কিম-পরিচয়’ প্রকাশিত হইল। বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের রচনা-সমুদ্র মন্থন করিয়া ছাত্রগণের পাঠোপযোগী বচনামৃত ইহাতে সংগৃহীত হইয়াছে। বাঙ্গালার যুবক-সম্প্রদায় যদি এই পুস্তক-মধ্যে তাঁহার ছায়া দেখিয়া তাঁহাকে চিনিতে ও বুঝিতে চেষ্টা করেন, তাহা হইলে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের এই উত্তম ও উদ্দেশ্য সার্থক হইবে।

এই সভাস্থলে আরও একটি কথা বলিয়া আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করিতে চাই। ছাত্র-সমাজের মধ্যে বঙ্কিম-সাহিত্যের পঠন ও আলোচনা যাহাতে যথোচিত-ভাবে হয়, তজ্জন্য শ্রদ্ধেয় সভাপতি মহাশয় কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়কে একটি কার্য্যে হস্তক্ষেপ করিতে অনুরোধ করিয়াছেন। তিনি প্রস্তাব করিয়াছেন যে, আগামী পৌষ কি মাঘ মাসে কলেজের ছাত্রেরা যাহাতে বঙ্কিম-সাহিত্য-সম্বন্ধে একটি বিশেষ পরীক্ষা দিতে পারেন, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যেন তাহার ব্যবস্থা করেন। ইহাতে পরীক্ষার্থীর ফি নামমাত্র ধার্য্য হইবে। পরীক্ষায় যাঁহারা উত্তীর্ণ হইবেন, তাঁহারা প্রশংসা-পত্র পাইবেন এবং যিনি সর্ব্বোচ্চস্থান অধিকার করিবেন, তিনি যথাযোগ্যভাবে পুরস্কৃত হইবেন। আমি এই প্রস্তাব সর্ব্বাস্তঃকরণে সমর্থন করি এবং আশা করি, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পক্ষ হইতে ইহা গ্রহণ করিতে কোন বাধা হইবে না।

উপসংহারে এই কামনা করি যে, আপনাদের এই সভার উদ্দেশ্য সম্পূর্ণভাবে সফল হউক। অল্প কয়েক দিনের জন্ত বঙ্কিমচন্দ্রের স্মৃতি-পূজা করিয়া যেন বাঙ্গালী তাহার কর্তব্য-সমাপন হইল, এইরূপ বোধ না করে। উৎসবাদি স্মৃতি-পূজার অঙ্গ বটে, কিন্তু তাঁহার প্রকৃত পূজা তখনই হইবে, যখন তাঁহার

বাণী বাঙ্গালার ঘরে ঘরে প্রচারিত হইবে, বাঙ্গালী তাঁহার নির্দিষ্ট পথ অবলম্বন করিবে, তাঁহার অমোঘ মন্ত্রে দীক্ষিত হইয়া নির্ভীকভাবে আপন জাতীয় জীবন গড়িয়া তুলিতে সচেষ্ট হইবে।

সকল দলাদলি ভুলিয়া বাঙ্গালী আবার একত্র হউক, বাঙ্গালীর জীবন কৰ্ম্মময় হউক, পরমুখাপেক্ষী না থাকিয়া বাঙ্গালী আত্মনির্ভরশীল হউক। কাপুরুষ বাঙ্গালীকে বন্ধিমচন্দ্র ঘণার চক্ষে দেখিতেন। সকল বাধা-বিপত্তি তুচ্ছ করিয়া যদি বাঙ্গালী আজ মানুষের মত দাঁড়াইতে পারে, এবং স্বকর্গ্য-সাধনে প্রবৃত্ত হয়, তবেই বন্ধিমের আশীর্বাদ বাঙ্গালার উপর বর্ষিত হইবে, বাঙ্গালা মেঘ মুক্ত হইবে এবং জয়-মাত্রা ঘোষণা করিয়া বাঙ্গালী তাহার লুপ্ত-গৌরব পুনরধিকার করিবে। *

* Address delivered by Mr. S. P. Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the opening of the Bankim Centenary Celebration under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat on Saturday, the 25th June, 1938, at the Senate Hall.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1938

THE SUCCESSION OF WORLD-LEADERSHIP

PROF. CORRADO GINI, UNIVERSITY OF ROME, ITALY.

HISTORY shows that the torch of progress was transmitted from one race to another, from the populations of Mesopotamia and Egypt to those of the Aegean, of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium ; and from these to the Arabs, to the Italian Republics, to Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, France and to the German and Anglo-Saxon stocks. The possibility is not excluded but it may be destined to pass, in a more or less distinct future, to the Far East. Certainly, one cannot shut one's eyes to the fact that the Anglo-Saxon, German and French stocks, still dominant, have to-day, from the demographic viewpoint, lost the capacity for expansion, which, on the contrary, is being increased by the Oriental populations. Nor can one deny that, even from the technical standpoint, the progress of these latter peoples may in the future be more rapid than that of the Westerners, with the result of reducing the gap between the two civilizations. It is, however, just as undeniable that the Orientals have a long way to go before they reach the technical and cultural level, the inventive talents, and (except the Japanese) the discipline and national solidarity of the Western peoples. Reasons are not lacking for thinking that if the entire Far East would acquire a military organization and national

solidarity like that of Japan, without sacrificing the superior intellectual talents of other populations, and if, through an adequate education and selection would acquire, at least partly, the traits of initiative and inventiveness of the West, conserving, besides the natural qualities of thrift, adaptation, and resistance to hard labor, the industry and commercial honesty with which the Chinese are particularly endowed, the Far East would become worthy of carrying high the torch of civilization.

At this point it is timely to take into account an objection which is levelled against the Western system of production. Such a system, it is said, destroys itself, inasmuch as by raising the standard of living of the populations which dominate and exploit, it creates on their part, a dangerous competition. In reality, the system, which is not only that of the dominating populations of to-day, prepares, in such a way, the succession of the said dominating populations, since they cannot be eternally dominant. Far from being a reason for reproof, such a characteristic is an indication that, with such a system they truly carry out a civilizing mission.

The real danger is that the dominating people decays and falls into ruin before having adequately educated its successor, provoking a hiatus in the progress of humanity analogous to that which was found at the fall of the Roman Empire. A timely infiltration into the dominating populations of the present of elements from the lower classes of the populations of the future, and *vice versa*, an infiltration into the populations of the future of elements from the upper classes of the dominating populations of the present, are the best means of preventing such a hiatus. This is another reason for dissuading any suppression of such infiltrations.

At this point, however, the question arises : Is the torch of civilization destined to pass directly from the Anglo-Saxon, German, and French peoples, which are demographically exhausted, to the Orientals, who are technically, intellectually, and socially immature, or rather are there not still white stocks which are destined once again to speak their word in history and to rise in their turn to the highest position, subsequently to cede it to stocks of the more distant future ?

The South American populations of Latin language have possibly a great future, but this seems too distant to make of them the immediate successors of present leaders. But the Slavic populations on one hand, and the Italian and Iberian populations on the other, have not

exhausted equally with the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans, and the French, the impetus of demographic expansion, and, from multiple technical and cultural viewpoints, they would certainly seem to occupy a place superior to that of the Orientals. It would therefore not appear hazardous to maintain that the interest of humanity to-day requires that such stocks be put in a position to exploit their abilities fully. Russia and Portugal already have at their disposal ample territories and abundant natural resources which largely suffice for their demographic expansion. Furnished with few or no colonies, the Spaniards and the Balkan peoples still find in their native land, little populated and rich in raw materials, elements adequate for their development. On the contrary, Italy, a country with high demographic density and deprived of some essential raw materials, superior, moreover, to the Slavs and Iberians in many technical and cultural aspects, justly claims the means of exploiting its endowments not only for its own interest but also for that of mankind. When these were refused through the egoism of others, it found itself compelled to conquer them by force.

The considerations exposited above lead to the conclusion that the conflicts deriving from the international distribution of population and raw materials can be peacefully resolved only when a redistribution is effected which takes account of the technical and cultural superiority and of the expansive force of peoples and becomes modified whenever the necessity for doing so presents itself. Now it is not given to see how that can be practically attained in an adequate and timely fashion. Left to the initiative of single nations, such an adjustment would certainly not be attained in a pacific way. Intrusted to international society organs, the solution, rather than being facilitated, would probably only be retarded and disputes would become acute. For past experience leads us to believe that such organisms would tend to preserve the *status quo* rather than to modify it in favour of the nations which are developing most rapidly, and would thus retard adjustment, provoking the danger of more serious conflicts. Willingly or not, one must recognize that, to-day as in the past, there does not seem to be any possibility of an equitable redistribution of population and raw materials without the use of at least the threat of force.

It may be observed in this connection that the theory here presented definitively leads only to a justification of the crude reality. Certainly, I reply, it leads us from theoretical abstractions and from

utopian programs to the actual behavior of the facts, and from these it goes on to explain—a result which truly (it may well be noted) constitutes the aim and the characteristic of every theory which is worthy of being called scientific. Because, in the field of the social as in that of the physical sciences, when a theory, although seemingly well constructed, does not correspond to the facts, one can say with assurance that its value is fictitious and that, under satisfactory appearance, it conceals on the contrary some essential lacuna which makes it defective when compared with reality.

On the other hand, the deeper one goes into the study of society, the more one becomes convinced that in this field, as in that of biological phenomena, nature is a better provider than superficial observation may lead one to suppose. The interest of mankind demands that adequate integrations of territories be assured to those nations whose technical and cultural progress and whose demographic development are more accentuated. On the other hand, demographic development and technical and cultural progress are generally connected in the evolution of nations. Moreover, the nations who are endowed with the one and the other have generally the tendency and acquire sooner or later the power to annex new territories. In the long run, their particular incentive for expansion and domination furthers the interest of mankind through technical and demographic progress. Impelled by their own interest, the dominating nations expand their commerce, impose their culture, and communicate their technique to dominated populations or to neighbouring nations, elevating their standard of living, developing their resources, both material and intellectual, and giving them a new civilization. When the day of decadence arrives (because examples of nations eternally flourishing and of everlasting hegemony are unknown in history), the seeds of civilization which they have developed may find new and perhaps higher manifestations among the nations assimilated, as the Greek and Roman civilization was taken over, with further and in many ways superior developments, by the assimilated barbarians. So the various races and peoples may give in turn to the progress of mankind the contribution of their own genius.

Certainly this rotation of leadership does not always take place gradually and peacefully, as is the case with the continuous replacement of the older generations by the younger ones in the ordinary course of events ; but often by discontinuous and violent processes. But if one considers the matter carefully, he will perceive that this

happens essentially because the various peoples and their leaders do not recognize the natural processes of evolution, and they resist the inevitable developments of those processes when these are not in keeping with their own vested interests and acquired positions. A wider knowledge of self-regulating mechanisms in the evolution of nations may improve the situation more than the utopian programs of social reformers and international idealists. Not so many years ago, when an individual was ill, the policy of the physician was to repress the manifestations of the malady in order to re-establish the lost equilibrium. Modern physiology has shown the importance of re-equilibrating processes of nature, and conclude that the best therapy consists not in resisting but in favouring them. Sociology clearly suggests a similar policy in the solution of international problems.*

* Part of a paper in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Philadelphia, January, 1937.

EARLY ANNALS OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, II, 1859-66

DR. A. P. DASGUPTA

B. THE QUESTION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORSHIPS

THE expediency of establishing University professorships was first broached to the Syndicate by Dr. Duff. on the 28th August, 1858. The Syndicate referred the matter to the Faculty of Arts, "requesting the Faculty to consider and report, for what branches of study, University professorships should be established; and to prepare and submit a scheme by which that object, if determined to be desirable, may be most economically effected." There was a "lengthened discussion" of the subject in the Faculty of Arts on the 1st September, 1858. The question was discussed again on the 6th September, 1858, when it was resolved—

"1. That the Faculty of Arts think it inexpedient that the University shall, as a University, establish professorships or lectureships.

"2. That at the same time the Faculty would represent that there are some few of the subjects fixed for the degree examination, for acquiring a knowledge of which, sufficient facilities do not exist available for all students, and that they would request the Syndicate to urge on the Government the propriety of making some arrangement which would meet this want."

The Syndicate "recorded" the resolution of the Faculty and the matter remained shelved for more than three years. On the 31st January, 1862, the Junior Board of Examiners in Arts reporting the results of the Entrance Examination to the Syndicate dwelt on the inconvenience of conducting the examinations without a suitable hall, and added, "The success of the University is no longer a matter of speculation, the applications for Entrance are increasing in a ratio that we believe has no parallel in the history of the world. For those who have entered, additional means of instruction are becoming every year more necessary. Suitable halls in which lectures in some of the higher branches as was once proposed, might be given to the students of its many affiliated institutions in which examinations might be held and

degrees conferred, have become a necessity....." Thereupon the Syndicate appointed a sub-committee consisting of Dr. Duff and the Registrar to report "if any and what University lectureships are required?"

The sub-committee reported that the establishment of University professorships "is not a deviation from the original constitution of the University, but an extension of its functions, which has been contemplated from the time of its establishment." The Court of Directors in the Educational Despatch of 1854 had expressed the opinion that, "It will be advisable to institute, in connexion with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects....."

"Civil Engineering is another subject of importance, the advantages of which as a profession, are gradually becoming known to natives of India; and while we are inclined to believe that instruction of a practical nature.....is far more useful than any lectures could possibly be, professorships of Civil Engineering might perhaps be attached to the Universities....."

"Other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read and special degrees given; and it would greatly encourage the cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for those languages, and perhaps also for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian....."

The sub-committee pointed out that there were important branches of study in the curriculum which were being taught imperfectly or with difficulty in the affiliated institutions. Such was the case of teaching in Physical Science. A properly equipped laboratory was too expensive for all the Colleges to have or maintain. Besides, the services of teachers who had made special study of different branches of science was not always available and could be secured only at a high salary. The state of affairs in the Presidency College, the premier College, was discussed. Even there no professorship had been established solely for the teaching of Physical Science. "There is a Chair of Geology, which however has not been occupied for the past two years. Lectures in the other branches of Physical Science, are, we believe, given by the Professor of Natural Philosophy—an

arrangement which should only be accepted as a last necessity." Further it would not meet the requirements of all the students if some only of the constituent Colleges maintained such professors and equipments. The only manner in which suitable instruction could be imparted, "with a due regard to the position and equipments of all, is by having a common chair, that is to say, a University professorship" The endowment of University professorships would place all the affiliated institutions "on the same footing as regards those branches in which all have not the same facilities for providing instruction; and further, the common standard of education will be raised; as it may be expected that the University professors, selected with care and suitably remunerated, will afford a higher order of instruction than any now to be had in Calcutta. With these arguments the sub-committee recommended the establishment of University Professorships particularly in Physical Science, Natural Philosophy and Law.

The Syndicate resolved that "the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate without at present expressing an opinion as to the details of the report, are prepared to adopt generally the conclusions of the sub-committee.....But considering the opposite conclusion to which the Faculty of Arts came as to lectureships in 1858, the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate before making any recommendation to the Government, desire to take the opinion of the Senate upon the subject of the sub-committee's report, and for this purpose it is resolved to convene a special meeting of the Senate....."

The Senate (27th February, 1862) in its turn referred the report back to the Syndicate "with a request that the opinion and observations of all the Faculties be taken at length on the whole question, and that their reports be afterwards considered by the Syndicate and brought up in a ripe form for the decision of the Senate."

The Syndicate thereupon referred the report to the Faculties for their observations.

The Faculty of Law (4th March, 1862) agreed with the sub-committee's report on the necessity of establishing University professorships, specially in Physical Science and Natural Philosophy. The majority of the Faculty were, however, of opinion that the University professorships should be established in connection with the higher honour courses and not as the sub-committee had desired, for third-year students preparing for the B.A. degree. The

University would thereby have the machinery not merely for the higher, but also for the lower lectures. As regards Law professorships, the Faculty could not see " what special reasons induced them to recommend the transfer of the Law Professors from the Presidency College to the University. We understand however that the object was to place the students of all affiliated institutions on the same footing as regards the fees paid for attendance at the Law lectures. At present, these fees are said to be less for the Presidency College than for the other affiliated institutions. We quite think that the Law lectures should be open to all on the same terms of perfect equality" The remedy for this, the Faculty suggested, was an appeal to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. They summed up, " It is possible that in the course of time, it may be expedient to establish a University Professor in Law. In our opinion such a professor should confine his lectures to the higher or honour branches of Law education, but we are of opinion that it would not be expedient for the University to assume charge of the Law classes at present attached to the Presidency College so as to supersede entirely the instruction now afforded by that College."

The Faculty of Medicine (5th March, 1862) resolved " that they consider it expedient for the University to establish University professorships in certain of the higher subjects of examination and that the difficulty raised in the report of the sub-committee regarding instructions in the lower subjects in Arts may be met by allowing the professors, referred to in the foregoing resolution to give lectures also in those subjects, provided the Government cannot arrange to furnish the instruction required in some manner acceptable to the institutions affected."

Thus they agreed with the recommendations of the Faculty of Law. As to Law professorships, they declined to offer any opinion.

In the Faculty of Arts (6th March, 1862) Dr. Duff seconded by Mr. George Smith moved that the Government professorships in Law, Engineering and Medicine attached to the Presidency College, Bengal Engineering College and the Medical College, respectively, be converted into University professorships open to duly qualified students of all institutions; that University professorships be established in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian with their "leading derivative vernaculars" by converting existing professorships in the Sanskrit College and the Madrasah, and a Faculty of Oriental languages be created; that

professorships of Physical Science and Natural Philosophy be instituted in the University and that a Professorship of Education "viewed theoretically and practically as a Science and an Art" with a separate Faculty of Education be brought into existence and special licenses and degrees of different grades be conferred in that subject.

Against this motion the Rev. K. M. Banerjee moved and carried the amendment "that this Faculty, without pronouncing on the question of professorships to be attached to the University in the special Faculties of Law, Civil Engineering and Medicine, are of opinion that no professorships should be attached to the University in connection with the examination in Arts."

Similarly, in the Faculty of Civil Engineering it was proposed by Dr. Oldham and carried, "that it is inexpedient that professorships and lectureships, in those branches of Science that form a part of the ordinary education of a Civil Engineer, should be founded as a portion of the University establishment."

When the Faculty of Arts met again on the 20th March, 1862, a sub-committee consisting of the Registrar, Dr. Kay and Mr. Erskine was appointed to enquire into the reasons which had led the majority of the Faculty of Arts at its last meeting to vote against University professorships in connexion with studies in Arts. On the 16th April, 1862, the Faculty of Arts read the report of this sub-committee and resolved that "this Faculty, without pronouncing on the question of professorships to be attached to the University in the special Faculties of Law, Civil Engineering, and Medicine, are of opinion that no professorships should be attached to the University in connection with the examination in Arts." In reporting this resolution for the information of the Senate the Faculty pointed out the reasons for rejecting the establishment of University professorships in Arts. The Sub-Committee of the Syndicate had proposed to establish Professorships of Physical Science and Natural Philosophy on the ground that the affiliated institutions were unable to provide adequate instruction in those branches of study. The Faculty of Arts agreed with this contention. But they did not think that the proper remedy was the appointment of University Professors. "A better plan, it is felt, might be to take greater care, on the one hand, that every affiliated College is able to impart to the candidates whom it sends up for examination that modicum of knowledge in Natural and Physical Science, which alone the standards

adopted by the University were intended to exact ; and on the other hand, to take equal care that every University Examiner in Natural and Physical Science shall confine his questions at the ordinary B.A. Examination strictly within the prescribed limits." The Faculty felt justified to infer that the tests of proficiency now demanded by the sub-committee of the Syndicate were higher than they were intended to be by those who framed the scheme for examinations in Arts, since the latter were well acquainted with the capabilities of the Colleges and the standards were fixed with reference to those capabilities and since the Colleges have always been required to certify their ability to teach up to the B.A. standard. " To raise the demands of the University in these subjects (in connection with its ordinary B.A. degree) to such a point as would require that every affiliated institution should have at its command costly apparatus and specially trained teachers, would be virtually to disfranchise most of the provincial Colleges, and would in the opinion of the Faculty of Arts be in other ways inexpedient."

Another ground for objecting to the establishment of University Professors was the opinion which the Faculty of Arts held that " at least as regards the training for B.A. degree, the University will even now best fulfil its high functions by maintaining itself, for sometime to come, in the position of a purely examining body. To perform the work of examination with thoroughness and with perfect equity, as regards all candidates and all affiliated institutions from Colombo to Lahore, is assuredly no light task. It is the duty for which full provision should be made before other duties are undertaken. There seems likewise reason to apprehend that the difficulties with which the University has to contend in fulfilling its duty as an examining body,—as an impartial and disinterested judge of merit in all comers,—would be greatly increased, were it also directly to enter the field as a teaching body, and to prepare or assist in preparing, candidates for examination. However conscientious might be the judgments of University Examiners, acting under such circumstances, it is probable that causeless suspicions would be excited and that confidence in their perfect impartiality would be to some extent weakened.

" Another objection to the proposal for University professorships of Natural and Physical Science seems to be that such professorships, if established on the footing suggested, would be available for the "

benefit only of members of the University. The sphere of usefulness of the Professors would thus be contracted within much narrower bounds than if instruction in the same branches of study were provided by other means ; for instance by a combination of private effort with state bounty. In the latter case, moreover, the Professors would not be brought under restrictions such as are inevitably imposed on state teachers, while the measure would be in accordance with governmental grants in aid of private liberality."

Against these reflections of the Faculty of Arts Dr. Duff entered a long minute of dissent. He was supported by Archdeacon Pratt, the Lord Bishop, Mr. Ogilvie, Dr. Mullens, Mr. George Smith, Mr. Aitchison and Mr. McCrindle. The recommendations of the Faculty were then considered by the Syndicate on the 5th June, 1862. As regards University professorships in connection with the professional faculties the Syndicate resolved that " it does not think it expedient to recommend that the Professors attached to the Government Law School, or to the Medical or Engineering Colleges, should be transformed at present into University Professors or to recommend that other University Professors should at present be appointed, in connection with any of the higher subjects of study, in any of the professional Faculties." As to University professorships in Arts the Syndicate recommended that " the Senate should apply to the Government to establish, in connection with the University, lectureships of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. But it considers that attendance on the lectures, so to be delivered, should not be compulsory. With this exception the Syndicate concurs with the Faculties in thinking that it is not at present desirable to recommend the institution of University professorships."

These decisions of the Syndicate were placed before a special meeting of the Senate held on the 14th June, 1862. The Senate resolved:—

" That without questioning the soundness of the opinion that it may hereafter be desirable to make special arrangements in some special subjects, the Senate in consideration of the still imperfectly developed condition of the University, wish, in common with all the Faculties, to abstain from recommending that any professorship should be at once established."

Again:—

" 1. That doubts having been expressed regarding the position of the University, as apparently determined by the Act of the legisla-

ture under which the University is constituted, the Senate are of opinion, that no present practical result can arise from pressing the consideration of any proposal to establish professorships under the direction of the University authorities.

" 2. At the same time the Senate are of opinion, that in the present condition of collegiate education in the Bengal presidency, the foundation of lectureships or professorships in relation with the University, though not under its direction, for the benefit on equal terms of the students of all Colleges and institutions, and of individuals, is an object in itself desirable ; though it would be premature to discuss the exact system under which such professorships should be managed, or to attempt to decide all the subjects for which they may hereafter be provided.

" 3. That the foundation of such professorships must probably for some time at least rest with the Government, but that the institution of endowments from private sources, independent of the Government, is an object much to be desired ; and that the Senate recommend it, as worthy of the consideration of the native public and as deserving of all possible encouragement by the Government.

" 4. That so long as the endowments of any professorships thus created are entirely dependent on grants of money from the state it will obviously be proper that the direction of those professorships should remain in the hands of the Government, to any extent that may be considered expedient by the Government ; but that in proportion as an independent element is introduced into the endowments, it will also be proper to admit an independent element into the direction of the professorships supported by those endowments ; and that the gradual development of such an independent element of self-government is an object which should be looked forward to, as an important end to be attained.

" 5. That the nature of the relations of the University with a body of professors so established and supported, must be dependent on the circumstances of the time, and can only be satisfactorily determined as occasion requires, and as the professorships are called into existence.

" 6. That with a view to taking a first step in the direction thus pointed out, the Senate recommend the Government to found a chair of Natural and Experimental Philosophy on the general footing indicated in resolution 2 leaving it to the Government to determine,

under what regulations the instruction to be given, by the professor may most usefully be carried on."

These resolutions were communicated with explanations to the Government in a letter from the University, dated the 25th June, 1862. No reply to this from the Government can be traced in the University records of the period under review.

(To be continued).

THE ETHICS OF THE SPANISH WAR

A. LALLEMAND, S.J.

PROPAGANDA in the most modern sense is the effort to create a fixed impression in as many minds as possible by advocacy and reiterated information combined. We can trace the development of such a practice in the latest commercial methods of industrial capitalism. When limited to harmless items like tooth-paste or corn-cure, it may be left to the consumers' commonsense to find out what it is worth. But from the commercial field it has invaded the political world, even the international world and here it becomes positively dangerous ; for people cannot at a distance check information and shake off soon enough the wrong impression they have received. During the present civil war in Spain, propaganda has improved its technique and it has at the same time become the speciality of Moscow ; from that centre it has been spread and imposed on most of the European Press and it has extended to the Indian Press.

According to Hilaire Belloc,¹ the new technique is distinguished by three special characteristics: first immediate action ; second, specific and detailed affirmation (reiterated of course); thirdly, a complete indifference to reality—in other words, barefaced and outrageous lying. H. Belloc takes three glaring instances: Guernica, the *Espana*, Badajoz.

Guernica: H. Belloc notes that *contemporaneously* with the destruction of the town by the retreating revolutionary forces, the propaganda of the revolutionary movement issued to the whole Press a statement that Guernica had been destroyed by Nationalist bombardment from the air. Now, from photos and later accounts, it is clear that the Guernica ruins are not the ruins of a town levelled by heavy shelling or pitted by air bombs ; they are the ruins of a place deliberately set on fire, large fragments of outer walls left standing and the interior gutted by the flames.

The warship *Espana* : she was sunk by a hostile shell or mine off the coast of Northern Spain. *Simultaneously* with the news of the

¹ H. Belloc in *G. K.'s Weekly*, June 24, 1937.

sinking came a telegram sent to the whole Press that the aeroplanes of the Reds had sunk the warship. It was found later from the many witnesses of the sinking that no planes had been flying near the ship.

Badajoz: when the Nationalists entered Badajoz, a telegram reached America and came back to Europe that the Reds taken prisoners were shot in heaps to the number of thousands; the telegram was signed by an eye-witness and made *simultaneously* with (in one case prior to) the actual storming of the city. Later it was found that the name on the telegram was the name of a man who had never been in Badajoz.

Many such instances could be quoted to illustrate Leftist propaganda; it is undeniable that, in the Spanish war, Red Propaganda has been organised on a lavish scale and with a technique by the side of which the blustering of a Queipo de Llano pales into insignificance. The Rightists for diverse reasons have sadly neglected their news service for many months and have mainly relied on the very slow and cumbersome if more valuable process of gathering documents and publishing archives. When will those archives and documents reach the Indian dailies and especially the Indian public? By that time the War will be over and people will feel no interest in what will be the past; they will keep a general impression as will have been formed during the course of the struggle.

They will probably go on with a feeling that General Franco and his partisans are rebels and revolutionaries; they revolted against a legal Government and that settles the question in the public mind. The question however is far from being simple; leaving aside the ebullient outbursts from the Reds, there are responsible persons who question the ethical rectitude of Franco's move, many more agree that he was justified. Let us review the general principles and then analyse the facts.

Civil authority has but one purpose; the common good of the people. Any law has validity, that is to say, is binding on human conscience from the fact that it makes for the common good of the nation; however solemnly the constitutional provisions may have been observed to a nicety, a law is invalid if it goes against the general welfare; a government can exact obedience only when it sees to the common good; for beyond all legal formalities this basic idea is fundamental to any association and to any national community that

the supreme and highest law is the salvation of the association and community ; group suicide is as sinful as the individual variety.

Now among the essential elements of the general welfare, we must include the respect for human life, the general regard for order and peace, the respect for the family life, the regard for religion and man's conscience. A Government that would neglect such essentials of social life and especially a Government that would sap them would sin against its mission and betray the common good ; it would have no title to submission. It should not be obeyed and it could not be obeyed. But the further question arises: ' Could it be resisted ? Could it be resisted with armed force ? ' The answer will again be found from a consideration of the general welfare, which principle commands the whole ethics of State craft. Catholic moralists and theologians, following the views of Thomas Aquinas, agree on the conditions that must exist if armed revolt is to be regarded as permissible: The existence of the common good—religion, justice, peace—must be gravely compromised ; this public danger must be acknowledged with certainty by wise and prudent men ; finally the chance of success must be a good one. This last condition looks as making success a criterium of ethics but on closer inspection, one realises that it would be irrational to use violence when success is not likely, for in that case the unsuccessful attempt would bring an evil greater than the evil it purports to remedy.

In short a revolution is a major surgical operation on the body politic ; a certainty that the operation is necessary, a proportion between the risks attending the operation and the gravity of the disease, finally a fair chance of success: all such conditions limit the initiative of the political surgeons. But are there not some men who object to any sort of operation and condemn the use of violence in any case whatever ? Catholic theologians and philosophers like Don Luigi, Stnrzo and Jacques Maritain would have preferred the Spanish Rightists to follow the example of the early Christians who did not resist but welcome the persecutions of Nero and Caligula.

We must note that Spanish circumstances are not a par with conditions obtaining in the early days of Christianity when Christians had only to consider their individual case of resistance to the illegitimate law of a legal authority. Moreover the point under discussion is not exactly what would have been better but what was legitimate and ethically permissible in the case of 1936 Spain. On the other

hand, what may be perfect in the individualist range of consideration may be disastrous and criminal when social duties come into play. A man may be a saint who would quietly agree to being robbed and he would be guilty if he did not defend his home ; a workman may be admirable if he resigned himself to live in misery but he would be guilty and cowardly if he did not claim the wage that will feed his family. The Spanish insurgents took the view that they had to defend their families and their fellow citizens against impious and antisocial revolution by Bolsheviks and Anarchists ; this explains how they gave their movement a Crusade ideal.

The main problem therefore is to find out if the Spanish conditions obtaining in July, 1936, justified the armed revolt of the Rightists. From a study of facts as given by impartial authors like Professor Allison Peers, ¹ Miss G. M. Godden, ² Mr. Jacques Bardoux, ³ two principal phenomena come out with glaring evidence : in July, 1936, endemic disorder and sporadic violence were eating into the vitals of Spain ; Government was powerless or unwilling to re-establish law and order.

The chaos did not begin with the February elections of 1936 nor was it a normal evolution of events arising from the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1931. Its most important factor was of foreign origin ; the disorder was not of indigenous growth ; the social disease was caused by the Communist virus deliberately injected into the Spanish body politic ; were it not for the criminal machinations of the Moscow International the Republic of Spain would have been able to live.

At the VII Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International which sat at Moscow in 1931, one of the 'theses' recorded with satisfaction that 'the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are being created in Spain.' In October, 1932, when the Left was in power, the *Communist International* reported that 'revolution is taking place in Spain and at the present time the mass movement is seething and showing tendencies to develop into an armed revolt of the people.' At about the same time, M. Yvon Delbos, who was to become the French Minister of Foreign Affairs of the *Front Populaire* in 1937, published interesting observations about the interference of the Komintern and the Soviet Government in French matters and he went on to remark that the Soviet Government was then (in 1932)

¹ The Spanish Tragedy.—Catalonia Infelix.

² Conflict in Spain.

³ *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

already looking on Spain as the next promised land of Bolshevism. By 1932 the *Clenched Fist* was already threatening the Spanish Left Government and £50,000 had entered Spain for the 'revolt' engineered from 'abroad' as the then Home Minister told a correspondent of *La Voz*. In that same year and under the Leftist Government of the Republic, a Soviet republic was proclaimed at Solana (Alicante Province) in the usual manner: church burnt down, priests shot and wounded, town hall captured, archives destroyed and so on. The cautious correspondent of *The Times* noted as early as June, 1932: 'The Spanish Republic is being made the victim of a conspiracy against law and order.'

The disorder went on increasing until it culminated in the Asturias revolt of October, 1934. Moscow had sent £30,000 to aid the fighters, a Soviet republic was proclaimed, a Red army was organised, a currency was sent in circulation with the hammer and sickle stamped on the Spanish bank-notes. 'The workers of Asturias fought for Soviet Power under the leadership of Communists, the *Communist International* wrote on October 5, 1934.

When this first attempt at revolution had failed, the Communists changed their tactics; they manoeuvred Communists, Socialists and Left Republicans so as to form the *Frente Popular*. Dimitrov boasted in his speech at the VII World Congress of the Communist International (August 2, 1935) that the People's Front is nothing but a duplicate of the old Trojan Horse which got the enemy into the city and he added: "The Communist Party alone is at bottom the initiator, the organiser and the driving force of the United Front." At the World Congress, the Spanish representative had been explicit: "We are determined to wage the fight in our country for a Socialist, and then for a Communist Republic...we join you in order to be able, in no distant future, to erect the Red Banner of the International Soviet Republic...Long live the unity of the proletariat! Long live the World Revolution!"

After the February elections of 1936, the Russian Komintern decided to finance and start a revolution in Spain; in early April, 30 young Spaniards who had been trained to revolutionary methods left Moscow and were given a grand send off and on May 1, hundreds of Young Communists could be heard shouting in the squares of Madrid: "Bombs and pistols, powder and dynamite for the coming the revolution!"

It is certain and beyond doubt that a communist revolution was actively prepared by the Komintern ; the documents published by M. Jacques Bardoux, a member of the *Institut de France* are conclusive in that regard.¹

Political assassinations went on in increasing number on both sides, the country was tense with anxiety ; the moderates, who repudiated any violence and formed the majority of the people took no active part in party politics and wanted nothing else but peace to go on with their daily life, looked to Government for measures that would re-establish public confidence and order. But Government was doing nothing ; it had been satisfied with arresting a few suspected as Fascists ; it was distrustful of the Right and paralysed with fear of the Left.

The Rightist newspaper *El Sol* of Madrid (June 17, 1936) voiced the feelings of the masses when it wrote : " A country can perfectly well live under a monarchy or under a republic, under Parliamentary rule or the rule of dictatorship. But a country cannot live in a state of anarchy and Spain is in a state of anarchy to-day. The situation in which Spain is living cannot continue." Government had given up ruling, it refused to assert itself and abandoned its prerogatives. However legally it might have been constituted (and this might well be disputed), it had become invalid and illegitimate by July, 1936, for it had grossly betrayed its mission of law and order.

The contending forces were the Red Revolution and the Rightist Counter-Revolution ; these appellations, however unusual in the Indian Press, are the correct ones. The Red aggression against the Republic had been initiated as early as 1931 ; the communist documents speak of their 'squad N. 25 made up of police agents which shall eliminate all possible counter-revolutionaries.' And an anarchist told the world by wireless in January, 1937 : ' We must say things as they are and the truth is none other than that the military have stolen a march on us to prevent our letting loose the revolution.' Why have our dailies and our news agencies deprived the Reds of a name they cherish, as if they had given up their ideal of a world revolution ?

When one summarizes the situation in July, 1936, one must visualize what the attitude was on the Left, the Right and in Government circles. On the Left a Popular Front composed of sincere

Parliamentarians and of groups of anti-Parliamentarians well drilled and full of initiative ; these groups formed a well-knit revolutionary organism which had from 1931 attempted to get control and to prepare the overthrow of the Republican regime ; it had instilled the poison of class-hatred throughout the workers and peasants and directed outbursts of violence¹ ; it had sought the aid of foreign allies and even of a foreign State. (Did not the *Pravda* of August 6, 1936, boast that Russia had deposited 333,435,000 francs to the credit of the Spanish Reds in a French bank ?). It had got ready weapons and munitions and could put in the field 150,000 shock troops and 100,000 reserves. Its purpose was to do away with religion, private property and Parliament—in fact to wipe away the past of Spain and every trace and sign of that past in order to establish on the ruin of the Spanish tradition a new world, a Soviet State and a classless, propertyless and Godless brotherhood.

On the Right, a loose grouping of many parties: monarchists, traditionalists along with a good number of convinced Republicans and Parliamentarians ; in that motley crowd there formed after February, 1936, a few extremist nuclei who banded themselves for self-defence and who believed that terrorism and violence would prevent the Communist revolution. In July, the army felt they had to step in.

For five years, communists and anarchists had multiplied assaults against the religious and social order, they had developed a tense anxiety in the spirit of the Spanish people, they threatened what are the foundations of civil society and the traditions of Spain (the religious life, the existence of some classes, the principle of private property which is a guarantee of personal liberty, the parental authority and so on); they aimed at overthrowing the Republican and Parliamentary regime by violence and liquidate the past in the same way as it had done in Russia.

What was planned for the whole of Spain has been partly realised in Catalonia under the Red regime: suppression of religion whatever camouflaged tolerance officialdom may proclaim ; collectivisation of agriculture and industry ; terrorism ;² only the necessities of war

¹ Between March and June, 1936, there were recorded : 160 churches burnt down ; 251 churches partially destroyed ; 43 newspaper offices set on fire, the explosion of 146 bombs ; 113 general strikes, 238 partial strikes.

² During the early months of the War, there took place in Red Spain no less than 400,000 assassinations.

and of propaganda have prevented more radical bolshevisation of Red Spain.

In July, 1936, the country had no other alternative but this: either to perish in the final assault of destructive communism as had already been decreed and prepared; or to attempt a titanic effort of resistance in order to escape the ruins of Bolshevism and to save the fundamental principles of her social life and her national characteristics. The only hope of Spain was and is in the Nationalist movement; the more facts come to light, the more conditions in Nationalist Spain are studied, the more it becomes apparent that this hope will not be frustrated. Parliamentarians may regret that General Franco does not plan a democracy on English lines but if they studied the New State of Portugal which Franco apparently intends to imitate, they will feel reassured that what is best in democracy will be saved. Instead of dreaming of an elusive 'Government by the people,' Franco will make sure that it will be a Government *for* the people.

PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION *

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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TWO summaries and bibliographical surveys of contemporary economic thought have been recently contributed by two members of the Harvard University staff. H. S. Ellis's *German Monetary Theory, 1905-1933*, published in 1934, has rendered accessible to the English-speaking world a vast mass of economic literature on currency questions embodied as they are in the books, brochures and articles published in German. A work of a more general nature is G. von Haberler's *Prosperity and Depression*. This theoretical analysis of cyclical movements has been initiated and published by the League of Nations (1937). Both these works should prove to be of immense value in India and elsewhere as hand-books to the specialists as well as to the members of the teaching profession in economics.

The discussions on the *Wirtschaftskonjunktur*, economic crisis and trade cycle constitute a pluralistic world of theories and policies. A part of this pluralism is due more to the diversity of terminological categories than that of the factual contents. But as in almost every other economic phenomenon, nay, human problem in these investigations into prosperity and depression also it is possible to detect the uniformities, harmonies, agreements, and unities as well. And one of the solid contributions of Haberler is the emphasis on some of the common denominators in the veritable jungle of analyses and syntheses. The present work may be said to have introduced some sort of rationalization into the science of economic fluctuations.

The monistic monetary interpretation of the trade cycle has been described by summarising Hawtrey's *Good and Bad Trade* (1913), *Currency and Credit* (1919), *Monetary Reconstruction* (1923), *Trade and Credit* (1928), *Trade Depression and the Way Out* (1931), *The Art of Central Banking* (1932) and *The Gold Standard in Theory and Practice*.

Over-investment theories have been exhibited in three groups. The first group comprises the modified as contrasted with the monistic,

* By G. von Haberler, League of Nations, Geneva, 1937, xvi, 863 pages, price 7s. 6d.

monetary interpretations. Hayek's *Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle* (1931), which is the English translation of the author's original German *Geldtheorie und Konjunkturtheorie* (Vienna, 1929), and *Prices and Production* (1931), Machlup's *Börsenkredit Industriekredit und Kapitalbildung* (Vienna, 1931), Mises's *Theory of Money and Credit* (1934), translated into English from *Geldwertstabilisierung und Konjunkturpolitik* (Jena, 1928), Röpke's *Crises and Cycles* (1936), transl. likewise from the German original, and Strigl's *Kapital und Produktion* (Vienna, 1934) are the works chiefly discussed in this group which is described as that of "monetary over-investment theories." Robbins's *Great Depression* (1934) is a non-German work considered in this context. The Swedish author, Wicksell, is taken to have provided the theoretical foundation of this school in his *Interest and Prices* (1936), translated from the German *Goldzins und Güterpreise* (Jena, 1898). It is pointed out at the same time that Wicksell himself in his interpretation of business cycle belongs to the entirely "non-monetary" over-investment theory. The analysis of the maladjustment in the structure of production brought about by the credit expansion during the prosperity phase of the cycle is one valuable contribution of the monetary over-investment theory while another contribution is to be seen in the explanation of the depression as consequent on that maladjustment.

There is a group of over-investment theories which does not attach any creative or causative importance to monetary considerations. These theories are described on the strength of Spiethoff's German articles, "Vorbemerkungen zu einer Theorie der Ueberproduktion" (Preliminary Observations on a Theory of Overproduction) in *Schmollers Jahrbuch* (1902) and "Krisen" (Crises) in *Handwörterbuch der Statswissenschaften* (1925), the Swedish economist Cassel's *Theory of Social Economy*, Vol. II (translated from the German, 1932), the Russian economist Tugan-Baranowski's *Les Crises industrielles en Angleterre* (Industrial Crises in England), 1913, translated into French from the Russian original.

Spiethoff's work is not available in English as yet and since his discussion conveys some fruitful German ideas not until recently well known in the English-speaking world, let us have a specimen from his paper entitled *Krisen*. According to Spiethoff there are four categories of goods: (1) goods for current consumption (e.g., food, clothing, etc.), (2) durable and semi-durable consumption goods (e.g., residential

buildings, water supply, electric light installations, gas plants, and other public utilities) ; furniture and motor cars occupy an intermediate position between (4) and (2) ; (3) durable capital goods (fixed capital), *e.g.*, mines, iron works, brick and cement factories, textile plants, machine-factories, railroads, power plants, etc. ; and (4) materials required for the construction of durable goods (goods for indirect or reproductive consumption), *e.g.*, iron, steel, cement, lumber, bricks.

A boom is characterized, according to Spiethoff, by a disproportion between production of these four categories of goods. The situation is that of a simultaneous shortage in one direction and plenty in another. Over-production occurs in durable capital goods (3) and in durable consumption goods (2) which brings with it overproduction in (4), while shortage is to be seen in labour and consumers' goods (1).

It should not be difficult to go with Spiethoff in regard to the question of this discrepancy bearing on the post-war depression. The present reviewer has, for instance, tried to show in his *Applied Economics, Vol. I* (Calcutta, 1931), chapter on the world-crisis in its bearings on the regions of the second and the first industrial revolutions," that over-production and over-employment in the *Produktionsmittel* (instruments of production) industries were the legacies of the Great War specially in the countries of adult industrialism and that cumulative effect in this direction was produced by rationalization. And it has been likewise pointed out that, as the present depression teaches, the first industrial revolution of the predominantly agricultural or industrially young regions and the second industrial revolution of the industrial adults constitute one complex in so far as the economic rejuvenation of the entire world is concerned.

The non-monetary over-investment theories attach special value to inventions, discoveries, technological changes, the opening of new markets, etc. In this connection the chief document for this group is Schumpeter's *Theory of Economic Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), translated from the original German of 1911.

The third group of over-investment theories assigns a leading rôle to changes in the demand for consumers' goods. Slight changes in the demand for consumers' goods are said to produce much more violent variations in the demand for producers' goods. The bibliography for this group in Aftalion's *Les Crises périodiques de surproduction* (Pério-

dic Crises of Overproduction), Paris, 1913, Bickerdike's "A Non-monetary Cause of Fluctuations in Employment" (*Economic Journal*, London, 1914), Bouniation's *Les Crises Economiques* (Paris, 1922) Carver: "A Suggestion for a Theory of Industrial Depressions" (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Harvard, 1903), the Italian economist Fanuo's paper in the *Beiträge zur Geldtheorie* (Contributions to Monetary Theory) edited by Hayek. Some of the recent publications are listed below: J. M. Clark: "Business Acceleration and the Law of Demand" (*Journal of Political Economy*, Chicago, 1917), *Economics of Overhead Costs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), Kuznets's "Relations between Capital Goods and Finished Products in the Business Cycle" (*Economic Essays in honour of W. C. Mitchell*), New York, 1935, Pigou's *Industrial Fluctuations* (1927) and Harrod's *Trade Cycle* (Oxford, 1936). The principle that "deprived demand" fluctuates more violently or is magnified and accelerated can be illustrated by the fact, for instance, that if the demand for shoes rise, say, from 100 to 110, that for machines rises from 50 to 100 or if the demand for apartments rises from 100 to 110, that for houses rises from 80 to 160. In Mitchell's *Business Cycles* (1913), Robertson's *A Study of Industrial Fluctuation* (1915) and Spiethoff's *Krisen* (1925) this principle has been taken to be an intensifying factor in the cycles.

There is a group of theories, rather of a subsidiary although not unimportant character, which explain crises by (1) changes in st, e.g., in Mitchell's *Business Cycles* (1913), (2) horizontal maladjustments in the structure of production, i.e., an over-development of a particular branch of industry, e.g., in Pigou's *Industrial Fluctuations* (1927), Beveridge's *Unemployment* (London, 1930), Mitchell's "Competitive Illusion as a Cause of Business Cycles" (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Harvard, 1924) and (3) overindebtedness, as in Irving Fisher's "Debt-Deflation Theory of Great Depressions" (*Econometrica*, 1933 and *Booms and Depressions* (London, 1933):

The theories of underconsumption, understood as over-saving, and implying that too large a proportion of current income is being saved and too small a proportion spent on consumers' goods, are described on the strength of Hobson's *Industrial System* (London, 1909), *Economics of Unemployment* (1922) and *Rationalisation and Unemployment* (1930), Foster and Catching's *Money* (Boston, 1923), *Profits* (Boston, 1925) and *Road to Plenty* (Boston, 1928), Lederer's "Konjunktur und Krisen" (Conjuncture and Crises) in his *Grundriss der Sozialökonomie*

(Tuebingen, 1925), Aftalion's *Les Crises périodiques de surproduction* (Paris, 1913) and "Theory of Economic cycles based on the Capitalistic Technique of Production" (*Review of Economic Statistics*, Harvard, 1927). A variant of the under-consumption theories is to be found in the idea that the failure of wages to rise sufficiently is the cause of the excesses of the boom. The authorities for this concept are Lederer's "Conjuncture and Crises," Preiser's *Grundzüge der Konjunkturtheorie* (Principles of Conjuncture Theory, 1933) and A.D. Gayer's *Monetary Policy and Economic Stabilization* (New York, 1935).

In regard to the group of psychological theories the authorities, as well known, are Lavington's *Trade Cycle* (London, 1922), Pigou's *Industrial Fluctuations* (London, 1927) and Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London, 1936). It is to be observed that expectations, errors of optimism, errors of pessimism, etc., have a place in all the other groups of theories.

The bibliography of the harvest theories is equally well-known. In W. S. Jevons's *Solar Period and Price of Corn* (London, 1875), *Periodicity of Commercial Crises and its Physical Explanation* (London, 1878), and *Commercial Crises and Sun-spots* (London, 1879), H. S. Jevons's *Sun's Heat and Trade Activity* (London, 1910) and H. L. Moore's *Economic Cycles* (New York, 1924) and *Generating Economic Cycles* (New York, 1923), the readers are aware that the chain of causation runs from cosmic influences to weather conditions, from weather conditions to harvests, and from harvests to general business. The logic is somewhat similar to that in Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*. On the other hand, the rôle of agricultural factors is studied, although no agricultural cycle or harvest periodicity is established, by Pigou, Robertson and Spiethoff. Besides, according to the American economists, Hansen " (The Business Cycle in its Relation to Agriculture in the *Journal of Farm Economics*, 1932) and J. M. Clark (*Strategic Factors in Business Cycle*, 1934), the cyclical fluctuation of business is not caused by fluctuations in agricultural output. It is clearly brought out that there can be no "agriculture theory" of the cycle in the sense of an alternative, say, to the monetary theory or the over-investment theory any more than there can be an "invention theory" or an "earthquake theory."

Haberler is rightly emphatic that each cycle is an historical individual because each is embedded in a socio-economic structure of its

own. In spite of the diversities of what may be called the *Gestalt* or form-complex of cycles Haberler is convinced that it is possible to construct a general theory of universal application such as will explain as much the cycles of the first half of the nineteenth century as those of the present, as much the cycles of industrial adults in Eur-America as those of the industrial youngsters in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America. It is this general theory that he popularizes by discovering the great measure of agreement between the theories enumerated above. The monetary and the over-investment theories have demanded, as they should, his greatest attention. It should be observed, further, that he has excluded from his consideration the "long waves" of twenty to thirty years. In his estimation it is the "short cycles" of three to twelve years that are the trade or business cycles proper.

The diverse theories have been made to yield a more or less synthetic interpretation of the following four phases of every cycle thus considered :

1. The upswing (prosperity phase, expansion).
2. The downspring (depression phase, contraction)
3. The upper turning point, *i.e.*, the turn from prosperity to depression (down-turn, crisis in the formal sense).
4. The lower turning point, *i.e.*, the turn from depression to prosperity (up-turn, revival).

The treatment, eclectic as it naturally is, has served to make strange bed fellows of theorists who believed that they had nothing common between themselves.

The summaries are perspicuous and clear and quite meaty and substantial although even short. A very noteworthy feature consists in the fact that the summaries were revised by the authors whose views have been reported by Haberler.

The international aspects of business cycles have demanded the author's attention. The imperfect mobility of goods as engendered by transport costs and the imperfect mobility of capital due to the localization of investment, credit and banking are the two important factors in this regard that have been carefully dealt with. Equally substantial is the consideration of the diverse national currencies in their bearings on cycles.

Exactly what considerations are at the bottom of Haberler's exclusion of certain previous authors from his analysis it is difficult to surmise. There is no doubt that he has tried to be international in outlook and to bring in the diversity of schools in a systematic manner. Yet it is easy to observe that certain prominent countries have been overlooked or inadequately examined. It is questionable if we can justify some of these exclusions on the simple hypothesis that the publication was not intended to be exhaustive or comprehensive.

Some use has been made of the French economist Aftalion's *Les Crises périodiques de surproduction* (periodical crises of overproduction), 1913. Bouniatian's *Les Crises Economiques* (Economic Crises), 1922, has also been mentioned. But on the whole Haberler's work may be regarded as rather non-French in ideology. This is somewhat inexplicable in view of the fact that the study arose in the atmosphere of the League of Nations where French thought is not at discount. The relatively un-French atmosphere of this publication is regrettable because French investigations into the crisis theory are quite substantial and marked by originality. A work like Baudin's *La Monnaie et la Formation des Prix* (Money and the Formation of Prices), Vol. I (1936), 632 pages deals with the entire problem in an exceedingly detailed manner (pp. 520-74). The bibliography of this French study is in many respects as voluminous and comprehensive as that of Haberler's special treatise, although, of course, the viewpoints are different. At one point Baudin observes that "Anglo-Saxon writers accuse French economists of studying money in a closed vase." But they themselves, says he, have exaggerated in the opposite direction and have served to render of "money the pivot of entire economics." His standpoint is indicated as follows: "We are not going to follow on this path, but we should however discover the man behind the money. Just as in reality there is no general level of prices so there is no homogeneous human block as purchaser of goods and services."

It is an abuse of language, says Baudin, to describe the period of expansion as one of prosperity and the other as that of depression. In his judgment the alleged depression should really be an era of joy for the consumer on account of the diminution of the cost of living. It should also be an *ère de progrès* for the producer because of the improvements introduced in technique and organization by the business managers anxious to survive.

According to Baudin the relative shortage of gold cannot be invoked as a cause because, for instance, the crisis of 1929 was born in the U. S. A., a region where gold had been accumulating since 1920. Similarly, in Germany it was during the period of depression (1890-95) that the stock of gold was increasing rather than during that of prosperity (1895-1900).

Nor can the issue of notes be described as a cause, says Baudin. In England the crisis of 1847 came after the Bank Charter Act of 1844 which was calculated to restrict the note-circulation. On the other hand, neither in England nor in France was the expansion of credit in 1847 on account of large imports of cereals or in 1864 on account of the rise in the price of cotton followed by any crisis. In the U. S. A. bank failures occurred chiefly in 1931 showing that it was an effect and not the cause of the crisis.

The purely monetary theories are of course rejected by Baudin *in toto*. But he rejects likewise the purely a-monetary theories as well. He accepts a phrase of the Italian economist Loria's "La Superstition monétaire" (The Monetary Superstition) published in the *Revue Economique Internationale* (1933) to say that the investigations have to be carried into the most profound strata of the relations between production and distribution (p. 559).

A few French contributions to the theory of cycles may be listed here. Juglar's *Des Crises commerciales et de leur retour périodique en France, en Angleterre et aux Etats Unis* (On commercial crises and on their periodical return in France, England and the U. S. A.) was published in the 80's of the last century. Among the post-war and recent works may be mentioned Lescure's *Des Crises générales et périodiques de surproduction* (On General and Periodical Crises of Overproduction), 4th edition, 1932, Eisler's *La Monnaie, cause et remède de la crise économique mondiale* (Money as Cause and Remedy of the World-economic Crisis), 1932, Simiand's *Les Fluctuations économiques à longue période et la crise mondiale* (Economic Fluctuations of Long Period and the World Crisis), 1932, Bouniatian's *Credit et Conjoncture*, 1933, Ansiaux's *L'Inflation du crédit et la prévention des crises* (Credit Inflation and the Prevention of Crises), 1934 and Baudin's *La Monnaie et la Formation des Prix* (Money and the Formation of Prices), Vol. I (1936). This last may not have been seen by Haberler as his manuscript had perhaps been ready for the press previous to the publication of the French treatise. But Baudin's

Le Credit was published in 1934. In any case his strong views had been well-known since his paper on "Les Facteurs de dépression d'après les banquiers anglais" (Factors of Depression according to British bankers) published in the *Revue d'Economie Politique* of January, 1931. Another paper of Baudin's mentionable in this connection is "La Crise et le pouvoir d'achat" (Crisis and the Purchasing Power) in *Revue des Deux-Mondes* for May, 1936.

In Haberler's study Italian thought is conspicuous by its absence. As a psychological interpreter of cycles Pareto's *Cours d'Economie Politique* (1897) and *Manuale di Economia Politica* (1907) did pioneering work. It is well known that in Pareto's judgment socialism as state-intervention would be a poor substitute for individual initiative in regard to business forecasting. Among recent contributions are to be mentioned those of Pantaleoni, Benini, Gini, Virgili, Fanno, Mortara and others. • In *Rivista di Economia Politica* for 1931, Fossati wrote on "Teoria degli Sbocchi" (Theory of Markets) and "Crisi di Sovraproduzione" (Crises of Overproduction). Carli's "La Teoria delle Crisi" come Ricerca centrale dell'Economia dinamica" (The Theory of Crises as the Central Research of Dynamic Economics) published in *Archivio di Studi Corporativi* is like Fossati's paper a detailed study. Carli rejects the monistic monetary interpretation and looks for the cycle in the discrepancies between supply and demand. In Carli's analysis the distinction between the agricultural and the industrial regions is fundamental in so far as economic dynamics is concerned. And in this position he connects himself up with the German theorists Sombart and Marx.

Haberler's preferences and exclusions in the matter of leading documents of the cycle-theory call for another observation. From chapter to chapter one encounters a very large amount of German material both in original as well as translation. To this extent the work will be appreciated by English-speaking readers, especially as they will find for themselves in this presentation some of the supplements to and criticisms of the Anglo-American literature from the German side. And yet it is worth mentioning that the German authors chiefly considered are Hayek (now British), Schumpeter (now American) and Spiethoff. It must be observed that justice has been done to the work of Spiethoff, and this is another solid contribution of this book because Spiethoff's analysis is penetrating and deserves to be made popular. But all the same, one is led to inquire why Marx

has been referred to only once (and in an incidental manner) and Sombart entirely ignored. The distinction between "endogenous" and "exogenous" theories was perhaps first given by Sombart who has besides a leading rôle in the theory of cycles in other respects. And in so far as Marx believed that the circulation of money may take place without crises but that crises cannot take place without monetary circulation his position in the cycle-theory is well worth looking into even today.

Utterly inexplicable is Haberler's exclusion of Wagemann, whose *Einführung in die Konjunkturlehre* (Introduction to the Theory of Conjunction), Leipzig (1929) is a comprehensive treatise on the subject as much in criticism of existing literature of all schools as in the constructive interpretation of the phenomena in question. Wagemann's examination of the German and the British conjunctures from 1820 to 1913 and of the German alone down to 1938, in regard to marriage curves and business curves is a mentionable contribution to the indices of prosperity and depression. In his classification of economic regions according to the grade of capitalistic developments we encounter a new form of disharmony in the absence of territorial uniformity, and this can be a fruitful source of economic disturbances or cycles.

Wagemann is a pluralist like many others. Besides, he is not sanguine about the possibility of economic forecasting in any significant sense, although he attaches importance to "economic barometers" and indeed is in charge of the economic barometer at Berlin as Director of the *Institut für Konjunkturforschung* (Imperial Institute for Researches into Conjunction).

It is not necessary to go into the exclusions in hypercritical manner. The work produced by Haberler, as it is, will be used by scholars and general readers with great profit as a lucid and rationalized presentation of economic dynamics.

INDIAN WRITERS OF ENGLISH PROSE

PROFESSOR DIWANCHAND SHARMA.

THE study of English began in India after the establishment of the British rule, and for the last many years this language has been compulsory in the Anglo-Vernacular middle schools, high schools, and colleges of India. This fact has been regretted by not a few Indians, and there are many who have felt that its adoption as the medium of instruction at the high school and college stages of our education has been extremely deplorable, for it has cramped our national intelligence, limited our powers of thinking and made our grasp of the various subjects imperfect. The student has under the present circumstances to struggle against two difficulties the mastering of a foreign language and comprehending of a new subject. Moreover, it has been said that the English language is illogical and tricky, and the foreigner does not find it so easy to learn, to handle, and to use it. The result of many years of hard labour in learning this language is disappointing, for the English words are hard to pronounce, the English idiom is difficult to acquire, the rules of English Grammar, if there are any, are extremely hard to learn and the rhythm of English prose and verse is beyond many of us. These objections have not been urged only by Indians, but some Englishmen also have echoed them. They have many a time bewailed the waste of national intelligence involved in learning this difficult language. But while there have been some foreigners who have sympathised with the Indians in their efforts to master this tongue, there are others who have made fun of their real or supposed mistakes in handling it. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch in his lecture on Jargon referred to Babu English, which may be taken to be a way of writing that always fights shy of the simple, plain and obvious way of expressing an idea. He thought that the Indian Babu was incapable of calling a spade, but must always be at pains to embellish a statement, to be ornate and to be florid. The learned professor referred to one instance at Babu English in particular and said how a Babu who had to convey to a friend of his the sad news of his mother's death wrote, "Regret to inform you, the hand that rocked the cradle has

kicked the bucket." This sentence showed how the Indian mind ran after the metaphor and ornaments which are supposed to lend dignity to utterance.

Connected with the habit of the Indian mind there is another to which Cardinal Newman made a reference in his lecture on Literature. The Cardinal did not have particularly Indians in view, but what he said was partly descriptive of them as of the eastern or the oriental mind in general. He believed that love of fine writing is ingrained in the eastern mind, which is prone to think that thoughts and their expression are two different things. He thought that this was due to the institution of the professional writer and the prevalence of illiteracy in the East. Illiteracy being very common in the East, the man who had to ask a favour of some one or to communicate with anybody had to seek the good offices of a professional man of letters and the scribe justified the confidence reposed in him by tricking out his client's thoughts in unnatural and extravagant words. Says Newman, "The man of thought comes to the man of words; and the man of words, duly instructed in the thought, dips the pen of desire into the ink of devotedness, and proceeds to spread it over the page of desolation. Then the nightingale of affection is heard to warble to the rose of loveliness while the breeze of anxiety plays around the brow of expectation." It is believed that this kind of style is characteristic of the easterner or of the Indian, who is always anxious to indulge in fine writing.

Another habit of the Indian writer to which exception has been taken is his love of emphasis or of over-statement. I do not know if this is an essential characteristic of the Indian mind. But it cannot be denied that whereas the Englishman would like to err on the side of under-statement, the Indian would like to over-stress his point. This, it may be urged, might be due to some psychological reasons consequent upon the servitude of Indians to foreigners. The person who is sure of himself and who believes in his innate superiority goes about his work quietly, but the person who suffers from the inferiority complex in some way comes to the conclusion that he must shout in order to draw attention to himself. In this connection I am reminded of a story. A young college student took one of his essays over which he had spent considerable pains to one of his Indian professors, who was so pleased with it that he called it "excellent." The same composition was shown later on to an English professor, who returned

it with the remarks "not bad." The young man not very pleased with this felt that he had not been treated very fairly by the English professor, but he happened to express his sense of disappointment to a friend of his who knew much better. The wise friend told him that the "excellent" of the Indian professor meant very much the same as the "not bad" of the English Professor, for the Englishman generally tries to err on the side of under-statement rather than that of over-statement.

Another defect which has been pointed out in the Indian writers of English prose is this that they lack in a sense of humour, which is so generally diffused in English prose. For want of it, English prose written by Indians becomes rather ponderous, lacks in light and shade, and becomes irksome to read. This attack is perhaps justified to a large extent, for the evidences of humour in all its forms and all its varieties are not always to be found amongst Indian writers.

There are very few Indian writers who have that infectious sense of fun which Charles Lamb had or Eric Linklater has. Very few Indian writers have shown that sparkling and scintillating wit which some Irish writers like Oscar Wilde or Bernard Shaw have shown. The art of caricature, of which Dickens was such a great master, is not practised with much success by many Indian writers, nor do we find many manifestations of that kindly humour, which according to Carlyle, is the best kind of humour. But it should be remembered that Indian writers such as Bankim Chandra are not deficient in a sense of the ludicrous and the grotesque, and we find many examples of these in their books. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that every human being is not capable of making a joke, and that it becomes all the more difficult to make a joke in a foreign tongue. Still no one would deny that as time passes the Indian writer would be able to translate into words many of the elements of the Indian life that strike him as incongruous.

Another fault that has been laid at the door of Indian writers is their excessive fondness for journalese and their extreme addiction to clichés. Translated into simple words it means that Indian writers show preference for ready-made and standardised phrases which express sense only approximately, and which save the writer from taking the trouble to think for himself; but it should be remembered that it is not every English writer who is able to use prose creatively;

who can use words in new contexts and in new combinations and who can coin phrases that satisfy and delight or surprise or startle. The charges that are brought against the Indian writers of English prose in this respect are not very different from those which are brought against English writers also by many competent critics.

Mr. Joad, himself a very competent and lucid and delightful writer, has referred in his essays to a large number of similar vices and defects of expression from which his own countrymen suffer. He believes that the poison of journalese is affecting their style very much, and most people suffer from the vices of over-emphasis and over-expression. To prove this contention he has quoted an example given by Galsworthy in his lecture on Expression. A gentleman wanted to say that the cat was on the mat, but he thought that this would be too common-place. So he imported something of literary effect into this statement and re-wrote it in this way:—"Stretching herself with feline grace, and emitting those sounds immemorably connected with satisfaction, Grimalkin lay on a rug whose richly variegated pattern spoke eloquently of the Orient and all the wonders of *The Arabian Nights*." This shows the desire for literary effect at its worst, and we find how it plays havoc with the use of the English language. The use of long and many-syllabled words has also been derided by many other writers who believe that it is a legacy from Dr. Johnson and a grave defect from which many English writers have suffered. This is how a novelist writes about a young lady. "She had not passed the earlier part of life without the flattery of courtship, and the joys of triumph, but had danced the round of gaiety amidst the murmurs of envy and the gratulations of applause; had been attended from pleasure to pleasure by the great, the sprightly and the vain, and had seen her regard solicited by the obsequiousness of gallantry, the gaiety of wit, and the timidity of love."

Now these faults are such as are common to Indian as well as English writers of prose, and there is no reason why Indians should be exclusively blamed for them.

There are also certain Englishmen who believe that Indian English is another name for the mis-use of words, the misunderstanding of idioms, for the misplacing of the definite article, for mistakes in the use of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns, and for many other kinds of errors connected with metaphors and vocabulary. For instance, an Indian would use an article where no article

is required, would use no article where the definite article is necessary, would use the indefinite article where no article is wanted, would omit the article where the indefinite article is required, would use the definite article in place of the indefinite or *vice versa*, and would use the article in place of a pronoun or an adjective, or a pronoun instead of an article. This list I have taken from the pages of a book which a very assiduous English member of the Indian Civil Service has compiled for the benefit of those Indians who would learn to use English correctly. But it is not only about our mistakes in this direction that he has an uneasy conscience, he finds also that we do not understand what difference it makes in the meanings of the verbs when adverbs like on, off, up, away, are added to them. Similarly he finds that we are not very careful in the use of prepositions and conjunctions. We also commit serious as well as amusing mistakes when we use conjunctions, possessive pronouns and auxiliary verbs. As regards the syntax of the English speech and the use of the metaphor the Indians are great sinners. To charges like this one may plead guilty without forgetting that there are some Englishmen who do not feel very happy about the way in which many Englishmen speak and write their own mother tongue. In this respect it may not be out of place to mention the pieces of advice which Fowler has been giving to his own countrymen, and what Bridges and other writers have been saying about the debasing of the English language, spoken as well as written. Mr. St. John Ervine only recently voiced a very effective protest in the pages of the "Observer" against the debasing of the English tongue. He felt that the English language was being vulgarised because of the misguided efforts of many Englishmen and Americans. From this one may derive at least one consolation. Though Indians have been very often accused of writing English incorrectly and unidiomatically, they have not so far been charged with polluting its pure stream.

A very sympathetic gentleman, Mr. R. C. Goffin, who had something to do with teaching young Indian students, the art of writing and speaking English in India has told us in a paper which he wrote for the Society of Pure English that some Indians use what he called unassimilated and vernacular Indian English. For instance, he says that Indians use incorrectly such words as well, yes and no, keep and others. They also use some unwarranted plurals and misuse certain adjectives and adverbs and conjunctions. He also feels that there is

a tendency among Indians to latinity and rhetoric, because the written tongue with a few exceptions remains widely divorced from "the work a day prose of ordinary conversation." This tendency, he believes, has been accentuated by the prescription for studies of such prose writers as Burke and Macaulay and to the love of what he calls verbalism. He has also noted how fond some Indians are of initialism and to support this contention he has given one example :—

' H.E.'s P.A. has written D.O. to the A.S.P. about the question of T.A's. The D.C. himself will visit the S.D.O.P.W.D. today at 10 a.m. S.T'

which translated into work-a-day English means :—

' His Excellency's Personal Assistant has written a demi-official letter to the Assistant Superintendent of Police about the question of Travelling Allowances. The Deputy Commissioner himself will visit the Sub-divisional Officer of the Public Works Department to-day at 10 a.m. Standard Time.'

He has also been struck by the absence of light humour amongst the writings of Indians and by their heavy moralistic tone, their love of flashy phrases, of clichés and catchwords. But the most curious thing of all is that according to Mr. Goffin Indians still prefer the archaic in vocabulary and phrase and have a preference for nineteenth-century English. All these criticisms are to some extent justified, but it is also useful to remember that Indians are getting away from all these vicious habits and are learning to use English more correctly and expressively.

In spite of these counsels and criticisms, there has been not a little appreciation of the Indian masters of English. Of the long line of discerning admirers of Indian masters of English it is not necessary to take any account. But it is enough to say that there have been many Englishmen who have admired the capacity of Indians to use English not only competently but brilliantly. We read of an Englishman who was Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency and who sent some of the essays of Mahadev Gorind Ranadé, when he was still a student, to some professors of English in England to show to them how well an Indian student was able to express himself in this difficult language. Recently Mr. E. E. Speight, Senior Professor

of English at Osmania University, Hyderabad, and formerly of the Imperial University, Tokio, brought out a book entitled "Indian Masters of English," in which he gave specimens from the writings of about a dozen writers of English. It is a pity that he confined himself mainly to the writings of those who are still alive, otherwise he could have extended the list considerably. But it is not necessary to speak of the omissions in this book. It is also unnecessary to pay a compliment to Professor Speight for his judicious enthusiasm for and noble admiration of those Indians who have attempted to write in a foreign language. Professor Speight is struck, in the first place, with the variety of English prose done in India. There is hardly any form of it for which Indians have not shown their aptitude. Mr. Bonamy Dobree has divided prose into three classes, descriptive prose, explanatory prose and emotive prose. He has said further that descriptive prose includes descriptions of three kinds—descriptions of action and description of people and of things. By description of action he means a story or pure narrative, and by description of people he means a character study and by description of things he means not merely description of a physical object, but something which will convey neither persons nor events. He believes that explanatory prose has many branches. It may mean scientific description or legal prose, philosophising or moralistic prose, theological disquisition or political writing, historical prose or prose of criticism. Of emotive prose there are so many varieties that it is not possible to describe them all, but it is enough to say that the aim of all such writings is to rouse our emotions. "It is prose which aims directly at the emotions of the reader and not at his mind." All these kinds of prose can be found in the writings of Indian writers. In other words, Indian writers have attempted descriptive, narrative, persuasive and dramatic prose. In the realm of descriptive prose they have not been content to give merely details of what they have seen or heard or touched or smelt either in reality or in imagination, but have also been able to import into it all kinds of feeling or to make it the vehicle of thought or mild philosophy. In the realm of narrative prose the Indian writer has remained content not only with describing merely outward events, but has also given sometimes a glimpse of the inner thoughts and feelings of persons. So far as persuasive prose is concerned the Indian writer has done well in all its branches. In expounding a viewpoint, in arguing a case, in instructing opinion and inculcating a lesson or in

exhorting about a particular course of action Indian writers have done supremely well. It is therefore no wonder that in the domains of oratory, criticism, logic, philosophy and history, they have achieved much. They have not, however, been so successful in handling the satire in its various manifestations. One would also wish that they were as successful in the domain of dramatic prose as they are in others. But such is not the case. The business of dramatic prose, says a critic, is to reproduce the conversation of two or more persons, and by that conversation to enlighten the reader about these people and what is happening between these and within them. This kind of prose is made use of in novels, dramas and biographies. But it is a pity that in this domain the Indian writer has not shown that resourcefulness which he has shown elsewhere. It is perhaps due to the fact that Indians have adopted and assimilated the bookish English prose more readily than the spoken English.

From another point of view also the variety of Indian prose is not only astonishing, but also rich. "The character sketch, the historical narrative, the short story, nature study, the description of social conditions whether in the past or in the present, legal definition, moral exhortation, religious disquisition, philosophical exposition:"—all these have been attempted with much success. Equally wide is the range when one comes to the subject matter of these writers. The teeming life of India in all its aspects, in the village lanes or the bazaars of the cities, has come within the range of these writers, and they are able to give some idea of the infinite variety, complexity and intricacy of the Indian life. It is therefore no wonder that a sympathetic observer like Prof. Speight writes:—"In all this wonderful time of surprising development and discovery there is surely nothing more remarkable than that so many thinkers and writers of India, of very different faith and language and cultural circumstances, should have taken rank among the greatest writers of English. There is nothing like it in history. To read or to listen to Mrs. Naidu, the Begum Shah Nawaz, Dr. Tagore, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Ross Masood, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali, Sir Jagadis Bose, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir T. B. Sapru or Sir Mohammed Iqbal is an experience that is full of the happiest promise for the world. And there are hundreds more, not to speak of the thousands of young men and women all over India who are using English daily, not because circumstances compel them to do so, but because they turn to it as a

means of expression of the higher aspirations—the power working within them.”

This is all very encouraging and one may hope with the writer that some of the Indian writers of English prose will be able to take rank among the greatest writers of English.

It would not, however, be enough merely to say that Indian writers have achieved a great deal of distinction in the various departments of English prose. I think the best thing that a person can do is to give some actual specimens of prose written by Indians. It is, however, wrong to say that Indian writers follow still the traditions of English style current in the Victorian Age. This might have been true of writers like Surendra Nath Banerjea, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji and others, but this cannot be held about the writers who are producing eminently readable stuff these days. A writer has summed up the characteristics of modern English style as follows :—

1. It is intensely alert and alive, not only to big but to little things.

2. It is not ‘bookish’ but rather like good talk, simple, direct, clear, and often somewhat staccato.

3. It avoids ‘fine writing’ or pompous passages, though it can be eloquent in a simple way.

4. It readily admits expressions and phrases which earlier writers would have avoided as undignified, such as ‘half a dozen,’ ‘fobbed off with,’ and even ‘rather awful.’

5. It goes straight to the mark, like a motor car.

6. It is pictorial in a marked degree and alive to the value of fine detail.

7. It often has a sense of fun which is not dependent upon the making of jokes.

8. It follows the general rules of grammar, but is not terrorized by them.

Finally and chiefly :

9. It is easy to read because it deals with things and ideas which are familiar to us, and therefore does not require the “notes” which are so often necessary to explain allusions in prose of an earlier day, and which spoil the enjoyment of our reading.

Anyone who goes through the pages of the books written by Indians in English these days would be convinced that we have shed the false glitter of the Victorian prose and have assimilated the simple beauty of modern English prose. It is true the Indian graduate has still a tendency to indulge in fine writing, but others are singularly free from this kind of literary viciousness. Moreover, it would be found that the Indian writer is happily free from slang, and is very conscientious in observing the rules of English grammar and idiom. It may therefore be safe to assert that though there are not many Indian writers who can be described as artists, there are a large number of Indians who can be described as craftsmen. In other words, though many display skill in handling English words with consummate ease there are only some who can produce "a spiritual and aesthetic effect" upon the reader.

Among the artists of English prose in India it may not be amiss to mention the names of Tagore, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Sirinivas Shastri, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Gandhiji, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Shri Aurobindo Ghosh, Krishna Murti and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami. All these writers at their best are able to communicate their thoughts and experiences in a way which has a deeply moving effect upon the reader. In other words, their prose at its best gives an impression of depth of sincerity, of weight and warmth and stirs the depths of our being. It will not be possible to quote from the works of all these men, but a few specimens from the writings of some of these would show that they are capable of lifting prose above the triviality of every-day use. Here is a passage from *Eighteen Months in India* by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, which has a simple and moving eloquence about it, and which has a profoundly spiritual appeal :—

"And yet, adventure is always there for the adventurous, and the wide world still beckons to those who have courage and spirit, and the stars hurl their challenge across the skies. Need one go to the Poles or the deserts or the mountains for adventure? What a mess we have made of this life of ours and of human society, and with plenty and joy and a free development of the human spirit open to us, we yet starve in misery and have our spirits crushed in a slavery worse than that of old. Let us do our bit to change this so that human beings may become worthy of their great inheritance and make their

lives full of beauty and joy and the things of the spirit. The adventure of life beckons and it is the greatest adventure of all.

"The desert is covered with darkness but the train rushes on to its appointed goal. So also perhaps humanity is stumbling along though the night is dark and the goal hidden from us. Soon the day will come and instead of the desert there will be the blue-green sea to greet us."

The noble and impassioned tone of this passage is unmistakable, and its high seriousness is evident. The writer passes from the particular to the universal and from the personal to the cosmic, and the transition is beautifully managed. The passage does not thus fill us merely with a tendency to dream but calls forth also our qualities of noble action. There is in it a general confusion that we have made a mess of our life, but there is also a fervent appeal to do our bit to improve things in this world. There is a veiled symbolic connection between the train rushing through the dark desert and humanity stumbling along through this world. The mention of the stars and the pole, and of the desert and the night and the sea gives this passage a kind of elemental background. We feel as if human beings are working out their destinies in the midst of all these mysterious forces. All the same, the writer has not produced the effect by using any ornaments, but has used only simple and familiar and apt words, and has endowed them with great force.

Here is another passage from *The Balanced Mind* by Mr. Srinivas Shastri, which is rich in interest :—

"Some may feel a little comforted after reading this passage, but I fear it applies to the facts of India with much greater force than to those of America. It is the privilege of Convocation orators to formulate counsels of perfection to their bored audiences, and if I appear to tread in their path at this point, I can only plead in defence that I do not consider my suggestion a counsel of perfection. Outside the requirements of our profession, newspapers form the pabulum of our reading. But oftentimes an important topic comes up in which the interest is maintained for several weeks, and each man misses something or other necessary for a full understanding of it. Suppose a fair-sized town in which twenty people joined together and procured access to a few magazines and newspapers. Let us imagine them to meet one specified day every month, at which it was the duty of one member or of two

as the case may be, to give a connected account of two selected matters from his reading. You could on such an occasion hear all about fundamentalism, the trial at Dayton and some of the arguments used on both sides, at least the Biblical passages relied on by Bryan. The discussion that followed might ramify in several interesting issues. The theory of evolution would naturally come in, and a member of wider reading than ordinary would perhaps outline the modifications that had been made since Darwin's day. Another would draw a picture of the personality of Bryan, so simple and yet of such vivid interest. You might hear of Bryan's visit to India and the violent antipathy evoked in Anglo-Indian society by the book in which he recorded his experiences. A member with a turn for practical speculation—pardon the paradoxical expression—might invite his audience to consider what would happen in some of our provinces in the extremely probable contingency of a majority passing obscurantist laws of the kind under which Mr. Scopes was convicted and enforcing them. The coal crisis in England, the Security pact, the Indian disability in Tanganyika with special reference to the British mandate, the questions involved in the reference to the Skeen Committee—these are only some of the numerous illustrations that might be brought forward for proving the great intellectual benefit that such a league or association would confer on the locality. By spending an hour at one of these monthly meetings you could learn a lot of interesting and useful matter which it would take much time and energy to find for yourself. 'This might seem child's diet to grave and reverend professors hankering after philosophical speculations and recent scientific advances. But the busy professional man whom I am thinking of would do well, at least in the beginning, to avoid strong meat. Whenever you hold such a meeting, go not, I warn you, too near the chessboard or the bridge table, lest by heedless chatter you distract minds intent on vital and intricate problems. Nor should you allow any but a poor man's tea to refresh you; rich hosts have a captivating way of giving precedence to the body over the mind, and the discussion would shift its object almost entirely. One more caution, if you please, before I pass on. If the principal speaker appointed for the day happens to be a lawyer in good practice, do not forget to provide yourself with a handy substitute; for some witless client may remove him at the last moment to a more profitable debate, and not even allow him to give you due notice.'

Here we find the well-bred ease of the writer and his intimate and confidential tone, both of which would be worthy of any good essayist. The whole of this passage is a very fine specimen of persuasive prose, in which the writer's sole aim is to lead his reader slowly and gradually but inevitably into a course of action which he approves. But while doing so he gives quite a number of pen pictures, and there is an under-current of gentle criticism, sometimes playful and sometimes sarcastic. The movement of the sentences is slow and stately, and there is a very judicious mixture of long and short words and of what is familiar and what is allusive.

Here is a passage from "My School" by Rabindranath Tagore:—

"I well remember the surprise and annoyance of an experienced headmaster, reputed to be a successful disciplinarian, when he saw one of the boys of my school climbing a tree and choosing a fork of the branches for settling down to his studies. I had to say to him in explanation that 'childhood is the only period of life when civilised man can exercise his choice between the branches of a tree and his drawing-room chair, and should I deprive this boy of that privilege because I, as a grown-up man, am barred from it?' What is surprising is to notice the same headmaster's approbation of the boy's studying Botany. He believes in an impersonal knowledge of the tree because that is science, but not in a personal experience of it. This growth of experience leads to forming instinct, which is the result of nature's own method of instruction. The boys of my school have acquired instinctive knowledge of the physiognomy of the tree. By the least touch they know where they can find a foothold upon an apparently inhospitable trunk; they know how far they can take liberty with the branches, how to distribute their bodies' weight so as to make themselves least burdensome to branchlets. My boys are able to make the best possible use of the tree in the matter of gathering fruits, taking rest and hiding from undesirable pursuers. I myself was brought up in a cultured home in a town, and as far as my personal behaviour goes, I have been obliged to act all through my life as if I were born in a world where there are no trees. Therefore I consider it as a part of education for my boys to let them fully realise that they are in a scheme of existence where trees are a substantial fact, not merely as generating chlorophyll and taking carbon from the air, but as living trees."

I have selected this passage to show how well the poet can write prose whose sole end is exposition. Of passages of poetic beauty, of moving eloquence, of lyrical charm, and of poetic sensibility, there is no dearth in his writings. But there are very few persons who think that he can write with such ease and charm about homely and familiar experiences. The point of the whole passage is this that children should not be forbidden to climb up trees and that the children of Shantiniketan feely indulge in this kind of pastime. But this has been brought out so vividly and so delightfully ; the references to the experienced headmaster give to this passage a reality which it would otherwise lack. The phrases such as 'the physiognomy of the tree' and 'an apparently inhospitable trunk' lead us to believe that the writer looks upon trees as living trees which have a character of their own as human beings. There is also implied a vivid contrast in this passage between living experience and impersonal knowledge, between a smattering of scientific knowledge and a knowledge of things at first hand, between the old type of instruction and the new kind of education. Though it is critical in tone and satirical in places, yet it is alive with a personal note and poetic sensibility.

It may perhaps be urged that an Indian always finds himself at home in writing reflective or moralistic prose, but he begins to blunder when he has to describe every-day things or relate every-day happenings. But even this charge can be refuted if we turn over the pages of some of the books written in English by Indians. Here is a passage from Gay-Neck : a story of a pigeon by Dhangopal Mukerji :—

"Gay-Neck I put on that concrete wall every day. There he sat for hours at a time facing the wind, but that was all. One day I put some peanuts on the roof and called him to hop down and get them. He looked at me with an inquiring eye for a few moments. Turning from me he looked down again at the peanuts. He repeated this process several times. When at last he was convinced that I was not going to bring these delicious morsels up for him to eat, he began to walk up and down the railing, craning his neck occasionally towards the peanuts about three feet below. At last after fifteen minutes of heart-breaking hesitancy he hopped down. Just as his feet struck the floor his wings, hitherto unopened, suddenly spread themselves out full sail as he balanced himself over the nuts. What a triumph !

"About this time I noticed the change of colours on his feathers. Instead of a nondescript gray-blue, a glossy aquamarine glowed all over

him. And suddenly one morning in the sunlight his throat glistened like iridescent beads.

"Now came the supreme question of flight. I waited for his parents to teach him the first lessons, though I helped the only way I could. Every day for a few minutes I made him perch on my wrist, then I would swing my arm up and down many times, and in order to balance himself on such a difficult perch he had to shut and open his wings frequently. That was good for him, but there ended my part of the teaching. You may ask me the reason of my hurrying matters so. He was already behind in his flying lessons, and in June, the rains begin to fall in India; and with the approach of the rainy season any long flight becomes impossible. I wished to train him in learning his directions as soon as I could."

In this passage we are told how a pigeon learns to fly. Anyone who reads it carefully would know how well the writer has been able to invest a bird with almost human sensibilities and how he is able to import into his description which is rich in detail and note of suppressed tenderness and of gentle humour. We find that this passage abounds in intimate and homely details about the pigeon, but they are not given in a dull manner for there are touches of glowing colour and of feeling in it.

Instances can be multiplied to show how some of the Indian writers have used English prose artistically, but it would be unnecessary.

As regards craftsmanship, we have many shining examples. All these craftsmen fulfil the three-fold function of prose. They are able to express their meaning clearly, they use apt language and their writings give satisfaction, if not pleasure. This kind of prose one finds plentifully in Indian periodicals and occasionally in Indian dailies. The purpose of this kind of prose being merely utilitarian, it is made use of in the office, the press, the law court, the school room, the college lecture hall, the college laboratory, on the public platform, in the legislatures and in business. That in all its varieties it is used very competently no one will deny. At the same time, it would be interesting to know how the standard of the writing of English prose in India is gradually and imperceptibly going up. This would be clear to any one who reads the editorials in some of our leading English dailies, listens to the speeches of some Indian politicians and business men and reads some of the convocation addresses that are delivered at the various

universities of India by non-educationists. It would be a treat to listen to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Satya Murti, Mr. Jinnha and Jayakar it, would be simply delightful to read a page by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Col. K. N. Haksar, Mr. Pothan Joseph or Mr. K. M. Pannikar. The editorials in the *Modern Review*, the *Twentieth Century*, the *Triveni*, the *Calcutta Review*, the *Indian Review* and other periodicals attain to a very high level of craftsmanship. Nothing can give us a better idea of the variety of English prose than a cursory glance at the section entitled *Indian Periodicals* which is a regular feature in the *Modern Review of Calcutta*. There we find how the savants and scholars, the economists, the lawyers, the educationists, the historians, the scientists and the politicians of India are making a splendid use of the English language. They try not merely to clarify the subject under discussion, but they also seek to drive home a point and to impress the readers with the cogency of their arguments.

Indian writers are also doing worth while work in the various departments of prose. The novel with all its tributaries is receiving due attention in India. Though the best kind of novel writing is bengi done in the vernaculars, yet competent writers of novels in English are not wanting. One would very much like that there should be such great novelists writing in English as Bankimchandra Chatterji, Saratchandra Chatterji, Munshi Prem Chand, and Rattan Nath Sarshar, but it is a pity that writers of their high calibre are not to be found. Still one cannot but be struck by the work of Mr. Venkatramani, Mr. Mulk Raj Anand and many others in this domain. Though the realistic novel has its practitioners, yet novels of adventure and mystery, the historical novel and novels dealing with sociological and political problems are not to be found in abundance.

In the domain of the short story we have the work of Shanta and Sita Debi, talented daughters of Ramananda Chatterji, editor of the *Modern Review*, and a few others. But though the short story is a very popular form of expression in the vernaculars, it has not been very much cultivated by the writers in English. This is a great loss to India from the point of view of international understanding. The world at large gets its views about India from the works of foreigners, most of whom are biased or have some kind of axe to grind. It cannot therefore be denied that their view of India is usually distorted. They give us pictures of romantic India or highly coloured snapshots

of its mystic life. But they do not give any picture of India in all its variety and complexity. Here is a field which Indian writers would do well to cultivate. The essay has been more neglected in India than any other kind of prose. When one talks about it one takes it to mean what Hazlitt or Lamb did, or what Robert Lynd is doing now. In other words, the essay proper has not found many worthy practitioners in this country. If there are any they are buried in the pages of the college magazines in India, for the well established monthlies and journals do not always print them. Of course, there is no dearth of the critical essay in this country, for many of the professors at Indian Universities have attempted this kind of writing successfully. It would however be desirable if the same could be done for the essay in English as was done by Bankim Chandra in Bengali. In the same way, of good letters which is a form of art there is great scarcity in India. The only letters worth reading in print that I have come across are those by Toru Dutt. They have that touch of homeliness, sincerity and intimacy which a true letter should always have. But of the other kind of letters which seeks to express an opinion or ventilate a grievance there are many. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru has also resorted to this form for giving glimpses of the history of the world. But his letters have neither the spirit nor the form which is proper to this kind of writing. It does not, however, mean that they are not admirable in themselves. In the same way the one-act play and the full length play in prose have not been attended to very much. Here is another prose form which is waiting for its recognition at the hands of Indian writers.

In the realm of biography and autobiography Indians have done splendidly well. The biographies of Sir Feroze Shah Mehta, C. R. Das and B. G. Tilak would do credit to any country. Similarly the autobiographies of Gandhiji, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sir Surendranath Banerjea would live on account of their enduring qualities. The late Mr. G. S. Raghvana attempted sketches of Indian worthies in the way in which Mr. A. G. Gardiner wrote about well-known Englishmen but it is a pity that these were not published in book form. I think there is a vast field for this kind of writing in India.

From all this it would appear that the Indian writers of English have neglected many things, but they are not wholly to blame for it. In the first place, they have to contend against the apathy of Indian public which has somehow an idea that if a book in English is to be

read, it should necessarily be by an Englishman. At the same time, there are very few publishing houses in India which publish books that would interest the general reading public. In our country the only publications that pay are books for school children and college students, and therefore we have much healthy competition in these lines, but the other kinds of publication are sadly neglected. Furthermore, the capacity of the average educated Indian to buy books is very limited, and even if books are published he seldom cares to buy them. This does not mean that he does not read them. He does so by borrowing them from a library or some kindly friend. I believe that it should be the patriotic duty of every Indian to encourage the authors of his country for it is only they who can help to create a cultural life in India and also bring about a proper understanding of our country abroad. The newspapers of India have also a duty to perform in this respect, and it is this that they should open their columns to the reviews of the books written by Indians. At present reviewing in India is in a very depressed condition and barring a few papers such as the *Modern Review* of Calcutta and the *Hindu* of Madras, there are very few papers that have regular columns for reviews.

But even if we do not have much first-rate writing in English at present, we have books of high quality in our vernaculars. I feel that some of these books should be translated into English and made available to the English reading public in India as well as elsewhere. It should be remembered in this connection that translation is an art these days and the world owes a great deal to some of these remarkable translators. If Proust and Tolstoy have been able to find translators, why should not the writings of Munshi Prem Chand, Saratchandra Chatterji and several other distinguished writers from Bombay and Madras be translated into English. Here is another field in which the student of English can render a good account of himself. It need not be said that the capacity of Indians to write good English is undoubted but what has got to be done is to make it flow into channels that are creative.

BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE

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GOVERNMENT deserves the gratitude of the public for the efforts it is making through the Department of Industries to encourage the spread of cottage industries. It is quite true that some cottage industries have hitherto been able to successfully meet competition with cheap factory-made goods. This is so for two reasons. The first is that communication in the interior is not satisfactory and the organisation for placing factory-made goods before the consumer is defective. These disadvantages under which factory products are labouring must tend to disappear with time. This important fact has been recognised and in order to reduce the cost of production of cottage industry products, the Department of Industries is evolving various improvements in the processes of manufacture. In addition to lessening the cost of production, the quality of the articles manufactured is being sought to be improved, the aim being that in finish they should approach if not stand on a par with the standard products of large-scale factories. The second reason for the survival of some of these cottage industries is that they supply the special requirements of the people of the areas they serve. The demand for goods of these special types being limited, their production on a large scale is not a profitable proposition from the standpoint of the capitalist. It is admitted that cottage industries developed on right lines would be helpful to the province but we should never forget that the most one can expect from them is that first they will provide spare time occupation for the agriculturist and the members of his family when they are not engaged in the fields and second, that they will be followed by the village artisan. There is no doubt that if the first object is fulfilled, the encouragement of cottage industries and the money spent for their improvement would be more than justified. But so far as the question of providing full time occupation for the village artisan is concerned, the writer is of opinion that while cottage industries may give employment to thousands, agriculture, the main occupation in India as well as in Bengal, will have to be

improved so that it can afford a living to our millions. The question of large scale industries organised in such a way as to provide a living for an appreciable percentage of the population may safely be ignored for the present.

Holding as he does the view that for quite sometime, efforts should be principally directed towards the development and improvement of agriculture, the writer has, in the following pages, made an attempt to assess the value of the work done by the Agriculture Department in this province. It is not claimed that the writer has succeeded in covering the whole field of its manifold activities. To make an effort to do so would imply the taking up of more space than is either desirable or practicable in a periodical devoted to the discussion of topics of interest to the general reader. The writer must also confess that, as a layman, he does not claim to possess the amount and kind of both knowledge and information required for this kind of work. He has therefore intentionally confined himself to a discussion of those points only which most readily present themselves to the ordinary man who takes some interest in the agricultural improvement of this province.

The writer would also like to make it clear that, in what follows, he has made it a point to refer to matters which have come under his personal observation in the course of the visits he has paid to different institutions where attempts are being made to assist the peasantry of Bengal to improve their economic position by the adoption of improved methods evolved by the Agriculture Department. He has enjoyed exceptional opportunities of not only visiting these institutions for about 18 years in succession when his work as Inspector of Colleges, Calcutta University, took him to practically every district of this and the neighbouring province of Assam but also of enjoying the hospitality of amateur gentlemen farmers occupying good economic positions in every part of Bengal and Assam with whom also he has discussed many agricultural problems. As an Indian Christian, it has been his good fortune to be invited to various functions in different centres of Christian endeavour controlled by Christian denominations. It is a well-known fact that in many of these, European missions are maintaining various institutions where both experiments and instruction in agriculture on Western lines adapted to Indian conditions are being conducted for the benefit of the children of the soil.

Not many are aware that these different Christian bodies have been pioneers not only in the field of education but also in the fields of agriculture and industry specially of the cottage type. The Ushagram schools at Asansole maintained by the Methodist Church, the Dipti Mandir at Hat-Chapra, Dist. Nadia, conducted by the Church Missionary Society, the Middle English School at Kowrapukur, Twenty-four Parganas, controlled by the London Missionary Society, the School of Domestic Arts at Pabna financed by the Australian Baptist Mission, the Chandraghona School at Rangamati in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the English Baptist Mission, the Santal High English School at Bhimpur, District Midnapur, of the American Baptist Mission, the Catholic schools at Morapai, Twenty-four Parganas and Krishnagar, Dist. Nadia, are only a few out of many such institutions in Bengal.

The one characteristic which differentiates these schools from the general run of our ordinary schools, and which is common to all of them is that the authorities whatever the Christian denomination to which they belong, have the clearly envisaged aim of giving a practical shape to the instruction they are imparting to their students. They have not only boldly recognised the fact that the ordinary school has failed to equip its students to achieve economic success in life—a fact familiar to everyone who feels concern about the future of our young men and young women—but they are also making an honest effort to solve this problem by the introduction of agriculture and cottage industries. They have also recognised another fact which, unpalatable as it is, has still to be faced, namely that it is not every boy and girl who is endowed by nature to profit from the kind of instruction imparted ordinarily in our High English schools. It is not claimed that these and kindred institutions have been able to solve the problem either fully or satisfactorily. They have, however, shown the way and it is now our duty to carry these experiments to a successful issue. All these institutes while imparting 'general' education of the usual type lay emphasis on what has been called the "bias" side. The writer has visited practically every Christian institution where agriculture forms a compulsory part of the curriculum. He has watched, very often year after year in his successive visits, the improvements often alternating with partial failure. He has found that in a majority of cases, the success attained has been

due to the suggestions made by the officers of the Agriculture Department.

The writer has also been the guest of Indian Christian cultivators who though nearly always poor have been remarkable for their generous hospitality. Belonging to the same community as his hosts, he has enjoyed exceptional facilities in making enquiries as to the method followed by them in their agricultural operations. A majority of these are occupancy tenants cultivating uneconomic holdings. The more prosperous in addition to cultivating their own plots, also cultivate on the *barga* or partnership basis, land belonging to absentee owners. He has seen that wherever agriculturists of the latter type are well-to-do taking into account the standard of comfort which obtains among our cultivators in general, their prosperity has always been due to the fact that one or other of the members of the family has learnt improved agricultural methods in some Christian "bias" school and that he has persuaded his relatives to adopt these methods either partially or wholly in the cultivation of their own land. The knowledge responsible for their economic prosperity may thus be regarded as ultimately derived from the activities of the Agriculture Department carried to them of course with modifications, through the medium of the Christian schools.

All these facts make the writer feel that the community to which he has the honour to belong if not the province in general, owes more to the Agriculture Department than it is aware of. He also holds that the economic conditions of the agriculturists of Bengal in spite of the many disadvantages under which they are labouring, can be improved if the methods and suggestions of this Department are adopted extensively. The writer does not claim perfection for the Department nor does he hold a brief for it. The reader will notice that he has not hesitated to criticise its policy here and there and to offer his suggestions.

There is one very important matter which ought to have been referred to in the following pages, *viz.*, the facilities for agricultural education which exist in this province. A detailed consideration of this subject has not been attempted intentionally here as it has been dealt with in a series of articles which have appeared in this periodical and to which some more will be added in the future. The utility of Government farms has already been discussed. It is the writer's intention to deal with the question of the *bhadralok* agricul-

tural settlements and the extent to which they are indebted to this Department hereafter. It is hoped that as the result of what appears here, readers, while not blind to its manifold defects and shortcomings, will be in a position to form a just and fair estimate of the value of the work done by this very important nation-building Department.

It is to be noted that some of the facts and all the figures quoted hereafter are taken from the annual reports of the Agriculture Department for the year 1933-37.

IMPROVED SEEDS.

Only the man who takes some interest in practical agriculture and who has seen for himself the difference in the quality as well as in the total amount of crops produced from ordinary seeds and departmentally recommended and improved strains of seeds can appreciate what increase in the out-turn and what improvement in the quality of crops can be secured by the use of seeds of the latter type.

The wide distribution of improved strains of seeds naturally presupposes their production. These are produced in the different Government farms as well as in private farms. Individual cultivators also produce them both for their own use as well as for sale. According to the last report of the Agriculture Department, Government farms are unable to meet the demand for departmental seeds produced in them. The difficulty experienced is that clean pure seeds of these improved strains are rarely available either from individual cultivators or from private farms. This is principally because they thresh all paddy on the same floor with the result that the seeds get mixed. The consequence is that after 2 or 3 years at the most, the crops anticipated from their use are not obtained, and the agriculturist discontinues their use. According to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Eastern Circle (Report for 1933-34), though there were 43 private paddy seed farms in his circle with an area of about 1,170 bighas, it is doubtful whether one could get even 100 maunds of clean pure seed from them. It is therefore necessary that some inducement should either be offered to these people to produce clean pure seed or that the department should increase very largely the area under cultivation for the production of pure strains so as to be able to meet to the full the gradually expanding demand for them. The latter course is naturally ruled out by the question of cost. It therefore follows that

some kind of premium should be offered to the cultivators for pure clean seeds. As an experimental measure, it is suggested that a small sum amounting to say annas eight per maund extra should be offered. This may have the effect of inducing them to undertake the necessary extra work entailed in the production of clean pure seed.

An adequate supply of clean pure seed, however, cannot solve the problem. In certain districts, specially of East Bengal, where the land is fertile and where, as a consequence, the peasant refuses to be parted from his agricultural holding in spite of its uneconomic size caused by sub-division and fragmentation, the density of population approaches 1,200 per square mile. The agriculturists of these places cannot really afford to pay the prices charged by Government for pure clean seed. No seedsman who wants to make the selling of seeds a business proposition can afford to sell them at a cost within the means of these poor cultivators. If the public is really desirous of helping these people, it must move Government to supply the right type of seeds to carefully selected poor agriculturists at concession rates.

In all the three circles into which Bengal has been divided for the work of the Agriculture Department, in rather rare cases, small quantities of paddy seeds, and cuttings of sugar-cane and Napier grass are supplied free of cost to "earnest workers at new centres." Occasionally, a few others are allowed to buy them at concession rates while *bonafide* cultivators enjoy concession railway freight if they procure seeds and manure through the Agriculture Department. The seeds used in demonstration plots under the supervision of the agricultural demonstrators are given free; the amounts, however, are naturally very small. Moreover, though they might prove the superiority of the improved strains over the seeds ordinarily used, the experienced gathered cannot be of any practical use till these pure and clean seeds are made widely available in some way or other. At one time, the Agriculture Department used to supply seeds, cuttings, etc., on condition that after harvest either what had been taken would be returned or its price paid. The second method, however, is open to the objection that the price is not always constant and so there is great difficulty in settling the accounts. A vigorous attempt to popularise the former method might be of some utility in solving this problem.

The writer knows of certain institutions, among which he will mention only two, *viz.*, Ushagram and Dipti Mandir Mission schools where improved seeds are grown under proper conditions. The

neighbouring cultivators are encouraged to exchange their inferior seeds for equal quantities of improved seeds. This work which is being done under European missionary supervision is purely philanthropic in character and might, with advantage, be gradually taken up by the Agriculture Department and, specially by those landlords who have started private farms from a sense of the duty they owe their tenants.

If this cannot be done extensively, the next best thing is to offer a premium for the production of pure clean seeds and to sell improved seeds at concession rates as widely as possible. Any apparent loss involved in this work ought to be regarded not as expenditure but as investment. How urgent is the need for large quantities of departmentally improved strains of paddy seeds may be inferred from the fact that during 1934-35, though there were during our province 334 paddy seed farms covering about 9,000 bighas, and in 1935-36, 369 paddy seed farms with an area of about 9,100 bighas they were not in a position to meet fully the requirements of the agriculturists.

In the Report of the Agriculture Department for 1934-35, it was stated that in many cases private growers were making capital out of the eagerness displayed by the poor agriculturists for improved strains of paddy seeds. Big *jotdars* of North Bengal were reported to be storing *amin* paddy seeds in large quantities in order to secure higher prices or better premiums and, instead of exchanging them for equal quantities of ordinary paddy offered by the cultivators, exporting them on a commercial basis to Behar, Goaland and Bikrampur. So far as improved *aus* paddy seeds are concerned, it is found that as this variety of paddy is harvested at a time when the cultivators are in great want, they are forced to consume or sell almost the whole of it immediately with the result that the improved seeds are not available for the next year's sowing. These two reasons added to comparatively small number of paddy seed farms explain the ever-growing demand for improved paddy seeds.

In many parts of Bengal where the poor cultivators are unable to pay cash for the improved paddy seeds obtained from private growers, they are supplied with improved varieties on the clear understanding that after harvest they will have to return double the amount provided. Seeing that the private growers of improved paddy seeds have derived the advantage from the work of the Agriculture Department, which is financed out of public funds, one cannot but condemn very strongly

the process of exploitation to which the poor cultivators, for whose benefit the Agriculture Department has been brought into existence, are subjected. The only consolation, if there be any, lies in the fact that in absence of a sufficient number of Government seed farms, these grasping private seed growers are indirectly helping forward the popularisation of improved strains of paddy seeds.

A remedy for the limited supply of improved seeds has been sought by utilising part of the Rural uplift grant received from the Government of India for the establishment of Union Board farms. According to this scheme each farm 8 acres in area of which 3 acres are utilised for demonstration of various crops and 5 acres for multiplication of seed paddies. 450 such farms have been started towards the end of 1925-26. The writer who has visited some of them is not at all satisfied with the arrangements for their supervision but as he intends to deal with these farms elsewhere, he does not propose to offer comments on them here. All these Union Board farms were supplied with seeds paid out of the grant of the Central Government. The total area under seed paddy in these 450 farms was 6,300 bighas which is more than double the area of the ordinary paddy seed farms. One would have naturally expected that the improved paddy seeds would have more than met the demand now existing. As a matter of fact what is found is that though the total amount produced was near about 36,000 maunds, about one-fourth only was available for purposes of sowing, the balance having been used in other ways. Taking all these facts into consideration one cannot but feel that the attempt to meet the demand for improved seeds in this particular way has not been much of a success.

It has been suggested that the growers expect that they will be helped by the Government in this way year after year, and have not, therefore, cared to fulfil their part of the contract. This certainly proves how urgent is the need for education, the development of character and the cultivation of an unselfish spirit among our agriculturists. Improvement in their economic position is also equally necessary if they are to successfully withstand the temptation of immediately using the harvest for consumption.

All the Government farms we have in this province have seed stores attached to them. The improved strains of seeds produced in these farms are generally distributed through these seed stores. The amounts available for distribution naturally depend on the area specially

devoted to this purpose. A majority of the private farms and Agricultural Associations operate seed stores of their own.

It appears from the report of the Director of Agriculture that during 1933-34, there were 51 seed stores in the Eastern, about 100 in the Western and 55 in the Northern circle. The farm products generally supplied from these seed stores to the public consists of the following:—Varieties of paddy, gam, arhar, groundnut, tobacco seed, seeds of fodder crops, cuttings of Napier grass and different varieties of sugar-cane. The seed stores attached to Government farm supply manures and improved agricultural implements at cost price to those desirous of introducing them in their own land. The private farms distribute the seeds to the neighbouring cultivators and thus serve localities not always covered by the district Government farms. The disadvantages of mixture and the consequent deterioration of seeds in private farms have already been mentioned and need not detain us here.

The demand for improved strains of seed will undoubtedly increase with a fall in their price—a matter referred to already. It is, however, only fair to add that though progress has been slow, it has been steady. There is little doubt that, little by little, the use of improved seeds is spreading automatically among the peasantry of Bengal. What is now necessary is vigorous propaganda carried on in such a way as to reach a majority of the cultivators, a lowering of the price, the opening of seed stores in areas hitherto neglected and an adequate supply of clean pure seed to meet the anticipated increased demand.

(To be continued)

"FREUDIAN PSYCHOLOGY"

S. M. MOHSIN

PSYCHOANALYSIS is the technical name for the theory of mental life established by Sigmund Freud of Vienna. The general principles of the theory have become now too common to require any special consideration. Briefly speaking, the theory states that as in the realm of physical phenomena so in the world of mental life there is nothing which is not previously determined by preceding causes and conditions. The causes are most often desires and motives impelling mental activities from a region of which the individual is unconscious. The desires and motives are unconscious because they are held back from consciousness by antagonistic tendencies. They are thus held back because originally they are naive and primitive in character and hence seek their gratification in purely passionate and sensuous directions, rather than in a rational and critical manner. The ever growing influence of society and environment "desensualises" these primitive impulses and redirects them in channels more appropriate to the life conditions of the individual through the process of "sublimation." Abnormality consists in the free and uncritical expression of the primitive desires through a relaxation or the total defuncting of the controlling tendencies.

What appears to be the most fascinating and at the same time the most reprehensible in the theory of Psychoanalysis is Freud's view of sexuality. Freud is ruthlessly criticised for putting a death-like emphasis on "sex" and at the same time excessively eulogised for his ingenious unravelling of the skein of sex instinct. Both the admiration and the rebuke emanate from a common source, a narrow meaning of "sex" and a mistaken notion of "instinct." The two confusions being mixed up become responsible for the idea that Freud traces all activities, howsoever sublime, to their common source in the sexual relationships of men.

Freud understands by sex those activity-trends which seek their immediate pleasurable gratification. It is for this reason that we find him extending the use of the word beyond the hetero-sexual love life of adults, to which it is commonly applied, to all the different

phases of development through which an individual has to pass before he attains the final stage of what Freud calls "genital sexuality." "Sex," therefore, does not necessarily indicate, in Freud's sense, the carnal union of the "two sexes;" for he speaks of the auto-erotic phase of sexuality in which the child's own physical body supplies him the source of all pleasurable gratifications. Being a student of biology Freud draws very largely upon the findings of that science. Biology has proved that every individual repeats the entire history of evolution in the passage from the inception of life as the male spermatozoa to its consummation as the mature adult. The science of embryology has fully established how the foetus in developing its physical structure passes through all the graduating stages which make up the scale of evolution. Similarly, Freud maintains in psychoanalysis that the growing infant passes through all the tendencies and attitudes which characterise the different stages of the development of the reproductive instinct of living organisms, from the unicellular germplasm—the protozoa—on to the multicellular vertebrate animal—the metazoa. As the protozoa is independent of any external object in its reproductive functioning, so is the infant, in the autoerotic phase of his sexuality, independent of any other person in the bestowal of its love. As the anthropoid chimpanzee freely enters into incestual relations, so does the baby freely make love with its prohibited kindreds. Scientifically treated the so much victimized "oedipus complex" assumes a normal phase in the development of an individual. The child is only repeating a forsaken attitude in the life history of his species in order to appropriate fully the acquisitions made by his kind. The "oedipus complex" of Freud, thus, merely confirms the scientific truth that there is no leap in nature. Moreover, like the "shriek" and "freezing" of fear, and the "pugnacity" and "snap" of rage, which find their place in the economy of life as our heritage from our animal ancestors, our infantile attitude towards our parents can be easily passed over as the remnant of our past history. The psychology of emotions has proved that the emotions possess a vital importance in the life of the lower animals. They are mobilization of the resources of an organism for meeting an emergency situation. The reinforcement is accomplished through the additional supply and orientation of energy in the line of adjustment to the new and critical situation, by the heightened activity of certain glands of internal secretion and the suspension or attenuation of certain routine functions, viz., digestion, respiration,

etc. The same emotions become a great handicap for the human adult, for a person of sedate and equable disposition is more successful in meeting the demands of a critical situation than an individual who is readily "upset" and loses his emotional balance. But in spite of their deleterious character, the human species has not been able so far to relinquish the emotions. Similarly, we have not been able to forsake our infantile sexual attitudes in spite of their incompatibility with our higher standards of values. And as the triumph of human life is the rational subjugation and control of the emotions, so the success of human development depends on the rational subjugation and control of the infantile sexual drives. This is what psychoanalysis teaches us and we find no reason, therefore, to have any complaint against it.

The second confusion which I have hinted at relates to the meaning of "instinct." The word instinct carries a burden of unlike meanings. McDougall defines instinct as a definitely determined hereditary condition of an individual by virtue of which he is forced (1) to perceive some specific object in a situation, (2) to act in a specific manner in regard to it, and (3) to feel or experience a definite type of emotion at the same time it perceives and acts. McDougall puts emphasis on the specificity of instinctive behaviour and on this basis draws up a classification of fourteen different types of instincts. But present day researches in this direction have proved that instincts do not express themselves always and under all conditions through the same type of activity. Hence, instinct is now regarded as a hereditary characteristic of an organism whereby satisfaction may be secured; the form and direction of satisfaction are determined by the environmental conditions. Instinct may be compared with the dynamic thrust of a plant which shows itself in growth; the final form that the growth takes being determined by environmental conditions.

Taking his cue from the modern conception of instinct, Freud understands by the term in psychoanalysis as the inborn condition of impulsion, of dynamic pressure, originating from the unstable character of protoplasmic matter, producing the need for reaction and impelling its execution. The function of instinct then, consists in setting up a disturbance in the equilibrium of the organism—in producing a state of psychophysical tension. The tension seeks to neutralise itself. It does so by issuing forth in a certain course of activity. Instinct thus deals with the hypothetical energy which impels the organism to activity, rather than with the form which this activity

takes. Instincts, in other words, are the free and mobile energy charges which are adopting diverse "aims" and taking different objects for their final discharge or gratification. The sexual drives become one kind of the aims of instincts, the ego tendencies another kind. When Freud speaks of the "sexual instinct" or the "ego" instinct," he refers to the partial aims and objects of instinct and not to the original primal impulse which aims at the restoration of equilibrium or relaxation of tension howsoever achieved. Is this not unfair to Freud then to charge him of explaining all human strivings in terms of sexual relationships?

The undue emphasis which Freud seems to lay on "sex" in his earlier writings is not due to narrowness of vision on his part, as commonly supposed. Freud does not belong to the type of a slapdash thinker who leaps from generalisation to generalisation and proclaims at the end of his march that there is nothing more to discover. The genius of Freud always makes him move slowly and cautiously, making sure of his ground before raising his superstructure. He selected first the sex instinct for a thoroughgoing treatment, considered it in all its ramifications and embodied his findings regarding it in his earlier writings. But he never departed for a moment from the duality of the principle with which he started, *viz.*, the conflict between the "conscious" and the "unconscious," ** the "ego" and the "sex instinct." His readers lost themselves in the labyrinth of his researches regarding sex and charged him of treating sex as the "all" of human life. Who then suffers from narrowness of vision? Freud or those who condemn him?

Freud has been victim of much criticism for preaching "psychological hedonism." He is charged of regarding all mental activity to proceed from the feeling of unpleasantness aroused in consciousness as the result of a disturbance in the equilibrium of the organism whose restoration gives rise to the feeling of pleasure. Undoubtedly the criticism is well founded if confined to Freud's earlier writings where the "pleasure-principle" assumes the unitary rôle of regulating the course of all mental processes. But it is unfair to judge a thinker by taking an isolated view of the different portions of his work. We should rather judge him by his total achievement. Freud in his "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" explicitly states that the pleasure-principle is not all pervasive; that there is on the other hand a principle beyond it—the repetition compulsion—which is "more primitive, more con-

servative, and more instinctive" as it harkens back to the earliest beginning of life, to which the pleasure-principle itself ultimately leads though by a much complicated, circuitous and protracted route. Freud finds a substantiation of this principle in the dream of war-neurotics "which continually take the patient back to the situation of his disaster from which he awakens in renewed terror." If dreams only afforded pleasure to the dreamer through phantastic realisation of unfulfilled wishes, they could not have conjured up an experience which has no pleasureable value. Another proof of the principle he finds in children's plays. Children imitate many adult activities inspite of their being fraught with painful consequences. Similar repetition tendencies are to be found in the "punishment phantasies" displayed in certain abnormal symptoms. The phantasy, or the activity determined by it, is itself too painful, as it involves infliction of punishment on oneself, still it becomes a dominating phase of the attitude of the patient. Freud quotes many other instances of "repetition compulsion" from biological finding and discovers another duality between "death instinct" and "sex instinct." Freud is not very intelligible to us in his enunciation of the death instinct; but this shows our lack of comprehension. As Ernest Jones rightly remarks, like all men of genius Freud is well ahead of his time and only if we reach his level of mental development that we might be able to understand him. This hope is not to be realised by our generation and so we leave it to the judgment of posterity which having scaled one rung higher on the ladder of evolution will be able to comprehend Freud more adequately.

BRADLEY AND BOSANQUET¹

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

SINCE the publication of Mr. Bradley's famous work *Ethical Studies* in 1876, Prof. Bosanquet recognised, as he himself tells us, Mr. Bradley as his 'master.' This modest acknowledgment we hear, of course, at a much later date when Mr. Bradley has stood head and shoulder above his contemporaries. But it is beyond doubt that this book, from the very beginning of its publication, engaged Prof. Bosanquet's attention and impressed him so much that just after the publication of the same he characterised that as "an epoch-making event" in the speculative world. This esteem and obligation became all the more deep-rooted as soon as Mr. Bradley's classical work *Appearance and Reality* was first published in 1893. Since there, Prof. Bosanquet, through reiterated statements, calls himself "a follower of Bradley" with whom, he thinks, he has "no more than a verbal difference or difference of emphasis" only. In a letter to Signor Vivante, one of those Italian Idealists, with whom we find him, in his later years, eagerly engaged in friendly philosophical discourses, he most candidly confesses how much he is in agreement with Mr. Bradley. "You would not," he writes there, "see the reason of my feeling that for me to argue fundamentally and at length with you, when you have Bradley's books at hand [and though difficult in places, he is the most brilliant of English writers on philosophy] would be really making you study, in my bad writing, and in inferior form, what you have in your possession in the best possible form, and when you read what I write, you will be apt to say, 'But this is only Bradley again,' and so it is."²

If we are to judge Prof. Bosanquet by this frank confession only, forgetting, at the same time, the origin and growth of his thought,

¹ In this brief and sketchy article I have no more ambition than to show the fundamental aspects of Mr. Bradley's and Prof. Bosanquet's philosophies which have brought them together as much conspicuously as they have kept them separate. If, therefore, any reader is left with a feeling of dissatisfaction as he goes through it, to him I say that a detailed discussion of their mutual relation is anything but my pretension here.

² *Bernard Bosanquet and his friends*, 1935. Letters Edited by J. H. Muirhead. [Letter No. CXIV, pp. 262-268, dated March 27, 1920.]

we certainly need not have placed him by the side of Mr. Bradley. If he shines only in borrowed lustre with no light of his own, he could not have occupied, as he assuredly has done, a distinct position in the realm of speculative thought and shone with other luminaries. So far as I am acquainted with Prof. Bosanquet's writings I cannot say that he had deliberately accepted Mr. Bradley's lead from the very beginning.¹ Far from this being the case, he, as it would be evident, at first recognised Mr. Bradley as a co-worker to whom, he believed, the task of carrying on the teachings of their predecessors had been handed over. Thus as early as in 1885 he described this task as "the plan of the great masters" which "is being handed over to be carried out piecemeal by the journeymen."² The same statement is repeated in *The Distinction between Mind and its Objects*, 1913, p. 55, and strikingly enough, also in "*The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*, 1921, p. 27, which is the last chief work of his life. By 'masters' he meant, as he himself admits, Kant, Fichte, and Hegel; and among the 'journeymen' he, of course, included Mr. Bradley and himself. This attitude of a partner of a common inheritance found expression in *Knowledge and Reality*. Mr. Bradley's *Principles of Logic* was published in 1883. The volumes suggested, according to Prof. Bosanquet, indications bordering on a vicious dualism between thought and reality. This made Prof. Bosanquet suspicious as to the real teaching of Mr. Bradley. He took it to be a departure from and betrayal to, the professed 'plan' sketched out by the 'great masters.' Thus filled with misgivings, he wrote *Knowledge and Reality* in 1885 to show how Mr. Bradley's essential and original conceptions might be disengaged from some peculiarities which he apparently shares with reactionary logic."³

Instructive as well as interesting as the controversy is, and more especially, in view of the fact that Prof. Bosanquet is so much self-denying as not to claim for himself even things which have not been previously told by Mr. Bradley,⁴ we think that full justice would not be done to Prof. Bosanquet if the text of the controversy and the spirit in which he had passed friendly criticisms on "some external matters"

¹ I share this belief with Prof. Muirhead.

² *Knowledge and Reality*, Preface, p. vi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁴ It is pertinent to note what Mr. Bradley says of Prof. Bosanquet. "I think," writes Mr. Bradley, "you [Prof. Bosanquet] undervalue yourself as much as you over-estimate what I have done" [*Bernard Bosanquet and his friends*, letter No. XXXI, dated March 12, 1897, p. 87]. I take this to be more than a formal modesty.

in which, he believed, Mr. Bradley had attached himself to the writers of the "German reaction," remain unnoticed. In reply to James Seth's notice of *Knowledge and Reality* in *Mind* for January, 1886, Prof. Bosanquet wrote a long letter to A. S. Pringle-Pattison [confounding him with his brother] on January 4, 1886, clarifying the sense in which he understood Mr. Bradley. "I thought," he says, "there were *two* views in Bradley about reality. One was a question of the analysis to be applied to the world as we know it, whether this world existed in or through thought only, or whether it needed to be welded together with the actual presentations of perception as our only contact with reality. This is a reasonable question to ask; Bradley's answer was, in the form which he gave it at least, new to me; and I intended to assent to it. In saying the whole affair fell within the intellectual world I meant to use intellectual in a wide sense, alluding to the well known relativity of 'object' and 'subject' to each other, but in no way to exclude sense perception or feeling. I only meant that *prima facie* the whole thing—the whole knowable universe—is a vision of consciousness, and its analysis a fair matter of dispute.

"But his other view which horrified me so, I took to be quite different. I thought that [like Plato] he frequently confused that actual world of organised things and definite relations with the presentation of sense *qua* presented [*e.g.*, if you so much as emphasise or distinguish within the sensuous datum, you *ipso facto*, he says, 'mutilate' the fact]. And therefore, I fancied, the entirety of actual existence as distinct from the sensuous datum ceased to appear to him to be actual [it is *all* hypothetical on this view, for the slightest abstraction divorces you from fact, and there is nothing definite without abstraction] while the reality which he in this mood admitted to be real of course was not satisfactory, having neither past nor future, nor articulate existence. And in presence of this unsatisfactoriness, as it seemed to me, having lost hold of the actual world of human beings and moral institutions by confusing it with the presentation of sense, he cries out for a 'fuller splendour' or 'more glorious reality.' I, *bona fide*, do not know what he meant; but thought he meant a heavenly paradise, or anyhow some counterpart world of which our whole sphere of experience gives no hint. It was against this *extra* world, not against *any* interpretation, which keeps fairly to interpretation of the content of our universe, that I meant to raise my voice.

“ I do not, therefore, quite admit that I *meant* to reject Bradley's interference with common place idealism.....But I *decidedly intended to break away in company with Br. from mere abstract intellectualism* [*Italics mine*]. It was at the further point, where, as I fancied, a question of logical and psychological analysis of a whole is converted into a fanciful depreciation of that whole and suggestion of another and imaginary one, that I meant to break from Bradley's company.”¹

Though in his note on *Knowledge and Reality* Mr. Bradley tried to acquit himself of the charge by repudiating that he had ever meant any dualism between thought and reality in *Principles of Logic*, this however could not thoroughly convince Prof. Bosanquet. In another letter to Seth Pringle-Pattison, written on 19th January 1886, he expresses his irreconciled attitude to Mr. Bradley. The letter runs: “ I have heard from Bradley with some notes on my book... He does not think we need ultimately differ about the ‘ more glorious reality ’ passage. He does not wish to go outside the ‘ intellectual world ’ as a whole ; but wishes for a reality or reality in which the discursive intellectual world ‘ should be suppressed as such.’ I do not quite know what he means, indeed he professes to be only seeking ; but he clearly does not mean the ordinary Paradise, which on my honour for a moment I thought he did.

“ He also points out that ‘ he could not say that reality is an ideal construction only,’ i.e., I suppose he means to insist on the other terms of his definition ideal construction *attached to reality presented in perception.*”²

It is gratifying to notice the spirit in which Mr. Bradley received the criticism. Whatever might be the real intention, Mr. Bradley at least recognised the apparent implication of his writings which, he admitted, as possible sources of misgivings. In the Preface to the second edition of the *Principles of Logic* [which appeared in 1922] he expressed his gratitude to Prof. Bosanquet “ for all that since 1883, he had owed to him ” and acknowledged “ how deeply this reissue is in debt to his invaluable works on Logic.” He also thankfully referred to Prof. Bosanquet in the ‘ Additional Notes ’ which he appended to the original in this Edition.

¹ *Ibid*, letter No. VII, pp. 51-63.

² *Ibid*, Letter No. VIII, p. 55.

It was not until the publication of *Appearance and Reality*, an interval of long eight years, that Prof. Bosanquet found that there was no vital difference between him and Mr. Bradley.

What has prompted me to bring Mr. Bradley and Prof. Bosanquet within a common span of attention is that in my opinion they both conspicuously agree with each other in their spirit and outlook though however they differ,—and do so no less conspicuously—in their attitude, intellectual temperament and method in respect of their treatment of philosophical questions.

Can Mr. Bradley and Prof. Bosanquet be called Anglicised Hegel? This is a question which has, and cannot have, any cut and dried answer in the form of 'yes' or 'no.' How far are Mr. Bradley and Prof. Bosanquet Hegelian? This is the most perplexing question which can only be answered after a thorough understanding of their profound systems of thought—a task which has not been adequately done in the past and even to-day, it can hardly be said to have received proper attention and successful handling. In spite of Mr. Bradley's own assertion, *viz.*, that he himself does not know how far he is an Hegelian,¹ his reiterated references to Hegel and his acknowledgment of the debt he owes to him undisputedly show that he has not estranged himself from the influence of Hegel. On the contrary, there are instances, not too rare in his writings, which strengthen the belief that Mr. Bradley moves within and, even at times, is under the dominance of Hegelian thought.²

Prof. Bosanquet, we have seen, recognised Hegel as a 'great master' and his obligation to Hegel can hardly be controverted.

The philosophy of Mr. Bradley, like all the other great systems of thought, absorbs all the leading thoughts of the philosopher's that had

¹ Cf. *Principles of Logic*, 1883, 1922, Preface.

² It is interesting to note the following weighty passages:

"It is said that we in England are threatened with an Hegelian invasion, if we are. Mr. Bradley seems marked out to lead the Hegelian left [*Mind*, Vol. III, N. S. 1894. Prof. Ward on *Appearance and Reality*, p. 125]. And again

"That he [Mr. Bradley] started from a general acceptance of Hegel's teaching and sought to remain true to it throughout, is sufficiently plain from the record of his own writings. His earliest work reflected it in the fields of history and ethics. If this *Logic* represented a momentary hesitation as to some aspects of it, this was more apparent than real. In *Appearance and Reality* it reasserted its influence. Over and over again in this and in his later writings he refers deferentially to Hegel as to no one else. In a controversial article [the reference is to *Mind*, N. S., Vol. III, 1894, p. 236. 'If I had been able to keep close to a great master like Hegel, I doubt if after all perhaps I might not have kept nearer the truth'], he seems even to regret that he had not followed him more closely. It is in terms finally borrowed from Hegel that he sums up the teaching of his chief work to the effect 'that 'Outside of spirit there is not, and there cannot be any reality, and the more that anything is spiritual so much the more is it veritably real.' [J. H. Muirhead, *The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy*, 1931, p. 301.]

preceded it. We may omit the name of Plato whose teaching is virtually regarded as a common property in the speculative world of the West ; but the names of the great thinkers like Spinoza, Hume, Kant, Schelling and Hegel are naturally suggested by the various phases of Mr. Bradley's thought. The marvellous achievement of Mr. Bradley lies, however, in his throwing new light at least [if he really has not made any advance], upon the work of his predecessors. The immense suggestiveness of his teachings, marked by wonderful insight and penetrative arguments, has rightly made him "England's most renowned thinker of recent times." The influence of Spinoza and Kant upon Prof. Bosanquet also is by no means negligible. But this has been out done by his deep reflections on the Philosophical positions of Fichte, Hegel, Green and lastly of Mr. Bradley. Prof. Bosanquet's association with Mr. Bradley, I venture to say, began and flourished in the Neo-Kantian—and, more particularly, Hegelian—atmosphere of thought. This association later on turned into a relation of 'master-and-disciple,' as we have noticed, due to the personality and eloquence of Mr. Bradley and the immense suggestiveness of his thought.

Mr. Bradley begins his famous work *Appearance and Reality* with the following observations: "The fact of illusion and error is in various ways forced early upon the mind ; and the ideas by which we try to understand the universe, may be considered as attempts to set right our failure. In this division of my work I shall criticise some of these, and shall endeavour to show that they have not reached their objects. I shall point out that the world, as so understood, contradicts itself ; and is therefore appearance, and not reality."¹

These opening lines make us pause. We ask in amazement: into what world does Mr. Bradley introduce us ? If the 'ideas' and 'concepts,' by which an 'illusion' or 'error' is rectified, 'have not reached their object,' in what abysmal region then are we landing ? To take something say, a rope, for any other thing say, a snake, is to be victim of illusion. But if the knowledge of rope as against that of snake is not the true knowledge, then evidently [and monstrously] neither the 'snake' nor the 'rope' is real. What is it then that we get ?—a confusion only worse confounded ; and we are pushed from blindness to bewilderment as we attempt to "set right our failure."

¹ Ninth Impression, 1930, Ch. I, p. 2.

What then Mr. Bradley calls 'appearance' is only the other name for 'illusion' made all the more complicated. Throughout the first Book of *Appearance and Reality* the same fastidious condemnation with tremendously penetrating enquiry continues. One after another Mr. Bradley takes up the 'concepts' and 'ideas' both of commonsense and of science and after subtle and acute criticism finds them infected with contradictions and consigns them to the sphere of 'appearance' [or, we should say, of 'illusion']. The whole world gradually recedes behind till at last it vanishes at the furthest region where eyes do not see nor ears hear and all the senses are benumbed as it were. We are awfully exhausted as we are dragged on; and no less exhausted is Mr. Bradley himself. We lose ourselves as we proceed, so does Mr. Bradley. A man in the street might be heard to remark in utter disgust: what Mr. Bradley says here is not the word of Mr. Bradley sober. 'The world of 'substance' and 'attributes' of 'qualities' and 'relations', of 'cause' and 'effect', etc., so even of 'self' is inconsistent and therefore, so also is Mr. Bradley. So we need not worry ourselves. The world will remain as our world in spite of Mr. Bradley's condemnation.

Indeed, this is exactly what one is most likely to feel when one goes through the first Book of *Appearance and Reality*. The destructive criticism runs *ad nauseam* without conceding even a little unshakable ground to stand upon.

This overwhelming feeling is not overcome until we go through the second Book and read and appreciate the first Book in the light of the second. Strictly speaking, Mr. Bradley's mode of approaching philosophical questions is dangerously defective, if not vicious, for which he has been subjected to severest criticism.¹ Mr. Bradley has rightly and, we must say, creditably, exposed the lacunae of the long-accepted first principles which are, as he has shown, often too incantiously taken for granted. But he has done so too roughly and abruptly.

What a remarkable contrast the first Book of *Appearance and Reality* bears with his other subsequent writings may be witnessed in the following passage. "Our real world of fact," the passage runs, "may, for anything we know, be one of the least pieces of reality,

¹ I have taken Mr. Bradley as I find him in *Appearance and Reality* because in this book he is at his best and it is in this book only that he has very boldly tried to discuss various important philosophical problems.

and there may be an indefinite number of other real worlds superior to our own. On the other hand our world is the one place in which we are able to live and work. And we can live there in no way except by making and our construction of facts in space and time, and by treating this construction as the one sphere in which our life is actual. *Cultive notre jardin* is the beginning, and it is in a sense the end, of wisdom. *No other place but here no other time but now no other world but this world of our own can be our concern.*" [Italics mine.]¹

Could anybody who has been exasperated by the bitter tone of the first Book have thought or dreamt that the same Mr. Bradley, the writer of the first Book of *Appearance and Reality*, might have written this, and in that vein on more than one occasion in the second Book? The unwelcome nature of the first Book later on made Mr. Bradley anxious, and we must say, even caused him some trouble, to adjust the underlying spirit of the first Book to, and also to make it accord with, that of the second and other subsequent writings.²

In Prof. Bosanquet, however, we find a little relief. The nerve-breaking dialectic does not drag us but persuade us or, at least, tries to persuade us, to follow it even though we cannot see eye to eye with it. May be the arguments are ultimately far from convincing, but we feel no real objection to hear them. For Prof. Bosanquet, the world as common-sense finds it is real. It is, according to him, a mischievous and misguided effort that tries to minimize or, worse still, to deny its reality. What he emphasises is that it is *more* real than what the ordinary perception reveals. "Certainty," he writes, "for myself, if an idealist were to tell me that a chair is really not what we commonly take it to be, but something altogether different [unless he meant 'a dance of electrons' or the like], *I shall be tempted to reply in language below the dignity of controversy* [Italics mine]."

¹ *Essays on Truth and Reality*, ch. xvi, pp. 468-469

² Cf. *Appearance and Reality*, Appendix to the second Edition. Observe how keenly Mr. Bradley himself has felt the unwelcome inversion of his thought and has tried to make amends.

In this connection I cannot refrain from quoting one more famous passage, which is most frequently quoted in fairness to Mr. Bradley in modern idealistic literature, to show how lofty a vision has, for the time being, been clouded in the first Book. The passage runs: "That the glory of this World in the end is appearance, leaves the world more glorious, if we feel it is a show of some glory; but the gossamer curtain is a deception and a cheat if it hid a some colourless movement of atoms, some spectral woe of impalpable abstractions, or unearthly ballet of bloodless categories. Though dragged to such conclusions, we cannot embrace them. Our principles may be true, but they are not reality. They no more make the Whole which commands our devotion than some shredded dissection of human fancies is that warm and breathing beauty of flesh which our hearts found delightful" [*Principles of Logic*, Bk. III, ch. iv, § 16, p. 591].

The position in question—Hegel's and Green's—is, I should say, that a chair is a chair right enough ; that is, that what an upholsterer or anyone one in a drawing room would tell you about it is quite a true description. But when you come to ask further questions there is much more to be said, and these questions the upholsterer has never raised and, as such, can never raise"..... Referring to Dr. Moore, he writes, "If Dr. Moore's implication is the opposite—viz., that in maintaining the spirituality of the universe, the idealist both does and must maintain that we are wholly wrong in our common notion of a chair, then I must think that he has misunderstood the facts necessary to idealism, and so far has failed to bring assistance to speculative philosophy."¹ Again : "The dream of the intellectual world as a land of shadows, now below and now above, now more obscure and now more brilliant than reality, a dream which the unwisdom of ages has ascribed to Plato, seems never to lose its maleficent spell. There have been some who have hoped that the labour of centuries had in part overcome this baleful enchantment, and attained the lesson that reality alike for feeling and for intellect is the world in which we live ; a world which is sustained and transformed by the patient labour of the intellect and will, but can only be maimed and degraded by the impatience which splits it into a shadow on the one hand, and on the other hand a substance more shadowy still. Surely the more glorious reality is that which our vision and our will can make of the world in which we are ; and the certain frustration of all such achievement is to relax the toilsome grasp which holds real and ideal in one."²

When one goes through such passages, however unsophisticated one may be, one has certainly no feeling of constraint in reading them. Even if Prof. Bosanquet fails to reach him to the desired end, he cannot think the Professor to be a dangerous companion.

Besides this remarkable difference in procedure between Mr. Bradley and Prof. Bosanquet there is another conspicuous divergence between the two. It has been said of Spinoza's *Substance* that it was like a lion's den towards which foot-prints might be traced but no such marks could be found away from it. The same remark may equally be applied to Mr. Bradley's thought. Thought

¹ *The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*. p. 5.

² *Knowledge and Reality*, pp. 19-20

according to Mr. Bradley, is essentially and *merely* discursive. Its function is only to analyse. This analytical aspect of thought has been made much of by Mr. Bradley, and he has done so at the cost of thought's synthetic aspect which is as essential as the analytical one. Like a dexterous surgeon Mr. Bradley dissects the whole structure of the world but he is a quack in the art of healing. He humbles when asked to rejoin the amputated parts. The answer he gives is characteristically that of a quack. It will *somehow* be cured. But when *how* means *somehow*, it leaves us only in amazement instead of giving us any relief of conviction. It may be found amusing to note how frequently Mr. Bradley has taken recourse to this easy but grievous method. But I shall try to present some of the innumerable *somehow* to show how pathetically Mr. Bradley is in need of the synthetic side of thought which he is almost blind to take note of. They are the following—

"We may say that everything, which appears, is *somehow* real in such a way as to be self consistent."¹

"The bewildering mass of phenomenal diversity must hence *somehow* be at unity and self-consistent."²

"We know what is meant by an experience, which embraces all divisions, and yet *somehow* possesses the direct nature of feeling."³

"If we can realise all the general features of the Absolute, if we can see that *somehow* they come together in a way known vaguely and in the abstract, our result is certain."⁴

"As with error, even our one-sidedness, may *somehow* insistence and our disappointment, may *somehow* all subserve a harmony and go to perfect it."⁵

"They (Subject and Object) *somehow* are lost except as elements in a higher identity."⁶

"The Reality, therefore, must be One, not as excluding diversity but as *somehow* including it in such a way as to transform its character."⁷

¹ *Appearance and Reality*, p. 141.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 160

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 241.

"But in the Absolute *somehow*, we are convinced, the problem is solved."¹

"Thus Philosophy stops short of a goal which it takes nevertheless to be *somehow* reached."²

"Hence truth is identical with Reality in the sense that, in order to perfect itself, it would have to become Reality. On the other side truth, while it is truth, differs from Reality, and, if it ceased to be different, would cease to be true. But *how* in detail all this is possible, cannot be understood."³

These passages are enough to show the fateful consequences of a one-sided theory. Indeed, if the synthetic side of thought is neglected or forgotten, you are left in a maze of Relativism or Agnosticism of which Mr. Bradley [with some propriety at least] is sometimes accused.⁴

Happily, to Prof. Bosanquet 'thought' is not merely discursive. The movement of thought, he says, is always towards the concrete universal. It is the 'world-builder,' as he happily calls it "It is only in part," he says, "that our thought is discursive; it has also an intuitive aspect, in which it remains, within itself, secure in the great structures of its creation. The ultimate tendency of thought, we have seen, is not to generalise, but to constitute a world. It is true that it presses beyond the given, following the 'what' beyond the limits of the 'that.' But it is also true that in following the 'what' it tends always to return to a fuller 'that.' If its impulse is away from the given, it is towards the whole—the world. And as constituting a world it tends to return to the full depth and roundness of experience from which its first step was to depart."⁵ Thus in

¹ Ibid, p. 281

² *Essays on Truth and Reality*, 1914, Introduction, p. 15.

³ Ibid, pp. 343-4

⁴ We should not lose sight of the weighty observations of J. H. Muirhead in *The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy*. The passage, though undoubtedly it is instructive, is too long to be quoted here. I therefore content myself by quoting the concluding paragraph only. I am sure, one will find much if he goes through the whole passage, and especially through pp. 276-278. In the concluding paragraph Prof. Muirhead has rightly shown that "That he [Mr. Bradley] has not lost sight of something, which was essential to the older doctrine and to a sound idealism of the kind he aimed himself at establishing, cannot, I believe, be affirmed. That there are things new and old still to be drawn from a line of thought which has been so fruitful in the past, can only be doubted by one who has lost faith in the inexhaustible richness of that world of reality of which thought, in spite of its limit, is one of the highest expressions." [p. 304.]

⁵ *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, 1912, Lect. II, p. 55.

'thought' he sees the principle of concreteness rather than of abstraction.

Now, whether Prof. Bosanquet has been able to carry out the full implication of his thought up to the desired end is a question that would require a thorough review of Prof. Bosanquet's whole philosophy, which is anything but my pretention here.

The Real, both for Mr. Bradley and Prof. Bosanquet, is 'an individual' and 'a system.' It is one in the sense that it 'embraces every partial diversity in concord;' the differences exist 'harmoniously' in it and beyond it there is nothing. 'There are no independent reals.' The Real is thus free from contradiction and what is contradictory is not real. In respect of principle, therefore, both of them are in perfect agreement.

As regards the 'status' of the finites, there is an important thing to note in both. Mr. Bradley insists with all his zeal and with all the wealth of words that his vocabulary allows that every finite [which is 'appearance,' and at times, 'mere appearance,' 'illusion,' 'self-contradictory appearance,' 'irrational appearance,' essentially made of inconsistencies, and so on and so forth] must be 'transformed,' 're-arranged,' 'merged,' 'fused,' 'absorbed,' 'dissolved in a higher unity,' and even 'suppressed,' 'destroyed,' and 'lost,' so as to be as it must be, included in the Real. We are bewildered amid these trains of puzzling terms. Everything is sanctified in order to be included in the Real. The more or less unreal [*i.e.*, contradictory] feature of every finite is stripped off before the professed inclusion is allowed. We ask in wonder: what remains of the finite? Every finite is different from every other, and is contradistinguished from the rest because of some peculiar character which it possesses. The natural and necessary feature of the finites is what Mr. Bradley most strongly condemns. As soon as they are filtered and sanctified, what becomes of them? They all become one and the same,—yes, which is the same as nothing. Accordingly, if we are to seek and assign status to the finites, we can at best say that they have got only a cosmological individuality and value varying in multifarious degrees, but ontologically they have got no reality [*i.e.*, status] of their own. One to speak in the language of the Vedānta, the finites have got only *vyavahārika sātā*; they have no *pāramārthika sātā*. But the problem stares us in the face again. Mr. Bradley tells us that the Real is harmonic. The Real in which all the varieties as such disappear is

like a book, all the different contents of the different pages of which are completely washed out. This consummation verging on blank identity naturally reminds one of Schelling.¹

Prof. Bosanquet begins with, we must say, a more promising note. Inspired by the teachings of the 'great masters,'—especially of Hegel, he sought, as he himself has said, to carry on the plan of the teachers to its logical end. But Prof. Bosanquet too, we must say, in spite of his professed desire, succeeded only in showing that cosmologically the finites have substantial reality but ontologically they are no more than adjectival, which is, in principle, really 'Mr. Bradley again.'²

I am painfully aware of the sketchy character of this discussion. If, however, I have been able to show, even though very poorly, the relative merits and demerits of the two great systems of thought within which British Idealism may rightly be said to have developed its present form, I should be content to think that my effort has been rewarded with all that it really deserves.

¹ Pringle-Pattison observes: "And Mr. Bradley's statement, that the theoretic object moves towards a consummation in which all distinction and all identity must be suppressed is almost verbally identical with Schelling's account of the ultimate goal of the finite Ego" [*Man's place in the Cosmos*, New Ed., 1902, p. 123. Carefully note also pp. 119 and 135.]

Note also how Mr. Bradley vacillates:

Speaking of the Absolute, Mr. Bradley writes: "What we discover rather is a whole in which distinctions can be made but divisions do not exist." [*Appearance and Reality*, Ch. XIV, p. 128.]

And—

"and a distinction grounded on no difference may certainly be called a monster incapable of life except within a one-sided theory." [*Principles of Logic*, p. 664.]

² I refrain from showing how a more thorough and profound conception may be met with in the Vedānta philosophy on the question of the 'status' of the finite.

THE RADIO AND FILM IN ADULT EDUCATION.

SHEIKH IFTIKHAR RASOOL.

Much of the criticism which has been levelled at education in recent years has alleged that it has lost contact with the changing world in which most of us have to earn our daily bread. This criticism has been made of our schools and universities and it has also been suggested, but less virulently, of our adult education services. The keynote to the problem is in the demands of specialisation. In the first instance our education tries to fit us to earn a living. It teaches us a trade or a profession. It forces us into comparatively narrow limits at any age, and as we move upwards through school and college these limits become more constricting. But more important than this is the fact that we are being educated by specialists who tend to delve deeper and deeper into their own subject and to pay less and less attention to its practical applications. Relationships of one subject to another tend to be obscured. This is a very real fault, but is perhaps the just penalty of specialisation. But the fault does not become apparent so long as every one is working within his own limits and is not asked to make judgments beyond his own sphere. The difficulties arise when the expert is called to make a judgment—even a semi-expert judgment—in another field. This situation arises most apparently in the demands of citizenship. The specialist in higher mathematics, botany, or what you will, reserves to himself the right as a citizen to make a judgment on civic issues. He most certainly will reserve the right to judge the merits of the various candidates in a political election.

These are the kinds of illustrations which every critic of our universities uses periodically. The critic denies the validity of a judgment without expert knowledge. And he is probably right. He alleges that there is something wrong with our educational system when specialisation is carried to the length that allows men of intellect and capacity to be incapable of a sound judgment on matters which may affect even their civic liberties. And again he is probably right; for education to-day does force us to limit ourselves to a narrow field in which we have practical and theoretical efficiency and does place us in the hands of teachers and professors who by the very nature of their work are often precluded from seeing even the educational process, far less the social process, as a whole.

Foreign Universities.

Some foreign universities have tried to come into the life of the people by taking the daily life of the people into the universities. In England recently an investigation took the form of a series of demonstrations of lessons in different subjects, in the arrangement for which every effort was made to produce the normal atmosphere of the classroom. Each class was under the charge of its own teacher, and the teachers were requested in preparing their pupils for the broadcast, in their conduct of the class during the lesson and in the follow-up, if such were necessary, to adhere rigidly to their ordinary school procedure. The lesson was broadcast from an

adjoining classroom by the usual broadcaster of the lessons. In addition to the class there was an audience composed of head teachers, principal teachers and assistant teachers, all of whom were themselves making weekly use of the wireless in school.

With the completion of the lesson the class left the room and the audience became a body of critics. The Director of Education, as Chairman, guided and controlled the discussion. The broadcast speaker described how he prepared his talk, the place it occupied in the course, the objective he had in mind, and the reason for the method adopted. The teacher supplied information regarding the ages and attainments of the pupils, their previous experience in listening to broadcast lessons, the nature of any preparation that had previously taken place, the extent to which the lesson had fitted in with the appropriate scheme of work and any further follow up that might suitably be made. He also gave his opinion of the success of the lesson.

In the ensuing discussion every aspect of the lesson came under review and all those problems which have been exercising the minds of teachers using the wireless in school seem to have been considered. The findings regarding them are set forth in the section of the report and show that maximum value will not be derived from a lesson unless it is received into a body of knowledge or skill which the pupils have already acquired, though the nature of the preparation will of necessity vary according to the type of lesson.

Similar attempts have been made in America which have collected and collated evidence and formulated conclusions and suggestions which ought to be exceedingly helpful in stimulating the further development of broadcasting in schools and colleges.

Developments in India.

In the case of the radio, India is only on the threshold of developments in broadcasting. If it is necessary to evolve a new technique in the presentation of films in India, it is still more necessary to discover a way of using the medium of the radio in such a manner that amusement may not stultify the function of the radio as an educative force.

Broadcast talks have a tendency of becoming too verbose and, in some cases, too involved. If it is the intention of the broadcasting authorities to reach the millions of India, instead of only the elite, the talks will have to be pitched in a different key, more simple and direct.

Recent developments in the neighbourhood of India show that broadcasting may soon take a share in the marshalling of Asiatic thought. All over India, and specially in the south, the growing interest in radio is producing not only a demand for sets from private owners, but a growing use of community receivers and public address systems by small municipalities. Any possessor of a short-wave set is familiar with the propagandist services which increasingly crowd the ether. The influence of wireless as a subtle moulder of thought and opinion need not be stressed.

Fortunately for India, both the film industry and the radio have the advantage of being in a position to profit by the mistakes of other countries, and if film-producers and broadcasting authorities steadfastly keep in view the role of the cinema and the radio as educative forces, they will enable India to avoid the mistakes of film producers and radio organisations in other countries which have so commercialised the film and the radio as to make them vehicles merely of cheap propaganda and cheaper amusement.

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA, SECRETARY, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The following note by the American Fellowship Foundation will, we hope, be of interest to our readers :—

In the sheer dimensions, the Guggenheim Foundation operates on an astonishing scale. It plans to maintain from forty to sixty Fellows each year. The scholarship is normally fixed at \$ 2,500 (Rs. 7,000) a year. Besides expenses of administration and publication, the Foundation thus grants annually stipends of over Rs. 4,00,000.

Aside from a limited number of fellowships available to Latin Americans, the Foundation extends its facilities only to the citizens of the United States. Without distinction of race, colour and sex, the "Fellowships are intended for men and women of high intellectual and personal qualifications who have already demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship or unusual creative ability in the fine arts."

The greater number of fellowships are intended for work outside the United States. Citizens of the United States are thus working in various parts of the world and equipping themselves with efficiency and experience in their different tasks. Some of them also succeed in discovering or systematising or creating something good and useful and, otherwise, making knowledge available to larger numbers. In any case, the presence and work of citizens of the United States in various parts of the world promotes international understanding.

There is a refreshing catholicity about the range of the Foundation. There is also no demand on the Fellow, once he is appointed, except that he submits reports of his work to the Foundation. As the charter says, the Fellowships are "tenable under the freest possible conditions, for research in any field of knowledge and for creative work in any of the fine arts, including music."

A random selection from the fellows and the subjects of 1937, will show the free and wide range of the Foundation :—

(1) Playwright, Chicago ; Creative writing in the field of the Drama.

(2) Research Fellow in Chemistry, California Institute of Technology ; Determination of the molecular structures of certain heavy metal carbonyls and a general consideration of the relations between molecular structures and heavy properties,

(3) Sculptor, New York City ; Creative work in sculpture.

(4) Historian, Boston ; The Preparation of a work to be entitled "The Consolidation of British Power in India, 1783-1815."

(5) Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of California ; The Preparation of an analysis and theory of knowledge, realistic and intellectualistic, systematically describing the constituents of knowledge, its structure, and the grounds and extent of its validity,

(6) Assistant on the Assyrian Dictionary Staff, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago ; Studies in the field of the history of Sumerian culture, to be based on tablets dating from approximately 200 B.C.

(7) Instructor in Chemistry, Puerto Rico ; Chemical Studies of medicinal and poisonous plants of the West Indies.

(8) Poet, Philadelphia ; Creative writing.

The candidate is only required to submit a definite plan of his proposed work. The Committee of Selection takes its decisions on the basis of the candidate's past attainments and the value of his project.

It is not difficult to picture the Guggenheim sculptor roaming about in the Athenian ruins and expressing his creative urges in secure leisure. The idea of a poet or a composer travelling from a philharmonic concert in Berlin to a Montparnasse cafe is no less entertaining. Along side is also the sociologist or the scientist engaged in intellectual and scientific studies. One wishes that India had a similar Foundation.

At Home and Abroad

Lancashire trade with India

It is revealed that the cotton delegation to Mr. Oliver Stanley (President of the Board of Trade) urged that while Lancashire in its efforts to improve mutual trade relations had taken increasing quantities of Indian raw cotton, there had been nothing resembling a *quid pro quo*.

The Indian offers at Simla, the delegation informed Mr. Stanley, had been rejected as "quite inadequate."

Mr. Stanley listened sympathetically and is expected to place the whole position before the Cabinet.

A meeting of the delegation summed up the position as follows: "The position now, put shortly and frankly, is that we live on the hopes that Government negotiators can succeed where our deputation failed. We don't burke the word 'failed.' In face of the attitude of the Indian representatives at Simla they could do no more than return empty-handed."

Egyptian Army

"The Government regards reinforcement of the Army as one of its most sacred duties, and a most efficient means of realizing the independence for which Egypt has struggled," declared the Premier, Mahmoud Pasha.

He added that the New Budget would provide a revenue of a million pounds from new taxes to which would be added 2½ millions from the reserve fund to balance the Budget.

The Government's financial policy envisaged the creation of a state bank and an industrial credit bank. *Pourparlers* were being held as a preliminary to Egyptian-Soviet trade negotiations.

Future status of Alexandretta

Decisions which are likely to have a vital bearing on Turkish policy in the Sanjak of Alexandretta are believed to have been made at an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet aboard Kemal Ataturk's yacht.

The Council, for which the War Minister and the Chief of General Staff were urgently summoned from Ankara, thoroughly examined the latest phases of the Franco-Turkish dispute over the Sanjak of Alexandretta where the negotiations between the Turkish and French military missions, it is reported, have reached a deadlock, as also have the talks in Paris.

Jews Debarred from Stock Exchange

The Minister of Economics has issued a decree barring all Jews from the stock exchange and official markets.

In order not to disturb business on the stock exchange, Jewish firms will be allowed to do a little business through Aryans for the time being.

King leaves for France

Eighty ships of the Home Fleet steamed from Weymouth Bay into the English Channel, headed by the battleship "Nelson" with his Majesty the King aboard her. His Majesty left the yacht "Victoria and Albert" for the "Nelson" in the new high speed royal barge escorted by two power boats. He was accompanied by the Duke of Kent as his personal aide-de-camp.

Humanising Warfare

Mr. Cordell Hull is understood to be developing a programme to humanise warfare particularly with regard to stopping bombing of civilians, according to circles in close contact with the State department. He is stated to be devoting much time to the subject. No details are available. Mr. Hull has not yet entered into discussions with other nations.

Chinese general executed

General Lunghohun, Commander of the Crack 88th Division, was executed on June 17, for failure to obey orders in defence of the Lungkat Railway town, Langfeng, states an announcement issued by Marshal Chaiing-Kai-Shek's headquarters. The communique adds that although the General subsequently led his division to recapture Langfeng, military discipline does not permit of disobedience and therefore he had to die.

Japan's warning to Powers

It is understood that official notes warning the Powers that fighting in China is likely to spread to a huge new area embracing almost the entire Eastern half of the country, have been sent to Foreign Diplomatic Representatives at Tokio by General Ugaki.

Foreigners living in the area running from the Yellow-River in the North almost to the French Indo-Chinese border in the South are asked to take special precautions to ensure their safety or if possible, withdraw entirely.

Turko-French talks

The Turko-French negotiations, at present being held at Antioch between the respective General Staffs for a settlement of the differences between the two countries over the autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta, are continuing in a very cordial atmosphere.

It is understood that General Gunduz, leader of the Turkish mission, and General Huntzinger, Commander-in-Chief of the French troops in Syria, have arrived at an agreement over the essentials of the problems to be considered.

American Fleet Manoeuvres

The Navy Department is preparing extensive fleet manoeuvres on the Atlantic early this summer, states the *New York Times*, Washington

correspondent, who understands that the operations will extend to a point midway between Europe and the United States, and as far south as the equatorial line off Brazil.

It is believed that manœuvres on this scale will reassure South American countries, who may be under the pressure of European propaganda, while American naval strength capabilities in time of war will be demonstrated under the noses of European dictators.

Official sources deny knowledge of such plans but, it is pointed out that such denial might be based on the fact that the plans have not yet been finally sanctioned. It is estimated that the operations will involve 55,000 men and 155 warships.

Neutral commission for Spain

Progress is being made with the proposal lunched by the British Government for a small neutral international commission consisting of competent officers to investigate any cases that might occur in Spain of bombing of non-military objectives. The proposal is that the Commission should have its headquarters in France near the Spanish frontier and should proceed when requested to do so by either side in Spain to prompt investigation of any bombing incident.

The British, Swedish and Norwegian Governments are prepared each to nominate an officer to participate in the commission, but the United States Government, which was invited to take a similar action, is understood to have sent an interim reply suggesting that the proposal should not be delayed pending the receipt from them of a definite answer. The invitation was confined to some of the countries against whom no charge of partiality of Spanish conflict has been brought. A statement is expected on the present stage of the proposal in the House of Commons on Monday.

Marshal Graziani

It is understood, says the Rome correspondent of the *Times*, that Marshal Graziani, former Viceroy of Abyssinia, was recently sent to Spain to review the prospects of the campaign.

The Marshal is believed to have submitted his report.

Barcelona Bombed

The British steamer *Thorpebay* was damaged by a bomb during a rebel air raid on Barcelona according to a Republican *communiqué*.

The *communiqué* adds that there is intense insurgent pressure on all sectors of the Levant front but that the Republicans are standing firm.

Italian Battleships at Malta

A thunder of Salutes boomed as two Italian battleships and four destroyers arrived here on a four-day visit. This is the first visit of Italian warships to Malta in twelve years.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Viswa Bharati

The Calcutta University Examination results of the College and the School departments of Viswa Bharati have been satisfactory. There have been cent. per cent. passes in the B.A. and the Matriculation Examinations. All the candidates for the Matriculation have been placed in the First Division. The Intermediate Examination results are a little above the University percentage.

The construction of the College Hostel is nearing completion. The Kula-Bhaban hostels built with the generous donations of Messrs. Birla Brothers have just been completed. A new annexe to the Kula-Bhaban Museum to house the Havell Collections is under construction.

Burma Scholarships to Study Journalism

The Government of Burma are offering a scholarship for the study of journalism and publicity work in the United Kingdom, and another for polytechnic work, either in Japan or in the United Kingdom.

The candidate selected for the former scholarship will be admitted to King's College, University of London.

It is proposed that the candidate selected for the other scholarship will undergo a course of training in two of the following three subjects: wood work, light metal work, leather work.

Madras University

The Annual Convocation of the Madras University will be held at the Banqueting Hall of Government House on August 5 and 6. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore State, will deliver the Convocation Address.

Dacca University

The Annual Convocation of the University of Dacca will be held on the 20th July next and that the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, Kt., P.C., President of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Executive Council, has agreed to deliver the Convocation Address.

Punjab University

The name of Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan is being freely mentioned in Punjab Assembly circles in connection with the Vice-Chancellorship of the Punjab University.

Annamalai University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Annamalai University has approved of the nomination of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as the Vice-chancellor of the Annamalai University for a further period of three years.

Paid Vice-Chancellor in Lahore

"His Excellency the Chancellor of the Punjab University is convinced that in the existing conditions no suitable official and no Minister can find the time necessary for the post of Vice-Chancellor.

"Nor can His Excellency think of any non-official with suitable qualifications who would be likely to devote his whole time to the appointment in an honorary capacity.

In the circumstances, His Excellency the Chancellor has decided that the interests of the University will be best served by throwing the post open to public competition in the hope that by this means suitable candidates will be attracted."

These observations are contained in a *communiqué* issued by the Director of Public Information, Punjab, on a resolution recently passed by the Senate of the Punjab University recording the opinion "that the appointment of a paid Vice-Chancellor is neither necessary nor desirable."

The *communiqué* adds that His Excellency the Chancellor has come to the conclusion that the case for a wholetime paid Vice-Chancellor is overwhelming.

Eminent Archaeologist to Visit India

A Press "communiqué" issued by the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, notifies:—

The extensive excavations carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other places have revealed the existence in these regions of a wide-spread ancient civilization similar in many respects to the Sumerian civilization of the Near East with which it had established contacts. In order to provide for fruitful co-operation in this particular field of exploration between archaeologists in India and archaeologists working in the Near East, it appeared desirable to the Government of India that the Archaeological Survey of India should have the benefit of the services of some eminent archaeologist who had worked on Sumerian exploration in Iraq and other countries of the Near East. They have accordingly invited Sir Leonard Woolley to spend next winter in India.

Sir Leonard who has accepted the invitation will arrive in India by the end of October and stay in the country till the middle of January. During this period he will visit Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Chanhudaro and Amri, Taxila and Sarnath, Nalanda and Pabarpur and other centres of archaeological activity in Northern and Southern India.

This will enable officers of the Archaeological Survey of India to exchange views with him as regards the technique of exploration. Advantage will also be taken of Sir Leonard's visit to utilise his vast experience of exploration for the purpose of suggesting sites which promise the best

results from intensive exploration. In a country of the size and archaeological wealth of India, selective exploration is essential for deriving the maximum benefit from the limited funds that are likely to be available for expenditure on this kind of activity.

Sir Leonard Woolley is one of the most eminent living British Archaeologists and his qualifications for the work before him are well known to the world in general. His achievements in the Near East culminating in his notable work at Ur have focussed upon him the attention of archaeologists throughout the world. He has recently been engaged on an exploratory survey in North West Syria with a view to obtaining links between the Mesopotamian and Cretan cultures and will continue this work after his visit to India.

Everest Expedition

Explaining the reason for the scantiness of news from the Everest Expedition, Prof. Balfour, acting President of the Royal Geographical Society, stated :—“ Cut off from the doubtful benefits of reports by wireless, we have remained in a pleasant state of ignorance and expectancy. On principle, the weather is always different from what one might expect ; but we have remained in the confident hope that a sufficient period of fine weather will have given them the opportunity of success at last.”

Dealing with the unofficial reports that the Expedition has been abandoned, he said :—“ Recent rumours may be disregarded and we are content to await official information from the leader of the expedition.”

The new President of the Society is Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode.

Miscellany

WINTER RELIEF IN GERMANY*

The total assistance rendered by the Winter Help was

1933-34	...	...	350,000,356 marks
1934-35	...	...	360,493,480 marks
1935-36	...	...	371,948,008 marks
1936-37	...	...	408,323,140 marks

The following statistics and figures are quoted from the General Report 1936-37.

Stated in terms of money, the assistance which the Winter Help rendered to those in need during the winter of 1936-37 has been valued as follows:

Foodstuffs, groceries, etc.	...	124,080,304 marks
Domestic Fuel	...	62,937,592 marks
Clothing	...	78,965,265 marks
Objects for Household Use	...	9,579,671 marks
Coupons and various gifts	...	38,630,041 marks
Sundry Expenditures	...	7,650,106 marks

In order to dispense as far as possible with the necessity of carrying out collections during the rest of the year, the Winter Help gave a subsidy of 16,500,000 marks in 1936-37 to the German Red Cross and the other welfare organizations. Over and above this subsidy 3,000,000 marks were given from the Winter Help funds to the National Socialist People's Welfare Organisation to be used in the treatment of patients suffering from tuberculosis.

Among the gifts in kind which were made by the Winter Help during 1936-37 were the following:

Potatoes	...	10,956,038 cwts.
Coal, coke and peat	...	42,543,420 cwts.
Sundry foodstuffs	...	2,512,448 cwts.
Clothing, shoes, household linen, beds, beddings, etc.	...	13,647,495 pieces or pairs
Free meals, school and Winter Help meals	...	32,980,559
Tickets for theatres, concerts and cinemas which were placed at the disposal of the Winter Help gratis	...	8,784,762
Gifts of various objects, such as books, musical instruments, toys, etc.	...	8,212,462 pieces

B. K. Sarker: "Social Service in German Winter Relief" (*Prabuddha Bharata*, Calcutta), October, 1936.

The German national railways, the private railways and the light railways forwarded 53,132,128 cwts. of goods for the Winter Help during 1936-37. This involved 3,542 freight trains of 50 wagons each. Through the free transport of these goods, the German national railways, the private railways and light railways contributed the value of a sum of money amounting to 17,527,980 marks.

The decrease in unemployment has continued to show itself in the decreased number of people who had to be assisted by the Winter Help. Thus, for instance, in 1933-34 253 persons out of every 1,000 inhabitants had to be helped. In 1934-35 this number was reduced to 211 and in 1935-36 to 1934. During 1936-37, only 161 people in every thousand of the inhabitants had to be helped.

The number of assistants engaged in the Winter Help for 1936-37 to whom salaries and compensation were paid amounted to 0.6% of the average number of helpers, that is to say, 0.6% out of 1,349,008.

The working expenses of the Winter Help for 1936-37 were very small. They amounted to 1.8% of the total assistance rendered.

The Day of National Solidarity brought in 1,577,465 marks more in 1936 than in the previous year. This increase in the social plebiscite, as the Day of National Solidarity is called, amounted to 38.6%.

In comparison with 1935-36 the one-dish Sunday contributions showed a gain of 1,769,867 marks.

The street collections throughout the Reich were an enormous success in 1936-37. These brought in 30,531,925 marks, which was an increase of 12,122,610 marks or 65.7% on the previous year.

118,662 178 Winter Help badges were sold in the streets which was an increase of 47,352,819 over the previous year. As in the former years, the production cost of these badges was paid out in the distressed areas and helped to give auxiliary work there.

The popular Christmas festivities inaugurated by the Winter Help were carried out also in 1936-37. Three million children belonging to very poor families were entertained at these Christmas festivities, which numbered 23,000 in all.

Hitherto the resources of the Winter Help were applied exclusively to relieving the appalling distress which the National Socialist regime found on coming into power. The steady improvement in economic conditions has made it possible for the new Winter Help to devote attention to new spheres.

In 1936-37, 59,597,469 marks were spent for the "Mother and Child" section and the National Mothers' Welfare. The work done by the "Mother and Child" section has increased considerably. At the end of 1936 the number of relief and advisory centres was 26,279, an increase of 37.7% over the previous year. These 26,279 relief and advisory centres dealt with 8,410,848 persons. In 1933, 185,845 expectant mothers and mothers during confinement were cared for, as well as 99,168 infants. From May, 1934, until the end of 1936, 175,892 mothers were cared for during recuperative periods. The number of days in all came to 4,657,816. Of this number 69,876 mothers were cared for during recuperative vacations in the year 1936 alone.

In the sphere of kindergarten work an average of 176,808 free meals were given each month to the children.

In order to relieve mothers with large families and housewives who had become ill, 80,817 cases were dealt with either by sending special auxiliary household helpers or doing substitute work for mothers at their ordinary places of employment.

The section which deals with recuperative vacations for the youth treated 417,072 to a vacation during 1936.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

ECONOMIC AUTARCHY IN ITALY¹

Fascist Italy is to-day *lo stato corporativo*, the corporative state. Collaboration between the representatives of the technical industries and the members of the various categories of employers and employed has been established under the guidance of the corporations.

The essential characteristic of Italian economy at the present moment is the realization of the policy tending towards autarchy, i.e., national self-sufficiency. This has got a fillip during the Abyssinian War.

In 1935 the basic structure of Italian economy underwent the severe test of "sanctions" or economic boycott by certain Powers. Italy emerged victorious in spite of the fact that supplies of raw material fell off by 44% while there was a 30% decline in the usual imports of semi-manufactured products. The forward march which commenced immediately after this signal victory assumed the character of a readjustment until 1937. The reserve stock of raw materials, which had been seriously depleted during the months of the economic siege and the victorious Ethiopian campaign, had now to be reconstituted. Imperial Italy entered upon a period of progressive and uninterrupted economic consolidation. There were three different aspects of this process: (1) the completion of the progress which had already been made in the agricultural field in order to meet national food requirements, (2) the increase of industrial production, utilizing national raw materials to the full extent permitted by modern scientific progress, (3) the elimination of the "passive" items in the national trade balance by the readjustment of the difference between imports and exports.

The various sectors of Italian economy were gradually put on a sound basis and this work is still going on. In 1937 the index figures showed no signs of depression, even after the tremendous effort made to withstand the sanctions. The corporative system appears thus to have brought about concrete results, since it is possible under this organization to effect a systematic control of the rhythm of production in the various branches of industry, on a basis of the capital available and the capacity of absorption of the consumers' market. There is therefore no hiatus between State intervention in economic life and the initiative of the individual producer, the majority of whom are grouped in national *consortia* according to categories. The balance between the various sectors of economic life should appear thus to be judiciously maintained.

The solid foundation of Italian economy is to be found chiefly in the supply of basic food products.² During the five-year period, 1918-22, the average annual production of wheat was 46 million quintals; for the period 1923-27, it was 57 million, rising to 66 million in the five years from

¹ G. Mortara : *Prospettive Economiche* (Milan 1937), p. XIV.

² A. Maraschini : *L'Agricoltura Italiana e l'Autarchia* (Turin, 1938).

1928-32; and to 72 million during the period from 1933-37. These are regular and striking increases, bringing last year's harvest up to 80 million quintals, or more than the national requirements. The Italian Government doubted whether these figures would be maintained during 1938. Weather fluctuations from one season to another constitute a well-known factor in agricultural production, especially where the soil is not excessively fertile and where long wet periods follow suddenly upon long periods of drought. For this reason, when an abundant crop was harvested in Italy in 1937, a law was immediately enacted compelling the mills to mix other cereals with the wheat up to a certain percentage. Thus a reserve stock of wheat will be established beginning with the current year, ensuring a constant average supply of grain for the market and avoiding the necessity of importing wheat from abroad in the years when a poor crop has been harvested. (1 quintal = 100 lb.).

The fact that this increase in production is not the result of an extension of the area to wheat is of special importance in Italian economy. It is due to an increase in yield per hectare (ha = 2½ acres): indeed, in the five-year period mentioned above, the yield improved as follows: from 10·2 to 12 quintals per hectare; then from 13·6 to 14·3 quintals. The increase in grain production was obtained as a result of a judicious and wide-spread use of fertilizer, produced industrially in Italy by a process of chemical synthesis, utilizing atmospheric azote and hydro-electric energy. It did not therefore occupy land required for other crops. In fact, the popularity of artificial meadows and grass land has developed in Italy simultaneously with the increase of the wheat crop, making it possible to increase the number of cattle. This is another element of strength in the national rural economy.

These are signs of Italian agricultural progress.¹ An increase in the rhythm of work is also evident in the industrial field. Adopting as a basis the year 1928, universally considered as a prosperous year and also because it was prior to the world economic crisis, we find that the statistics concerning Italian industrial production touched their lowest point in 1932 with the index figure 73. Since then there has been a gradual upward trend. During the whole of 1937, with the exception of the summer months when certain seasonal industries show a decline, the index was over 110, in September it reached 117·9 and 115·2 in November. Before the end of 1937 Italian industrial production touched a higher level than during the most favourable phase of the prosperous period prior to the world crisis of 1930. This intensity of production is observed especially in the fundamental industries upon which the later development of the manufacturing industries depends. Indeed, the mining, mechanical products and chemical industries are particularly active, as well as those supplying electric power, heat and light.

In 1934 the increase which took place in industrial production rapidly lessened the dependence of Italy upon foreign markets.² A 200% increase in the output of coal and a 15% increase in that of lignite are clear signs of this new activity, accompanied by a 100% rise in the output of iron ore (which has reached one million tons), while aluminium production has increased tenfold. During three years the production of synthetic dyestuffs has almost doubled and the chemical industry connected therewith is now adequately equipped. The rayon output increased from 51 million kilograms in 1934 to 180 million in 1937, so that Italy is now the most

¹ *Les Progrès de l'Agriculture italienne en régime fasciste* (Rome, 1934).

² For industrial production see the monthly *Rassegna Economica* (Bank of Naples).

important producer of synthetic fibres in Europe and the foremost exporter in the world.

The tremendous development which has taken place in the field of mechanical production, now supplying almost all the various types of mechanical products necessary for use within the country, is another sign of the radical technical transformation throughout the entire industrial field in Italy. One of the outstanding characteristics of this transformation is the substitution of imported by home-grown fibres. Moreover, the new types of manufactures have been very well received on foreign markets. The Italian textile industry excels in the manufacture of union yarns, consisting of a mixture of cotton with the new fibres (hemp-staple fibre, and rayon staple fibre, which is one of the marvels of chemistry in the textile field). These are not substitutes in the ordinary sense of the term, they are new fabrics, some of whose characteristics are different and other better than those of the old, natural materials. They are therefore accepted and appreciated on the textile export market with increasing favour, evidenced by the considerable sums in foreign exchange which find their way to the Italian balance of payments.

This technical transformation led to an intense activity. Such activity is a sign of economic solidity, the more so if accompanied by a very satisfactory situation on the labour market. At the same time the capital market skilfully regulated by the State, with a view to eliminating the possibility of speculation and to giving confidence to savings placed in profitable investments is in a position to face the immense work actual in progress.

The trade situation with foreign countries reflects these conditions. It has been said that the policy of "autarchy" or self-sufficiency destroys international trade. The scarecrow of trade isolation has also been suggested in this connection. It is a fact, however, that in Italy so extensive an increase in productive work, developing in the branches of production, destined for home consumption, as well as in the other branches (production of synthetic textile fibres, cultivation of choice vegetables and fruits, and other similar agrarian and industrial activities), producing for export purposes, does not and cannot lead to the destruction of trade. Recently the Ministry of Exchange and Valuta, whose duty it is to control a very important sector of the self-sufficiency programme, has observed that "the progressive improvement in the general living conditions of the people, which is one of the principal aims of the Fascist regime, and the battle for self-sufficiency, tending to create new outlets for national activity, increases the necessity for consumers' goods and equipment which still have to be imported from abroad."

There is therefore no drying up of trade relations between Italy and foreign countries, as a result of the self-sufficiency policy.¹ This policy, in its relation to Italian foreign trade, merely tends to effect the elimination of those items which leads to an excessive trade deficit, so that they do not have an injurious effect on the balance of accounts. In short, the policy is based on the open and simple object of attaining the necessary equilibrium between the "active" and the "passive" trade balance, and isolation from the world trade market is assuredly not one of its objectives.

¹ Cf. B. K. Barker: "Economic Autarchy as embodied in the German Four-year Plan *Calcutta Review*, February, 1938.

Taking all trade trends in a mass, it is found that from 1929 up to the present day, the amount of world imports and exports has been reduced by one half, giving rise to the crisis in world economy. On the other hand, at the end of 1937, a study of the indices of goods imported and exported to and from Italy (100% the index for 1929), gives the following figures: imports: 67.86; exports: 80.34. Trade therefore continues to be brisk, even when a self-sufficiency policy is being practised; and it is certainly much higher than the average world level. Rather, it has been stated that in 1937 the development of imports was excessive, giving rise to a serious adverse trade balance. The causes of this situation were the exceptionally poor harvest of 1936, due to a bad season and the necessity for replenishing stocks of coal, mineral oil, metals, cotton, wool, cellulose and oil seeds which had been brought to a low ebb during the period of the economic "sanctions." Hence the excessive volume of imports.

This heavy trade deficit in 1937 is likely to oblige the Fascist Government to exercise increasingly severe control over imports but a very wide margin will still remain for maintaining the activity of the major trends on a basis of reciprocal and legitimate parity. With Jugoslavia, for instance, in 1937 when the after-effects of sanctions on exports and imports had ceased trade relations were renewed with great intensity, so much so that the balance in favour of Jugoslavia rose to the proportions registered in 1933. Even if some monopolist interests in the countries which supply raw materials should be affected by the self-sufficiency policy of Fascism,

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DECLINE IN AMERICAN CONSUMER INCOME

Near stability in the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production in February and probably in March, as suggested by other indices of business activity, is in sharp contrast to the drastic slump from August, 1937 to January, 1938, which carried the Federal Reserve Board index down from 117 to 80 per cent. of the 1923-25 average. The carry-over effect of this earlier decline in productive activity resulted in a sizeable contraction in the money income of consumers in February and very probably in March, says the *Agricultural Situation* (Washington, D.C., April, 1938).

There is as yet no evidence suggesting an immediate halt to the downward trend in national income, which is a broad measure of domestic demand for industrial and agricultural products.

The effects of this decline in dollar income, on the volume of goods which consumers can buy, is offset only in part by receding retail food prices and other living costs.

Measures of Domestic Demand

(1924-29 = 100)

	February				Per cent. change		
	1929	1933	1937	1938	1937-38	1938-38	1929-38
National Income	105.4	58.6	93.4	86.3	-8	+47	-18
Non-agricultural Income :							
Total	105.7	61.5	93.9	88.0	-6	+43	-17
Per Capita	101.2	57.0	83.8	77.9	-7	+37	-28
Factory Pay rolls :							
Total	106.4	39.9	93.2	71.5	-23	+79	-33
Per employed wage earner	102.6	62.1	93.4	85.9	-8	+38	-16
Industrial Production :							
Total	110.5	59.0	109.6	74.0	-32	+25	-38
Factories processing Farm products	106.0	88.2	112.9	87.1	-23	-1	-18
Other factory production	112.4	43.5	105.6	63.2	-40	+45	-44
Constructive activity :							
Contracts awarded total	97.5	15.7	51.2	39.7	-22	+153	-59
Contracts awarded residential :	84.2	7.2	42.1	26.9	-30	+274	-68
Employment in production of building materials	95.9	34.8	64.6	52.0	-20	+49	-46
Cost of living Food	98.5	57.0	81.4	75.5	-7	+80	-23
All other items	98.5	61.7	83.4	85.9	+3	+5	-18
Purchasing power of non-agricultural income per capita :							
For Food	102.7	98.4	102.9	103.2	+½	+5	+½
For "All other items"	102.7	69.8	100.5	90.7	-10	+30	-12

FACTORY LABOR IN JAPAN

The year 1937 was most eventful from the standpoint of the labor situation, says the *Oriental Economist* (Tokyo). The sharp upturn in commodity prices between the end of 1936 and well into April of 1937 expanded the earnings of the entrepreneur and raised living costs, thus furnishing the grounds for widespread labour disputes. This labor unrest, however, was checked by the exigencies of the Sino-Japanese hostilities and later the number of such controversies began to decline. In fact, the majority of labor organizations have voluntarily expressed the stand that as long as the China conflict lasts they will cease to engage in such disputes. The amplification program of industrial productivity and the call to the colors of an increasingly large number of men of military age served to aggravate the labor shortage, which began making itself felt as early as last spring. At the same time, the hours of labor for those already in employment have had to be extended, of course at a higher rate of pay, as a matter of urgent necessity.

During the first six months of 1937 there were 1,455 labor controversies, or an increase of 65%, and the number of workers involved therein was 181,531, or a fourfold increase. These figures were the highest on record in the labor annals in this country, exceeding the previous highs of 1,079 disputes with 84,344 workers involved, which were recorded for the first half of 1931.

The demands which labor made in these disputes were for better pay, shorter hours, freedom to form unions or recognition of unions, and other claims of a more constructive character from the standpoint of the workers. Indeed, as classified by the nature of demands, more than 58% of the disputes belonged to the above categories, clearly showing the aggressive attitude of the workers. Since the outbreak of the China hostilities, however, the tendency has been the reverse. During the second half of 1937 there were 651 disputes in which 30,080 workers were involved, or 488 fewer disputes and of 19,080 fewer workers involved. This unmistakably reflected a change in the attitude of labor owing to the hostilities. In fact, the Japan Federation of Labor at its national convention on October 17 and 18, adopted a resolution outlining its guiding policy as non-dispute and industrial co-operation. Later the Social Mass Party followed suit.

On the other hand, the continued business revival which centered on brisk activity in the arms and ammunition field, created an acute and rapidly expanding labor demand. The Bank of Japan index of labor employment in privately operated factories was 108.5 at the end of December 1936, moved up to 117.6 at the end of June, 1937, and again rose sharply to 123.2 at the end of December. The result was that an army of unskilled workers received employment and the hours of those already employed were extended. Consequently, while the average per capita wage rate has failed to show a marked rise, actual wages have risen appreciably. The Bank of Japan index of wage rates was 83.8 last December end, an advance of 8% over 80.9 a year before. Until September actual wages were at a standstill, but thereafter they moved sharply upward so that from 96.1 in September they rose by 6% to 102.9 in December. The increased real earnings have of course contributed much towards improving the the workers' living conditions, but the fact must be recognized that the increase has been brought about partly by the extension of working hours.

The acute labor shortage that was responsible for this situation can well be imagined. To remedy the difficulty of obtaining machinists, for instance, the Commerce and Industry Department last year end established a training school, and at the same time many Government-operated and private factories have been subsidized by the Government for training skilled workers at the rate of 2,700 men a year. Nevertheless, the labor shortage still remains an acute problem of Japanese industries.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

They Found God. By M. L. Christleib. Allen and Unwin, 5s.

This book consists of sketches of the lives of eight mediæval Christian saints whose stories are comparatively unknown to English readers. Though to a modern reader they may seem curiously remote, Miss Christleib believes that their example may inspire us as it did their contemporaries. There are some things which may make more appeal to Indian readers than to the modern westerner—such as the story of Nicholas von der Flue, a Swiss of the fifteenth century who left his home and became hermit, and took no food whatever for 19½ years. But there is a more modern appeal in saints who combined deep mysticism with an active life of practical service. Such were Maria Guyard, a pioneer Missionary of Canada who as a young woman helped to manage her brother's large business, and said "when writing I had to double my attention so as not to forget God and at the same time attend to what had to be written. The moment of dipping the pen in the ink was precious, for it gave an interval for turning to God with the whole attention."

Miss Christleib tells her stories charmingly, though sometimes she is tempted to comment too much instead of letting the narratives speak for themselves.

REV. C. S. MILFORD

Brahma-Sutras, with text, word-for-word translation, English rendering, Comments and Index, by Swami Vireswarananda, published by the Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas.

The work under review gives the average student of Vedānta, whose knowledge of the Sanskrit language and the intricacies of philosophical terminology does not go deep enough, an opportunity to cultivate first hand acquaintance with Bādarāyaṇa's Sūtra and its contents. The author has done his level best to make the philosophical and textual discussion intelligible to the European and Indian students of general philosophy and the lack of intimate knowledge of Sanskrit will not baffle their attempts. The author has added luminous explanations of the problems in the shape of a running commentary following the interpretations of Saṅkara's school of Vedānta. The neophytes, who may not screw up courage to peruse the bulky volumes that have been written on the Brahmasūtras, will find that a study of this handy commentary in English will be a useful preparation for the more ambitious task. The tangled controversies with the Mīmāṃsakas, who would not accord their sanction to the Upaniṣadic revelations as an authoritative part of the Vedic lore and would relegate them to a position of subordination to the ritualistic injunctions, have proved a stumbling-block to many an earnest student. The present work will go a long way to make these technical difficulties lose much of their puzzlesomeness and an earnest student will find himself encouraged in the course of his study of this highly technical work by feeling his way through the same helped by the light of the commentary. I do not wish to go into details but I have convinced myself that the interpretations of the author are strictly faithful to the original texts.

I must add one word with reference to the learned and extensive introduction the author has prefixed to the main body of the text. In this introduction the author has traced the probable history of Vedāntic speculations and he has made it clear that the mighty river of Vedānta had its source in the very Samhitās themselves, although we find it in full spate in the Upaniṣads. The author has endeavoured to establish the thesis that the *Brahma Sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa in its nucleus existed even before the Buddha and Pārśvanatha and the author of the *Gītā*. The cross references found in the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtra* are sought to be explained on the hypothesis of a subsequent revision by the author of the *Gītā*, the celebrated Veda-Vyāsa, if the latter be not regarded as identical with Bādarāyaṇa. These chronological explanations may not find universal acceptance, but it must be admitted in fairness to the author that he has made out a strong case and has not hesitated to challenge the current theories. The most learned and illuminating part of the introduction is devoted to an analysis of the contents of the *Brahmasūtra* itself with a view to discovery of its true teaching. He has compared the interpretations of different commentators and has shown that Saṅkara's interpretation alone is the most logical and rational. The author has shown reasons for his differences with Thibaut and his conclusions are based upon an objective study of the *Sūtra* itself. The observations on such fundamental problems of Vedānta as the causality of Brahman, Jiva's real nature, the character of Brahman as a personal or impersonal existence are really illuminating. His discourse on the doctrine of Māyā is an original contribution and we think it has exposed the hollowness of the contention that Māyāvāda is a new-fangled creation of Saṅkara and has no foundation in the Upaniṣads.

The author has written a useful book, which combines scholarship with lucidity. We trust that the work will have wide circulation among the cultured community, who want to make a first-hand study of the source-book of Vedānta without going through the grind, which an expert has to undergo.

S. MOOKERJEE

Theosophy: Its Meaning and Value, by Annie Besant.

This pamphlet contains a lecture delivered by Mrs. Besant in the Town Hall, Cheltenham, years ago. She in her characteristic style deals with the theme: What is Theosophy? She first discusses the origin of the word, 'Theosophy,' and indicates its etymology, and then fixes on "divine wisdom" or "the knowledge of God," and, for the matter of that, of the invisible worlds, as its import. In a sense, Theosophy has nothing peculiar or distinctive about it inasmuch as almost all the developed religions, ancient or modern, represent divine wisdom which can be best expressed by the term mysticism. Mrs. Besant admits all this, nay, she herself takes pains to show that such is exactly the case by an analysis of the basis of Buddhism, Christianity, and Hinduism.

There is nevertheless a feature of Theosophy which is peculiarly its own. It is admittedly a body of teachings bearing upon spiritual life and practice, which relates to the subtle invisible worlds that extend beyond the physical, to the hierarchy of spiritual intelligences, re-incarnation, etc.: Those whose vision is obstructed by the wall of physical existence will, of course, find it difficult to believe what she says. But to those who feel that there is a beyond, and yearn to attain to the truth of things will doubtless find in this pamphlet a source of light and inspiration.

A. C. DAS

The Work of Theosophy in the World, by Annie Besant.

This is a lecture delivered by Mrs. Besant at Queen's Hall, London, in the year 1905. It can well be considered a sequel to the pamphlet reviewed above, in so far as the content is concerned. Here she shows how Theosophy as a body of teachings as to the invisible worlds, subtle layers of our being and vehicles of supra-physical knowledge can be applied with advantage to human life in its different aspects. She argues that Theosophy which is not based on idle speculation, but on Yogic experiences that stand verified and are further verifiable, is essentially a practical approach to the truth of the universe and also an attempt to re-orient human culture in the light of that. This booklet will, I am sure, by its wealth of ideas, give light and guidance to those who are working hard for unity of the world, which was never more urgently needed than at present.

A. C. Das

Discipleship and Some Karmic Problems, by Annie Besant.

This is a reprint of two articles which were published in *The Theosophical Review*. Here Mrs. Besant deals with a subject which will not interest general readers, but will prove instructive to those who are probationers in spiritual life. She details some facts about discipleship and discusses the relation that subsists between a master and his disciple, relationship which has something esoteric about it.

She next takes up for consideration some points connected with the doctrine of Karma. She presents in a very lucid style the psychological situation out of which our action takes its rise, and shows how the question of Karma and all that arises from the operation of the principle of causality which is not confined merely to the physical things, but extends also into the psychologico-moral spheres, and also how we are architects of our own fate. Every young man and woman of this country should make it a point of reading the pamphlet, especially the last section of it; it can provide him and her with much of an outlook of life, which will stand them in good stead in the struggle for existence and enable them to keep off such confusion of thought as is implied by fatalism in the perverted sense of the term.

A. C. Das

Ourselves

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I. BANKIM CENTENARY CELEBRATION

Under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the inaugural meeting of the Bankim Centenary Celebration was held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on Saturday the 25th June last. Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., our Vice-Chancellor, opened the proceedings and Mr. Hirandra Nath Dutt presided.

Before proceeding to the business of the meeting, both Mr. Mookerjee and Mr. Dutt placed wreaths upon a portrait of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee which stood on the dais. All sections of the public were present.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of the 'Bande Mataram.' The Mangalacharan ceremony was performed by MM. Pandit Phani Bhushan Tarkavagish. Messages were read from Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and from the Karnatak Sahitya Parishat and Gauhati Sahitya Parishat.

The Vice-Chancellor's Speech

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee in his opening speech dwelt on the unparalleled devotion of Bankim Chandra to his country, distinguishing it from the patriotic ideas which were the peculiar heritage of the

west. It supplied the inspiration of the 'Bande Mataram' and ran like a golden thread through the story of the 'Anandamath.'

Continuing Mr. Mookerjee said, Bankim Chandra was intimately connected with the University and the University was justly proud of the connexion. He was one of the first batch of students who graduated from the University and from 1885 till his death he was a member of the Senate, taking the keenest interest in the affairs of the University. Mr. Mookerjee referred to the *Bankim Parichay*, an anthology published by the University in commemoration of the centenary, observing that the work would have served its purpose if it led the students of Bengal to make a closer study of Bankim Chandra. Mr. Mookerjee expressed his whole-hearted approval of a proposal made by the Chairman that a special examination on Bankim literature should be instituted by the University and arrangements made to grant certificates to successful candidates and suitable rewards to the candidate who would stand first.

In conclusion Mr. Mookerjee observed that no Bengalee should think that he had paid his due tribute to Bankim's memory by a few days' celebration. This would not be true until the message of Bankim was a living force in every Bengali home:

"Let Bengalees sink their differences, be active and self-reliant. Bankim Chandra hated a coward. If the Bengalee can stand up as a man, disregarding all obstacles, Bankim's blessings would be on Bengal, and Bengalees would be able to rehabilitate themselves."

Mr. Hirendranath Dutt offered his tribute to Bankim as a poet, philosopher, historian, litterateur, archaeologist and theologian. He referred to the edition of Bankim Chandra being published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat as one of the lasting results of the Centenary celebrations and spoke with enthusiasm of the donation of Rs. 10,000 made for this purpose by Kumar Narasinha Malladeo of Jhargram.

Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee stressed in his speech the freedom of thought characterising Bankim's work as a journalist, to which no parallel could be found in a professional journalist. Sir Jadu Nath Sircar discussed if there was any anti-Moslem bias in the writings of Bankim, concluding that the charge was brought by certain interested people only. Mr. Rezaul Karim emphasized Bankim's humanitarian outlook and said that if he depicted oppressors it was

not because they were Moslems but because they were oppressors. Mr. G. S. Dutt spoke of Bankim in relation to the cult of "Sakti."

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II. BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The Birth Anniversary of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was commemorated on the 28th June, 1938, at the Asutosh Memorial Hall, Russa Road, Calcutta. Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijoy Chand Mahatab of Burdwan who presided at the function also performed the opening ceremony of a memorial exhibition specially organised for the occasion. Among the articles that were on view were some personal effects of the late Sir Asutosh testifying to his simple habits, and medals, certificates, diplomas and a number of interesting documents, indicating the versatility of his taste and the greatness of his intellect and attainments. His speeches and writings were also exhibited, all showing his profound knowledge of the problems of this country and his far-sighted genius.

The meeting commenced with the singing of the "Bande Mataram." MM. Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan performed the *Mangalacharan*.

Tributes were paid by a number of speakers to the intellectual pre-eminence of the late Sir Asutosh and the qualities of his heart and character. Sj. Matilal Roy observed in a speech that the moving principle in the late Sir Asutosh was his love of freedom in the widest sense. The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan said in his speech that Sir Asutosh was a dynamic personality and that he was a great Bengalee, a great educationist and a great publicist.

* * *

III. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

The Committee appointed sometime ago to investigate the question of Agricultural and Industrial Training submitted a Report which has since been adopted by the University.

After a few preliminary observations regarding the severity of unemployment in the country and the helplessness and despondency it has given rise to, the Committee refers to the obligation the University feels to make a move towards the solution of this important problem. But any measure taken in this connexion may mean that

the University will have to extend its activities beyond its normal scope, and at least for sometime to come, they will have to be tentative and experimental.

The Committee recommends that the University should establish a two years' course in Practical Agriculture and Cottage Industries and that the training given should be essentially of a practical nature. The success of the scheme would, however, depend, as the Committee points out, on the help of the State and the public.

The minimum qualification required for admission to the course would be an I.Sc. certificate. It has been suggested that an age-limit should also be fixed. A hostel attached to the proposed Institute would accommodate students, ensuring simplicity, cleanliness, and comfort at a small monthly fee. Some free-studentships would also be granted. In selecting candidates for admission, preference would be given to those who can invest about Rs. 1,000 in a cottage industry. Though the course will emphasize practical training, there will be theoretical classes in the evening to explain the principles and fundamentals of agricultural science. There will also be general lectures on practical economics, rural sanitation and hygiene.

The course will comprise training in agriculture, workshop practice and in dairy and poultry. The student will also enjoy the opportunity of receiving training in one selected cottage industry.

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IV. GOVERNMENT AND AFFILIATION OF JATIYA AYURVIJNAN VIDYALAYA

The Senate of our University adopted a proposal in 1936 resolving to grant affiliation to the Jatiya Ayurvijnan Vidyalaya to the Preliminary M.B. Standard. Government did not approve of the proposal. The University authorities requested the Government to reconsider the matter. After a long correspondence sanction has once again been refused by Government in view, as they observed, of the passing of the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933, and the inauguration of the Medical Council of India, now entrusted with the work of determining the standards of proficiency in Medical studies in India. Government have, however, suggested that the University might invite the Indian Medical Council to depute inspectors to the institution to examine its fitness or otherwise for the proposed affiliation and be guided by its report. Our

University have informed the Government that they might make whatever enquiries they thought necessary in this connexion as section 21 (3) of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, empowered them to do, without offering any suggestion in the matter.

* * *

V. PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW U.T.C BATTALION

Steps are being taken by our University to establish a new Battalion of its Training Corps for the benefit of mofussil colleges. A circular letter has been issued for this purpose to mofussil colleges to which an answer is expected by the 31st July, 1938. The scheme will materialise after that day.

The Director of Public Instruction, Assam, has written to the University to know if the latter would be willing to start branches of the U.T.C. in Gauhati Cotton College, and Murarichand College, Sylhet. Information has also been given that the Government of Assam are considering the proposal of organising an Officers' Training Corps for the Government colleges in Assam.

The University authorities have informed the Director of Public Instruction, Assam, that a plan for the creation of a battalion for the benefit of the affiliated colleges outside Calcutta would soon be given effect to.

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VI. A DEGREE COURSE IN METALLURGY

Our University authorities have decided to open a three years' degree course in Metallurgy which will be available to undergraduates in science who have passed with Chemistry, Physics, or Mathematics and have studied for the prescribed period at a college affiliated to the University to the B. Met. (Bachelor of Metallurgy) standard. The examination will consist of three parts, A, B, and C, from the first of which a B.Sc. who graduates with Chemistry, Physics, and Mathematics, and takes the B. Met. examination, would be exempted, the course for him extending only to two academic years.

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VII. GIFT OF BOOKS TO THE UNIVERSITY

Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghose of Bhowanipur has offered to the University books by Bengali authoresses written during the last 50 years. They have been thankfully accepted and will be preserved in separate book-cases in the University Library Hall, the entire collection going under the name of Umarani, the daughter of Mr. Ghosh.

The earliest work in this collection dates from the year 1874. Some of the books have become rare and many bear the autographs of their authoresses. The collection will be made complete by addition of books which are not included in it as well as by letters and MSS. of Bengali women writers which will be invited from the public.

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VIII. AFFILIATION TO COLLEGES IN NEW SUBJECTS

Affiliation to several colleges in new subjects has been granted with effect from the session 1938-39. The names of the colleges along with those of the subjects in which affiliation has been granted are noted below:—

St. Edmunds College, Shillong—Logic (I.A. standard).

Asutosh College—Zoology and Biology (I.A. and I.Sc. standard).

Ripon College—Arabic (I.A. standard).

Victoria Institution—History and Economics (Honours standard), French (B.A. Pass), Hindi (Vernacular) and Urdu (Vernacular) to the B.A. standard, and French, Hindi (Vernacular), Urdu (Vernacular) to the I.A. standard.

Feni College, Noakhali—English (B.A. Honours standard).

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling—Elements of Civics and Economics, Nepali (Vernacular), Bengali (Vernacular), and Hindi (Vernacular) to the I.A. standard.

St. Mary's College, Shillong—English, Vernacular (Assamese, Bengali, Khasi), Alternative Paper in English, Elements of Civics and Economics, French, Logic, Commercial Geography, and Geography to the I.A. standard.

* * *

IX. ACCOMODATION FOR STUDENTS OF EDUCATIONALLY BACKWARD CLASSES

Our University authorities have issued a circular to the affiliated colleges to the effect that some seats should be reserved in the hostels and messes attached to them for students of the educationally backward classes and that the University would contribute the sum of Rs. 4/- towards the reduction of the seat-rent of each student out of a special Government grant which it enjoys for the purpose. According to the present scheme 100 seats would be reserved by colleges in Calcutta and Muffasil for the accommodation of such students.

X. PROFESSOR SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee left for Europe in June last as a delegate to represent this University on the following Conferences to be held in the course of this year: The International Conference of the Phonetic Science to be held at Ghent in July; the International Conference of Anthropology to be held at Copenhagen in August; and the International Conference of Orientalists to be held at Brussels in September.

XI. INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY, PARIS

Good wishes of our University have been conveyed to the above body in connexion with the International Geographical Congress which will be held at Amsterdam this month.

XII. INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF CANCER

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the above Society on the occasion of its celebration of the discovery of Radium and X'ray, to be held in the Grand Amphitheatre of Sorbonne in November this year.

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XIII. A NEW FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Ali Karim, B.Sc. (Cal.), PH.D. (Lond.), D.I.C., A.I.C., A.M.I. Chem. E., Deputy Director of Industries, Bengal, has been appointed an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Rev. F. X. Crohan deceased. Dr. Karim has been attached to the Faculty of Science.

* * *

XIV. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. B. S. Madhav Rao, M.Sc., has obtained the degree of Doctor of Science of this University by a thesis entitled *Contribution to Born's Field Theory*. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Rao.

* * *

XV. MR. BISWANATH BANERJEE

Mr. Biswanath Banerjee, M.Sc., Assistant Librarian, University Central Library, has been granted study-leave for the period of one year and a half with effect from the 15th September, 1938, or from any other date on which the leave may be availed of. Mr. Banerjee will proceed to the United Kingdom for higher training in Librarianship.

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XVI. GOVERNMENT GRANT AND REORGANISATION

Government sanctioned a consolidated grant of Rs. 4,85,000 to the University, offering suggestions as regards the way the sum in excess of previous grants made by Government may be utilised. Proposals conveyed in the letter addressed by the Government of Bengal were considered by a specially appointed Committee. Some of the recommendations of the Committee are set forth below:

All University Professors serving in a whole-time capacity be placed in the grade Rs. 700-50-1000. The existing grade of Lecturers be continued, exception being made in favour of those who were in service in 1932 when the Senate proposed to raise their maximum salary to Rs. 600. Lecturers drawing Rs. 500 for not less than three years be allowed a personal allowance of Rs. 50 each. A Selection ~~Grade~~ of Lecturers, not more than 8 in number,

on the scale of Rs. 500-25-700 be created, but of which not more than 5 (3 in Arts and 2 in Science) be filled up in the next two years. No Department shall have more than one such Lecturer, and a post in the Selection grade when filled up will abolish an ordinary Lecturer's post.

A Finance Committee to be called Post-Graduate Finance Committee be appointed with authority to prepare Budget estimates of the Teaching Departments. Another Finance Committee to be called the University Finance Committee be appointed to prepare the Budget in its final form for the entire University in all departments.

Recommendations have also been made for a building for housing the press, for acquiring land and constructing a building for the accommodation of the Science College as well as for the founding of the *Vihari Lal Mitra Women's Institute* at 35 Ballygunge Circular Road when it is vacated. The proposal has also been made that Government should be approached for a non-recurring grant of Rs. 5,00,000 to give effect to the above schemes, the balance of the expenditure being paid out of the funds of the University.

XVII. FRANKLIN INSTITUTE, PENNSYLVANIA

Good wishes of this University were conveyed to the President and the Board of Managers, Franklin Institute, Pennsylvania on the occasion of the ceremonies in connection with its dedication held in May this year.

XVIII. DR. UPENDRANATH GHOSAL

Dr. Upendranath Ghosal, M.A., PH.D., Professor, Presidency College and University Lecturer in History, who will shortly proceed to Europe on study-leave, has been appointed to represent this University on the 20th International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Brussels.

XIX. SYLLABUS OF CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

The following Committee have been appointed at the request of the Public Service Commission, Bengal, to examine the syllabus

of Bengal Civil Service (Executive) and the Bengal Junior Civil Service Examinations :

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.,
Vice-Chancellor.

Prof. Praphulla Chandra Mitter, M.A., PH.D.

Pramathanath Banerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.

Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D.

Prof. Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., PH.D.

„ Muhammad Zubair Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

„ Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., PH.D.

„ Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., PH.D.

XX. UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENT AND INFORMATION BOARD

The Appointment and Information Board which has completed the first year of its existence has issued a report from which it can be seen that during this period 60 candidates have been placed in different lines by this University. It received 1,228 applications from candidates of whom 754 were interviewed by the Board, and 518 registered. The Board has obtained assurance of co-operation from a large number of firms, both Indian and foreign, and there seems to be very good promise of the success of its plans for solving the problem of finding suitable careers for the unemployed youths of Bengal.

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XXI. NOMINEES FOR ELECTION TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, UNIVERSITIES BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The following gentlemen have been nominated for election to the Executive Committee of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire for 1938-39, which will take place next September :—

Sir William Ewart Greaves, KT., M.A., D.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT.

The Right Hon'ble Sir Shadi Lal, KT., P.C., M.A., B.C.L., LL.D.

XXII. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

The following gentlemen have been appointed representatives of the University on the Council of the Imperial Library for a period of three years :—

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, ESQ., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.
Prof. Muhammad Zubair Siddiqi, M.A., B.L., PH.D. (CANTAB.)

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XXIII. RESULTS OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1938

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination 1938 was 30,112 of whom 170 were absent and 3 were disallowed.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 29,939 of whom 31 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 23,583 of whom 8,875 passed in the First Division, 11,913 in the Second Division, and 2,736 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 58.

The percentage of passes is 78·7.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 63·2.

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XXIV. RESULTS OF THE I.A. AND I.S.O. EXAMINATIONS, 1938

I.A. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 1938, was 6,716 (including 4 in special subjects) of whom 101 were absent and 3 were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 6,622 of whom 42 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the examination is 3,709 of whom 1,002 passed in the First Division, 1,905 in the Second Division and 798 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 4.

The percentage of passes is 55·8.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 55·4

I.Sc. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science, 1938, was 3,837 (including 29 in special subjects) of whom 43 were absent and none were disallowed. The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 3,775 of whom 24 were expelled.

The number of candidates who passed the Examination is 2,207 of whom 827 passed in the First Division, 1,077 in the Second Division and 284 in the Third Division. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 17 and that in two subjects only is 2.

The percentage of passes is 58.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 55·7

XXV. RESULTS OF THE B.A. AND B.Sc. EXAMINATIONS, 1938*B.A. Examination.*

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 4,420 (including 18 registered to appear in one, two and three subjects only) of whom 119 were absent. The number of candidates, who actually sat for the examination was 4,301 of whom 11 were expelled, 2,622 were successful and 1,668 failed. Of the successful candidates 2,247 were placed on the Pass List and 375 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 29 were placed in First Class and 346 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 192 passed with Distinction.

The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 4 and in two subjects is 14.

The percentage of passes is 60·9.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 59·9.

B.Sc. Examination.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 958, of whom 24 were absent. The number of candidates, who actually sat for the examination was 934 of whom 3 were expelled, 665.

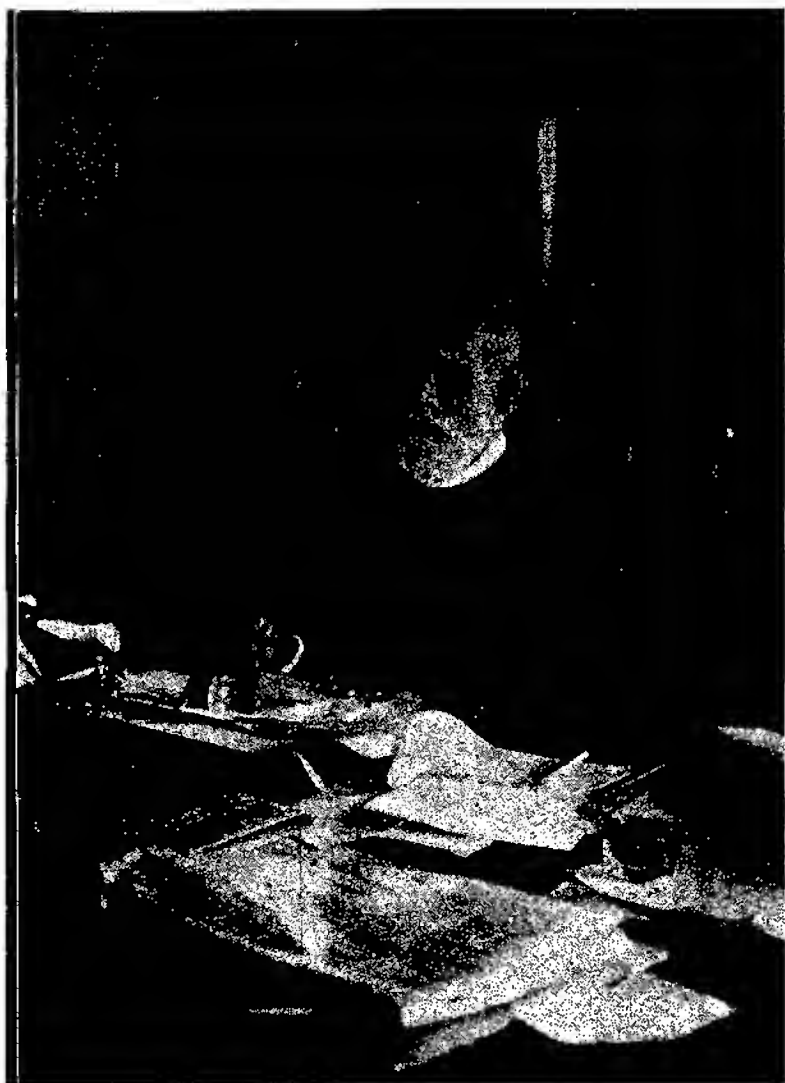
were successful and 266 failed. Of the successful candidates 540 were placed on the Pass List and 125 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 18 were placed in the First Class and 107 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 159 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 71.1.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 73.3.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

Born: 10th November, 1848. Died: 6th August, 1925



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1938

THE ACCEPTABLE AND THE UNACCEPTABLE IN BANKIM'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

DR. BENROY KUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en Géographie honoris causa

IN 1938 the birth centenary of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94) furnishes us with an occasion for stock-taking in regard to the enduring values of his work. It is possible to-day to assert that he was one of the greatest intellectuals of his age both in East and West. Creative literature will always classify him as a master-novelist. But in the realm of human thought he will have a prominent place in many other fields as well. For, literary criticism, social life, religion, law, politics, morals and economics were all touched and enriched by him. In these lines he was as encyclopædic in interests as in the contributions to fiction, historical, social, and romantic. His intellect was massive and his conclusions were precise. Among his French contemporaries he can be placed alongside of Victor Hugo as the artist of world-wide horizon. And in regard to essays on religion, philosophy, society, etc., Bankim was the Bengali counterpart of the German Nietzsche, perhaps more constructive and synthetic than this his Western peer.

THE CULT OF THE SUPERMAN

Bengalis as a rule like to associate Bankim with Comte (1798-1857). In his *Dharma-tattva* (The Philosophy of Religion), 1888, it is known that he tried to assimilate for the Bengali people the positivism of the French sociologist, his enthusiasm for humanity and social service. He was not a mere translator or paraphraser, however. For in any case it is to be remembered that there was the eternal *Gita's* gospel of duty for its own sake that served as an ingredient in Bankim's philosophy of values. Without going in detail into the question of Bankim's originality the following equation can be advanced as an estimate of his borrowings:

$$Dharmatattva = \text{COMTE} \times \text{Gita}.$$

French positivism alone does not explain the whole of this synthetic Bengali masterpiece. But Bankim's religion of patriotism, cult of *Bande Mataram* (1882), is to be linked up with Comtism to a certain extent.

Further, it is worthwhile to observe also that Bankim did not rest content with formulating the principles of religion and morality and creating a *mantra* or hymn of country-worship for his people. A great exemplar of flesh and blood was established by him in *Krishna-Charitra* (The Personality of Krishna), 1886. In this work, published before he was fifty, is concentrated, so to say, his last testament and will to his countrymen. Herein is to be found the concrete embodiment of all that he considered to be valuable and noble in human aspirations and endeavours. It is not necessary to archaeologize over Bankim's Krishna and ascertain to what extent he succeeded in giving us a Krishna that was true to history and mythology. His Krishna is his own creation, the energist, social servant, re-maker of mankind, the Superman. It is among other things in this cult of Krishna as the Superman, that an equation is to be established between Bankim and Nietzsche. It is this Superman that Bankim created as the *Duce* or the *Führer* for his beloved Young Bengal. And this cult was accepted by the Bengali people as one of the "ideas of 1905."

The cult of the Superman as embodied in Krishna is one of Bankim's enduring contributions to social philosophy. It is not possible to deal with all aspects of Bankim's social philosophy in this paper. "Just a few will be singled out in order to ascertain how much is acceptable and how much unacceptable to-day.

HINDU ASCETICISM AS AN ALLEGED FUNCTION OF CLIMATE

Like many other thinkers in East and West our Bankim also came under the domination of what may be called the geographico-climatological interpretation of history and culture. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century one of the greatest exponents of this interpretation was Buckle (1821-1862). It appears that Buckle's *History of Civilization* (London, 1856) exercised a profound influence on Bankim who accepted the dogma without a question while attempting an interpretation of Indian culture.

The "Study of Hindu Philosophy" by Bankim was published in *Mookerjee's Magazine*, Calcutta, May, 1873. The following observations indicate how greatly Bankim was influenced by geographico-climatological determinism in social thought.

"Buckle has shown," says Bankim, "how the imposing aspects and unconquerable forces of nature create superstition. Imagination invests these mysterious powers of nature with human volition and superhuman caprice and aptitude for mischief. After man has once assumed their unlimited capacity for taking offence, his next step is to assume that they are constantly offended at intentional and unintentional human actions. Hence arises the sense of sin. The sense of sin leads to penance. Wrathful divinities must be appeased by suitable expiations. When man is unable to rise to the lofty doctrine of repentance, the only form which penance can assume is that of physical privation. Hence the rise of asceticism in Hindu religion."

This is Bankim's paraphrase of Buckle's generalization. The logic is entirely deductive. Besides, the only force admitted by Buckle-dominated Bankim is the force of Nature. The concatenation of assumptions and the final conclusion have therefore become entirely monistic.

The geographico-climatological monism of Buckle has been utilized by Bankim as indeed by Buckle also, to explain the "rise of asceticism in Hindu religion." Bankim makes out afterwards a distinction between theology and philosophy but only to discover the same monistic determinism of the forces of nature. In Bankim's words, "philosophy, seeking a loftier ideal and proceeding on a more rational basis discarded the notion of sin. But the same causes were at work. The mighty energies of nature worked with impressive force on every side. With no more than the appliance of primitive life, existence was felt to be a burden in a climate and a country which overpowered human

power and neutralized human energies. What had appeared to the theologian as the vengeful action of offended divinities appeared to the philosopher as the omnipotent but natural causes of human misery. Hence in philosophy the sense of suffering took the place of sense of sin." Both theology and philosophy are in this view but the functions of geography, climate, region, etc.

The monistic determinism of the forces of Nature was likewise applied by Bankim to illustrate his view of Hindu thought. We are told that "these two notions, the sense of suffering and the sense of sin, run side by side throughout Hindu philosophy and Hindu mythology respectively. The end and aim of *Sankhya* is the cessation of pain by the cessation of all experience. The Buddhist, not satisfied with the cessation of experience, aims at the annihilation of the experiencing soul as the only effectual means of securing freedom from misery to man. The *Vedanta* declines to believe that so much apparent misery can be real and resolves existence into a mass of illusions. The *Yogin* in the madness of despair constructs a fanciful machinery for conquering the powers of nature."

Bankim's conclusion about Hindu philosophy is as follows : "Everywhere the philosopher labours under an overwhelming sense of human misery and directs all his efforts against it. The vast field over which these two leading notions, the notion of sin and the notion of suffering, have spread, giving rise to asceticism, to fatalism, to apathy in politics and to sensuality in poetry, is one of the most interesting subjects of study with which the Hindu can occupy himself."

The suggestion contained in the last sentence is constructive in so far as it furnishes a problem for antiquarian or sociological research in the domain of Hindu culture. But altogether, the position of Bankim in regard to the values of Indian philosophy and civilization is traditional. He did not rise above the conventional attitude of scholars in East and West about the contributions of India. For, like all others he also believed that Hindu philosophy "taught the Hindu to despise the blessings of existence and to look upon inaction as the ideal of human happiness."

THE FALLACY OF THE GEOGRAPHICO-CLIMATOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

The fallacies of this position lie on the surface. In the first place, Bankim did not care to examine how far asceticism, fatalism, apathy

and sensuality were the facts of Hindu social polity and culture-complex, and how far they were the only facts or even the dominant facts of Indian history through the ages, nay, how far such facts could be regarded as the features exclusively of Indian life and thought. A fallacy like this has been vitiating the scholarship of all Indologists and Orientalists ever since Hegel. As a rule, the historians of Eastern ideals, philosophies, cultures, etc., have fought shy of ascertaining the non-ascetic, non-fatalistic, humane and energistic aspects and strands of the Orient.

In the second place, the Bankim-Buckle methodology commits the fallacy of considering asceticism, etc., to be the function exclusively of natural forces, climate, region, etc. First, Bankim overlooked the consideration that in other than non-Indian climates and regions also asceticism flourished quite luxuriantly. This is rather strange for he quoted Lecky with approval about the evil effects of asceticism. "Lecky has shown," says he, "with a power of gloomy narration rarely surpassed, the evil influence of asceticism upon the destinies of medieval Europe." In so far as Europe during certain epochs was known to Bankim on the evidence of Lecky to have been a victim of asceticism a thorough-going acceptance of Buckle's climatologism was entirely uncalled-for. Europe does not have the same climate as India and yet developed the asceticism-complex during certain ages. The Indian climate therefore, or for that matter, any climate as such cannot be regarded as the cause of the doctrines of sin and suffering.

Secondly, since the medieval conditions are alleged to be associated with asceticism in Europe it should have appeared to Bankim that European climate in certain ages did not produce asceticism and in certain other ages did. In other words, with the data of Lecky Bankim ought to have demolished the climatologistic dogma of Buckle. The proper sociological position should be not that asceticism is the function of climate but that it is indifferent to climate, because it can prosper under any and every climate. Whatever be one's moral or intellectual reactions to asceticism, one should have to look for its origins in spheres not necessarily climatic, regional or geographical.¹

¹ B. K. Sarker: *Introduction to Hindu Positivism* (Allahabad, 1937), pp. 340-343, 635-650.

THE LAW OF CAUSATION AND THE REIGN OF LAW IN HINDU
PHILOSOPHY

All the same, Bankim has made it a point to emphasize the importance of the Hindu law of causation. He says that "those who follow with admiring reverence Mill's exposition of the law of causation must be startled to find that the Hindu *Naiyayikas* arrived at precisely the same result as Mill." The following is Mill's definition of cause, the net result of his exposition as cited by Bankim:

"The cause of a phenomenon is the antecedent or the concurrence of antecedents on which it is invariably and unconditionally consequent."

According to Bankim, "this is nearly identical with the *Naiyayika's* definition, which is as follows: '*Anyathāsiddhisūnyasya niyata-purvavarlitā kāraṇatvam.*' Literally translated it runs thus: 'Being a cause is being the invariable antecedent of that which cannot be brought about without it.' "

Bankim has dwelt at length on this aspect of Hindu intellect. He asks: "The point for enquiry is, what measure of sterling gold like this can be found amid the dross of Hindu philosophy?" and he answers: "It is by no means so small as is generally believed."

About the Hindu conception of the sovereignty of law Bankim has much to say. He was convinced that in this respect there is hardly any distinction between "modern Europe" and the "higher forms of Hindu thought such as the *Sankhya* and the *Nyaya*." His position is described below.

"This strictly philosophical conception of the law of causation," says he, "suggests an important point, *viz.*, the recognition of law as the only agency in the government of the universe. That which specially distinguishes the superiority of modern Europe over the Europe of the past and over all other countries whatever, is this unflinching recognition of the absolute sovereignty of law. I have not space to dwell on the point, but I must indicate that the same spirit reigns over the higher forms of Hindu thought, such as the *Sankhya* and *Nyaya*. Whatever the character of inferior schools, such as the *Mimamsa*, law is recognised as supreme in the more advanced systems. No divine interposition, no especial providence, no miracle; not even the initial Creative Act is recognised here. Indeed after the great law of causation has once been seized in a true philosophical

spirit, the recognition of the reign of law must supersede all theological conceptions. So it did in the superior systems of Hindu philosophy."

Bankim's admiration of Hindu philosophy was then not a step-motherly one. It was sincere so far as it went.

It is interesting to observe that in the same paper in which Bankim accepted without challenge the conventional ideas about Hindu asceticism, fatalism, etc., he should be able to establish India's claims to have propounded the cult of law, the "reign of law" as superior to all theological conceptions. A more logical and comprehensive pursuit of this position might have enabled him to place the asceticism-complex in the proper philosophical and sociological perspectives and also to discard the interpretations of Buckle as much too monistic, misleading and false.

It is because Bankim did not pay sufficient attention to his conception of India's discovery of the reign of law that he failed to find an answer to the wonderful question about Indian civilization so precisely set by him. The question is as follows: "How is it that we find a cumbrous mythology and an absurd ritual flourishing gaily side by side with enlightened rationalism and searching scepticism, nay, not only flourishing side by side with them, but riding triumphant over both?" As long as the socio-philosophical or socio-cultural data are marked by dualism, if not pluralism, Bankim's logic should not have accepted Buckle's monistic determinism as the only key to the origins of civilization.

INDIA AS EXAMPLE OF ARRESTED GROWTH

In regard to modern India *vis à vis* modern Europe Bankim has a conception that, although derogatory to the former, is in the main acceptable to a certain extent. "If Europe," says he, "presents to the student the more perfect type of civilization, India offers to him the more instructive though less interesting study of arrested development and decay. The intellectual history of Europe bears to that of India the same relation as physiology does to pathology; while the one presents the richer field for the investigation of the laws of the healthy and vigorous growth of civilization, the other furnishes greater facilities of studying it under the conditions of disease and death."

This is the doctrine of "arrested growth" as applied to India and the East generally by Maine and other Western scholars. It was

assimilated by Bankim and presented vigorously before his countrymen. But it has to be pointed out that the nature and the degree of this "arrestedness," retardation, etc., have hardly been well understood or analyzed by those who started this doctrine. In the analysis of the present author it is the cultural complex associated with the industrial revolution (c. 1750-1850) that represents in the main the sum-total of India's backwardness *vis à vis* the West. The chronological distance between India and Eur-America is to be measured not by millenniums or centuries but just by a few generations.¹

THE MEDIOCRITY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL. BHARAT

Bankim was sober in his estimate of the past achievements of the Bengali people. He considered them to be modest, nay, almost insignificant. His ideas on this subject may be found in the paper on Bengali literature in the *Calcutta Review* for 1871. Bankim's estimate of Bengali contributions to Indian culture is as follows.

"The intellectual position of the Bengali among the races of India may be a prominent one at the present day," says he, "but in earlier times it was one of the lowest. It is a Bengali writer, Babu Rajendra-lal Mitra, who said that in ancient times, Bengal was the Boeotia of India. And the observation is correct. The contributions of Bengal to that ancient Indian literature which still commands the respect and attention of European scholars were few and insignificant. The only Bengali Sanskrit poet of any eminence was Jayadeva, and does not stand in the first rank. There is not one Bengali name which can compare with those of Kalidasa, Magha, Bharavi and Sriharsa. In other departments the only distinguished Bengali name in the older Sanskrit literature is that of Kulluka Bhatta, the commentator on Manu. The great Bengali triumphs in the *Nyaya* philosophy and in law cannot be reckoned as falling within this period. The names of Raghunandan and Jagannath belong to very recent days."

It must be admitted that Bankim has not tried to be over-patriotic here in spite of his worship of Bengal as the Mother and his promulgation of the *mantra* of *Bande Mataram* for the use of this worship. Notwithstanding his romantic appreciations of the past and idealistic fervour for the Young Bengal of his times he did not

¹ B. K. Sarkar : *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 432-444; "Indian Exact Sciences in Growth, Decline and Rebirth" (*Calcutta Review*, January 1938).

care to portray ancient and medieval Bengal in extraordinary lights. He was a positivist and objective interpreter in his appraisals.

To-day after two generations Bankim's position in regard to ancient and medieval Bengal should be considered to be substantially valid. The antiquarian and historical researches into Bengali achievements conducted since the glorious *Swadeshi* revolution of 1905, and especially since the establishment of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in 1911, have failed to unearth anything of importance such as might induce us to alter or modify appreciably the evaluation of Bengali culture by Bankim. A new inventory would include the Palas and their extra-Bengali political ambitions, Dipamkara Srijnana's Buddhist mission in Tibet, Chaitanya's spiritual influences in Assam and Orissa, and a few such items. But to what extent the Palas were Bengalis can still be debated. Besides, although Chaitanya carried Bengali messages to non-Bengali regions he himself had been nurtured under South Indian tradition. One may perhaps suspect some sort of Bengali activity in the Indianizing of Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and so forth. But until to-day positive historical evidences pointing to Bengali energism in these directions as distinct from general Indian activity are wanting. The contributions of the Bengali people to the politics, commerce and culture of India including Greater India are indeed still problematic and await intensive, nay, extensive researches.

The mediocrity of medieval Bengal is not confined to the Hindus and Buddhists alone. The Moslems of Bengal were equally mediocre. One wonders if the Bengali Mussalmans ever contributed anything valuable to the general Indian Islamic culture. The Mussalmans of Bengal, like the Bengali Hindus, were as a rule dependent on imports of culture from non-Bengali India. In the cultural intercourse of the Bengalis with non-Bengali India the balance was, generally speaking, "passive" or unfavourable, to use an expression of international trade.

It may indeed be admitted and proved without much difficulty that the Hindus and Buddhists of ancient and medieval Bengal as well as the Bengali Mussalmans were competent enough to cater to many of the ordinary needs of their own societal existence—in arts, crafts, commerce, law, politics, army and so forth. We need not therefore doubt that the Bengalis of every generation produced worthwhile personalities who were considered great by the Bengali standard. But in

the present consideration we are trying to weigh the Bengali Hindus and Mussalmans by a much higher standard, the "Indian standard" of values. The problem is to ascertain whether the fine arts, literature, philosophy, social *mores*, religious thought, political and legal institutions, military tactics, cottage industries, commercial methods, etc., brought into being by creative Bengal, both Hindu and Moslem, were so valuable as to be exported into non-Bengali regions and assimilated by the Indian races living outside Bengal or by non-Indian races inhabiting extra-Indian regions in the interest of their regular daily life, material, moral and spiritual. Investigations into Bengali history as well as into the culture-history of India including Greater India are likely to throw light on some of these yet virtually unexplored fields of culture-contact, diffusion of arts and sciences, etc. The influence of Bengali architecture, sculpture, painting, literary style, philosophical paraphernalia, logic, mysticism, religious practices and so forth may perhaps in the future have to be detected, on a somewhat large scale, in the neighbouring territories not only in India but also across the mountains and the seas.

But for the present as in the days of Bankim the last word of authentic historic research should counsel us to believe (1) that Bengalis, both Hindu and Moslem, were of course independently capable of producing men, institutions and movements substantial and great enough for the common political, social and cultural requirements of the Bengali people, (2) that in regard to some of the more significant creations of literature, art and science the Bengali Hindus and Mussalmans had to enrich themselves with borrowings and imports from India outside Bengal, (3) that the exports of Bengali literature, arts and crafts, philosophy, religion, etc., to non-Bengali India and to extra-Indian Asia do not appear to have been substantial and in any case were few and far between, and (4) that the old Indian civilization, both Hindu and Mussalman, as known to history and as prominent to-day, was in the main the creation of non-Bengali genius.

In one word, the place of creative Bengal in the achievements of creative India in ancient and medieval times, in the present state of our archaeological and historical knowledge, was virtually nil. This is an extreme statement and may serve as the starting point of fresh investigations calculated to modify it at some future date, near or far-off. Such researches are at any rate urgently required in the interest of scientific history and sociology.

Be this as it may, those who will agree with Bankim's position regarding ancient and mediæval Bengal ought to have no hallucinations about the Bengalis being a self-forgotten race or about Bengal's decay and degeneration in recent years, decades or generations. Since Bengal did not have a glorious past it should be sheer nonsense to fancy and to propagate that Bengal has been treading a downward path. The alleged decline-cult about the Bengali people is based on a wrong history and a fallacious over-valuation of the past.

MODERN BENGALI ACHIEVEMENTS

The hard-headed realism of Bankim did not permit him to indulge in roseate sentimentalities even about the modern glories of the Bengali people. He was mercilessly contemptuous about the Bengali achievements of even the first half of the nineteenth century. Writing about Iswar Gupta (1806-1858), to whose "Young Bengal" group Bengal and Bankim owed quite a lot of Bengali patriotism and rationalism he did not mince matters. Bankim writes as follows :

"There is one other writer—himself a class—whom we wish to notice before we proceed to consider the present state of Bengali literature. We mean Iswar Chandra Gupta. He stands between the past and the present, and singularly illustrates the literary poverty of the age in which he lived, and the progress that has been made within the past few years. A dozen years have not elapsed since Iswar Chandra Gupta died, yet we speak of him as belonging to a past era ; so essentially does he differ from the more prominent writers of the present day."

This chronological perspective is valuable for our present study. About Iswar Gupta Bankim says further : "He was a very remarkable man. He was ignorant and uneducated. He knew no language but his own and was singularly narrow and unenlightened in his views ; yet for more than twenty years he was the most popular author among the Bengalis. As a writer of light satiric verse, he occupies the first place, and he owed his success both as a poet and as an editor to this special gift. But there his merits ended. Of the higher qualities of a poet he possessed none, and his work was extremely rude and uncultivated. His writings were generally disfigured by the grossest obscenity. His popularity was chiefly owing to his perpetual alliteration and play upon words." The contempt in which the age of Iswar Gupta was held by

Bankim and the perspective in which Iswar Gupta's successors were placed are exhibited below. Bankim writes: "We have purposely noticed him here in order to give the reader an idea of the literary capacity and taste of the age in which a poetaster like Iswar Chandra Gupta obtained the highest rank in public estimation. And we cannot even say that he did not deserve to be placed in the highest rank among his Bengali contemporaries, for he was a man of some literary talent, while none of the others possessed any. However much we may lament the poverty of Bengali literature, the last fifteen years have been a period of great progress and hope : within that time at least a dozen writers have arisen, every one of whom is immensely superior, in whatever is valuable in a writer, to this—the most popular of their predecessors."

This is a detailed although stern analysis. For the time being, we are not interested in Bankim's evaluation of Iswar Gupta. The point to notice is that Bankim considers the beginnings of a really worthwhile creative Bengal of modern times to be but a decade and a half old. According to Bankim the "intellectual position of the Bengali which may be a prominent one at the present time" commenced so late as about 1857.

This is another conclusion in Bankim's social philosophy which may be accepted in the main. The first half of the nineteenth century was the age of Rammohun. That was an epoch of pioneerings. In making those beginnings Bengalis were indeed already ahead of the Indians outside Bengal. But the sumtotal of the achievements cannot be appraised to-day at anything higher than estimated by Bankim during the period of the transition to the third generation of the nineteenth century. Bankim had a high standard, an "absolute standard" as Matthew Arnold would have said, and a reasonable standard at that. That is the standard to be observed in the last analysis even by those who try to give the Devil his due by reference to historical conjunctures and the social conditions of the times.

In case Young Bengal to-day be prepared to accept Bankim's standard as well as appraisal the conclusion should be strengthened to the effect that since Bankim's writing in 1871, i.e., during the last two generations, Bengalis have been steadily in progress. The advances of the Bengali people in diverse walks of life—*Badtir Patha Bangali*—constitute a tremendous reality not only in intellectual or

cultural fields but in economic, political and social spheres as well. The decline-cult which sees in the Bengali people of the twentieth century and of to-day nothing but the marks of degeneracy, downfall, annihilation and ruin is the farthest removed from the actual state of things.

According to Bankim, be it observed once more, it is not only in reference to ancient and medieval conditions that the Bengali people had been advancing in the creative endeavours of life, but also in comparison with the age of Iswar Gupta, the bridge as it were between Rammohun and Bankim. The analysis of his own times by Bankim therefore could not but inspire him with hopes for the future. He could not afford to be a pessimist harping on the decline from an alleged ancestral paradise. He was perforce a futurist.

The Futurism of Bankim's Sociology

Bankim's futurism finds expression in his conception of the prospects of Bengali literature. It is according to him "a literature which, with much that is feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future."

The fact that originality was not yet a feature of Bengali creations was recognised by him in so many words. But the fact of imitations did not depress him. Rather he furnished a comparative estimate of the value of imitation in other countries. "The character of Bengali literature," says he, "is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of Romain Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated

by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West.” Bankim then expected a development in Bengal somewhat similar to that “among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West.”

The comparative study leads Bankim into an interesting channel of thought. He utilizes a current analogy of those days as observed by Europeans between the Bengalis and the Italians. His observation is thus worded: “The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action,” says he. “But it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began; and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the ‘Spectator’ has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatizing European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.”

The rôle of modern Bengalis *vis-à-vis* modern non-Bengali Indians was envisaged by Bankim to be that of the bearer of the Renaissance for India, and perhaps it was to stop there. He believed that the place of the Italians in modern Europe was nothing more important than that. About 1871 the *risorgimento* of Italy under Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour was in full swing and effectively so. But it should appear that the impact of “new Italy” on Europe and the world could not be seen by men like Bankim in terms of more than Renaissance achievements. It was not possible for Bankim as for many others in East and West during the last generation of the nineteenth century, nay, later, to believe that the political unification and regeneration of Italy would enable the Italian people some day in the future to demonstrate to the world that they were not merely “supple and pliant” but possessed likewise the nerves of iron and muscles of steel. Bankim like many others, Indian and Euro-American, failed likewise to realize that Italy was not to remain in subsequent decades or generations the land of the past, *i.e.*, of ancient Roman and Renaissance glories but that the Italian people was

destined also to contribute to the arts and sciences of the new age. The futurism of Bankim did not rise high enough to foresee or imagine sympathetically the Italian achievements of the last two generations. The Italians, "pliant and supple" as they are, have proven to the hilt that they can also command the air and the seas, nay, establish a new Empire in Africa to rival the Roman Empire of old.

Bengalis and Italians

Bankim's sociology was then at fault in regard to the prospects of newly-born culture-systems. Or rather, to this extent the social philosophy of Bankim was obsessed by the past character of Italian civilization. That the Italians might evolve new phases unknown to their ancient and medieval history was not an item in Bankim's sociology. His futurism was not futuristic enough. It was much too dominated by the antique to take cognisance of new inspirations, new urges and new ideals as well as their creative force.

In regard to Bengal also we may take it that Bankim's futurism did not go far enough. He seems to have looked back to the past and found no evidences of strong and virile achievements of the Bengali people. There was no evidence for the presence of the "fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action." Ancient and medieval Bengal proved that Bengalis were perhaps nothing but "pliant and supple." He was conscious that the Bengalis did not contribute much to the great culture-systems of India. But he observed from his own epoch that the Bengalis were already worth something and that they were beginning to influence larger India also. In his judgment, therefore, the greatest that Bengal could possibly be considered to be capable of was nothing more than being the medium of Europeanization or modernization of India. The "hardier and more original races of India" were to be pupils of Bengal in the matter of mastering the alphabet of European culture.

This is perhaps a "great work," as Bankim calls it. The Renaissance is certainly a great work, but what about the *risorgimento* of Cavour, and what about *lo stato mussoliniano* of to-day? Eventual consummations of these and allied types in the career of alleged inferior races and classes ought to belong to the sphere of human possibilities in every system of rational sociology.

The Fallacies of Raciological Interpretation and Overhistoricism

No human being, however great an intellectual giant he be, is expected to foresee the developments of several generations. And if Bankim has not been able to raise the pitch of his futurism much higher than what he has done he has but exhibited the limitations of all prophets. But there is something essentially fallacious in his methodology which seems to have set a damper on his futuristic prospecting of Bengal's physical and intellectual resources. This requires some examination.

These ideas of Bankim are evidently pervaded by a peculiar conception of race and the importance of the racial factor in the making of civilization. It assumes or concludes that not every race is capable of certain human achievements. This may be described as the raciological interpretation of history and is as fallacious as the climatological. And it has to be admitted that the fallacies involved in both these interpretations were committed by Bankim. Be it observed *en passant* that Bankim was in good company in both, for the name of racialists as of climatologists in the world of social science was and continues to be legion.

The fallacy of Bankim as of other raciologists consists in two facts. First, he evidently attached undue importance to history. Secondly, his reading of history was not adequate.

It appears to have proceeded on the assumption that a race whose past records are unimportant or poor in exploits such as testify to the qualities of hardy and original races is incapable of some day growing into and exhibiting the features of a hardy and original race. This is a very facile conception and commonplace too, being almost a corollary to the cheap platitude of nothing succeeding like success.

Social thinkers like Gobineau (*Inégalité des races humaines*, 1853), Laponge (*Les Sélections sociales*, 1896), Chamberlain (*Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 1899), Grant (*The Passing of the Great Race*, 1918), have sought to establish the dogma of race-potentialities and the theory of certain races as being the natural rulers of mankind, among other things, on the facts of past history. Races or classes that have not achieved anything in the past are ignored by many eugenicists, economists, political philosophers and sociologists as unworthy of attention in a survey of the hopes and prospective possibilities of mankind. In the struggle for existence or self-assertion these *pariahs* of mankind are

postulated to be unfit, incompetent and inefficient. Their capacity for developing a future is questioned at every step. In assigning the Bengalis the rôle of middlemen in the matter of enriching India with European ideas Bankim might have suspected that he was perhaps already claiming too much for a relatively less hardy and less original race, for in his judgment the Bengalis were by all means historically inferior to some of the other races of India.

This attitude may be described as over-historicism and must be rejected as misleading and untrue to the facts relating to the evolution of human progress. The past has certainly its inspiring functions. It contributes to the conjuncture-supplying paraphernalia. Nay, to a certain extent the past can furnish direction-giving and deterministic tendencies. At every turn, however, it is not the past ancestral tradition but the human will that matters. It is the creative intelligence of man that shapes the destiny of the group, the class and the race. It is this individual urge and initiative of the present that knows, if necessary, how to utilize the past in the interest of the future. Emphasis on history may be carried to absurd lengths. Orientations to history are always desirable, but history-riddenness is a vice. It is unpardonable among statesmen and applied sociologists. Obsession by history renders one blind to the reality that history-less groups and classes have often by sheer energism and self determination succeeded in changing the face of the world. The races can recreate and transform themselves into something new under the influence of material or moral inspirations. But the rôle of the free initiative and moral enthusiasm in human destiny is overlooked by those who attach undue importance to history. Bankim's idea about the future of Bengal appears to have been directed by such over-historicism. He forgot that history is not all in human life and that there are other forces besides history and independent of history.

In the second place, Bankim's analysis of the alleged inferior races e.g., the Italians and the Bengalis, was unsound, partial and incomplete. Like many sociologists obsessed by the dogma of superiority or inferiority as established by past history Bankim forgot to consult history in regard to other but very valuable matters. It is history that shows that no race or no class is eternally contemptible or inferior through all the ages and that no race or no class can always maintain its superiority or efficiency. There is hardly any race or class that was not contemptible, inferior, *pariah*-like in certain epochs of its existence.

It is demonstrated by history, again, that the contemptible and unfit or inferior races or classes of to-day are the creative and efficient or dominant races of to-morrow. If the history of mankind teaches anything it teaches the great lesson, namely, that one can but exhibit a lack of sanity if one looks back to the past or looks for historic precedents while analyzing the potentialities of those individuals, groups, classes, races, and nations which are not known to history, and which have yet to contribute to the civilization of mankind, in other words, whose history remains still to be made in the future.

The history of civilization is indeed to all intents and purposes a series of inferior, incompetent and worthless groups or races rising to the status of superior, dominant and efficient groups or races. The creative urges operating among the alleged inferior races or classes, the *pariahs* of mankind, have as a rule escaped the serious attention of eugenicists, political philosophers and culture-historians.¹ Had Bankim's sociology been sufficiently alive to the powers and capabilities, *l'élan de la vie*, of the historically inferior races it would not perhaps have failed to find for the Italians and the Bengalis a much higher rôle than that of being merely the bearers of the Renaissance, glorious albeit it is, and then perhaps of retiring. The adventures of the "hardier and more original races," whatever they be, might then have been foreseen in the futuristic planning of Bankim regarding the "pliant and supple races" of Eur-Asia.

Bankim needed a sociology that, in the first place, renders unto history the things that are history's and unto creative intelligence, will and initiative the things that naturally belong to them. Further, he needed a sociology that, in the second place, takes full cognizance of the thousand and one inferior, unfit, incompetent, worthless, submerged, oppressed or depressed classes, the *pariahs* of the diverse nooks and corners of the world as having conquered their "place in the sun" in this epoch or that. Fortified with such sociologies Bankim might have delivered another message. These new sociologies would perhaps have to pronounce that the "pliant and supple" Italians and Bengalis after discharging the duties allotted to them for a time do not necessarily have to retire in favour of the "more hardy and original races" but that in a future scheme of developments the functions of these latter may be efficiently discharged by the Italians and the Bengalis. But

¹ B. K. Sarker : *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 101-128.

Bankim's sociology is not of this type. Perhaps he expected that the shortcomings of his sociology, such as they were, might be corrected by the magic and creative urge of his doctrine of *Bande Mataram*.

BANKIM AND AFTER

The world knows that in 1893, the year before Bankim's death, the self-conscious voice of Young Bengal was heard by the East and the West at the International Parliament of Religions, Chicago, through the personality of Vivekananda. And before the century was out Vivekananda was in a position to declare to Young Bengal at Calcutta in 1897 as follows: "We have to conquer the world. That we have to! India must conquer the world, and nothing less than that is my ideal." Eight years later in 1905 was witnessed the birth of Young India through the exploits of Bengali energism. Since then Young Bengal has been out all the time conquering and to conquer.

To-day the Bengalis, perhaps "pliant and supple" still, do not yet have to think of retiring in any field in favour of the "hardier and more original races of India." Young Bengal is still self-conscious, adventurous, tenacious and strenuous.

It is these post-Bankim experiences of world-culture that have to be assimilated by sociologists while surveying the achievements and limitations of Bankim's social philosophy. All these data serve to furnish additional justification for the contention that Bankim was misled by race-dogmatism and over-historicism as prevalent in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and that these sociological *isms* placed a damper on Bankim's optimism in regard to the prospects of the Bengali people.

PHILOSOPHY IN LORD BYRON

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A., B.E.S.

TO present Byron as a philosophic poet may appear too far-fetched at first sight, the concurrence of opinion being that there is no philosophy in his utterances. It is reinforced by the poet's own sneer at the philosophical systems of Plato and Berkeley in "*Don Juan*" and his condemnation of philosophy in general as

"Of all our vanities the motliest,
The merest word that ever fool'd the ear
From out the schoolman's jargon." ¹

He is equally emphatic in his regret with regard to Shelley's "affection for metaphysical utopias." "Shelley appears to me mad with his metaphysics," said Byron on one occasion to Gamba. "What trash in all these systems I say what they will, mystery for mystery, I will find that of the Creation the most reasonable of any." Systematised philosophical thinking found no place in Byron's temperament. Goethe, the great poet-critic of Europe in modern times, tells us that the moment Byron begins to reflect he is a child. But did Byron ever reflect? His mood and temperament never lay that way. There was no time for him to reflect. He could not give us a logical process of reasoning born out of cool speculative moods. He wrote under the influence of some irresistible power within, and thought only by intuition. "I feel writing as a torture," he asserts, "which I must get rid of, but never a pleasure." His was a fitful genius with constant ebb and flow.

Goethe, however, does not deny to Byron his just meed of admiration. He even over-estimates Byron's position and puts him at the top of the intellectual geniuses of the age. "A character of such eminence," he observes, "has never existed before, and probably will never come again." He is still more emphatic when he claims: "I could not make use of any man as the representative of the modern poetic era except him, who is undoubtedly to be regarded as the greatest talent of our century." In such high terms

¹ "*Manfred*," III, i.

is the praise showered upon Byron by one whose estimate cannot be over-rated. He is the unbiased judge whose verdict is neither coloured by prejudices, nor swayed by a show of pious resentment, denouncing the supposed immorality of the poet and his works. He correctly appraises the worth of Byron's poetry when he regards it as a cultural force in spite of many "immoral" passages, for it is not only from "the decidedly pure and moral" that we are to learn, rather, "everything that is great promotes cultivation, as soon as we are aware of it." This element of greatness and grandeur has been reluctantly admitted even by the worst detractors of Byron.

If, therefore, Byron is really a great genius, he must have some philosophy of life; and our inquiry is concerned with the possibility of finding out such a significance in his poetical works. In the following pages we shall make an attempt to determine the philosophical tendency in him and exhibit the extent of its breadth and its depth, for he occupies a unique and an important place in the group of poets belonging to the romantic school of poetry. Other poets of the group had been more or less dealing with a mystical philosophy of life that did scant justice to man's irrational actions and passions. In them we find the fullest sympathy with the dark side of life, but their attitude towards it had been that of one looking from an elevated position downwards, with a feeling of sympathy and patronage. In Byron we have one who reverses the standpoint and looks upwards, himself standing on the level of ordinary mortals. With the gift of "titanic feelings as well as titanic intellect," as Caldwell tells us of Schopenhauer, Byron too "had more interest in the failures in life and nature than in the successes, in the bondage and necessity of man than in his liberty and freedom."¹ In that age of idealism it was for him alone to do full justice to the actual, retaining at the same time his hold on the idealistic philosophy of the time. If he has painted life as a tragedy with all its miseries and misfortunes, it was because he insisted upon the necessity of facing facts without transfusing them into a rosy-tinted picture through "the might of thought" as others had done. He, at the same time, does believe in a spirit-world apart from the outer world of appearances, and we shall try to extricate his positive teaching, that demands a search for the noumenal within the phenomenal, from the somewhat contradictory position of a pessimist which makes the unwary reader believe that the poet held to that dark creed as his

¹ W. Caldwell: "Schopenhauer's System in its Philosophical Significance," p. 16.

philosophy of life. As we shall find, if Byron scoffs at everything human, it is because he is antagonistic to the vanity of the age. In current theological institutions he finds too much insistence upon dogmas instead of their truths being the facts of the mystical experience of every individual, and so insists upon the strengthening of the receptive faculty of the soul in order to possess an intuitive grasp of religious truth. This was to be effected by a proper cultivation of the faculty of Reason in all its aspects, so that the existence of the transcendental world might come to man as a fact of experience, both as a matter of feeling and as an intuitive conviction. It was so with Byron, and his poetry considered in this light is a fascinating study.

For the purpose of our study we may divide the poetical career of Byron into two periods. Such a division is not only convenient but actually exists in the growth of the inner vision that the poet exhibits after 1816, the date of his voluntary exile with ignominy attached to his name. All his poems before this period mark the stages of his growing intellectual maturity. They reveal to us how ardent was the search of the poet for a convincing and inspiring philosophy of life, that could aid him in his struggle against a malignant Fate and a tradition-ridden society blinded by prejudice and convention. They display the many-sidedness of the poet's genius, ranging from the sceptic and pessimist to the profound believer in God and optimist as to the inherent greatness of man.

The moody and reflective temperament of Byron found its first response in his early companionship of Nature. "The wild scenery of Morven and Loch-na-gar and the banks of the Dee," in the poet's own words, filled him with unbounded joy as he used to ramble about them in his boyhood. They developed his mental faculties and stimulated his imagination. They impressed him with their grandeur and sublimity, splendour and beauty, peace and harmony, vastness and eternity. In them, in accordance with his early Calvinistic training, Byron perceived the hand of the Supreme Creator ordering the material form of Nature and regulating the operation of her mechanical laws. It is such a faith that the poet records in "*The Prayer of Nature*" when he says:

"Thou, who canst guide the wandering star
Through trackless realms of æther's space ;
Who calm'st the elemental war,
Whose hand from pole to pole I trace."

Hence his worshipful attitude towards her not as a deity but as a temple reared by God Himself where man could pay Him due homage and adoration. It is more abiding than the "Gothic domes of mouldering stone," and its laws reveal the decrees of God uncorrupted by human interpretation. They are sufficient for the poet to give him a code of conduct and morality, and he feels no necessity to seek the guidance of a "prophet's laws." The position is a curious intermixture of orthodox faith in an eternal, personal God who has created the world and controls it from outside, and the deistic conception of Nature's self-sufficiency as the manifestation of God and His laws. This is the highest spiritual experience which the poet, during this period, can feel in the presence of Nature. It displays the immaturity of his intellect and a lack of genuine emotion.

These elements were however, rapidly growing in Byron. In the early cantos of "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*," we notice a change in his attitude towards Nature. Through the quickened receptivity of his mind he now discovers in her a life of harmony, freedom and happiness. He finds his own burden of grief lightened in her joy-giving loveliness, and no more feels lonely in the company of natural objects. He seems to hold converse with them as he views their "stores unroll'd" before him. They betoken to the poet the presence of the very spirit of Goodness pervading the entire scene. The glories of Nature exultantly cry to man to enjoy their charm and derive from them a moment of peace and joy before he passes away into the nothingness of the grave. But man remains unheeding to her call and "brute-like" devastates her beautiful surface. He, like the Spirit of Evil, is in eternal conflict with Nature, the Spirit of Goodness, and to the great regret of the poet, very often triumphs over the seraphs he assails. So cried Byron in distress:

"So soft the scene, so form'd for joy,
So curst the tyrants that destroy."¹

We find in all this a growing spiritualisation of Nature which prepares us for the subsequent mystic exultation of the poet in her company. So far he displays only the capacity to converse with her charms in a spirit of love.

In matters of religion, Byron had a singularly misguided course of instruction in his boyhood. The natural bent of his mind was

towards a love of freedom in thought and action. In school-days he was a champion of rights and a defender of the weak. His life throughout was an impassioned struggle for the political, social, and religious emancipation of man. The gloomy creed of Calvinism, into which he was brought up in childhood, at first impressed him with the terror and awe for a wrathful deity, and then made him rebel against that conception. He learned from it that things were pre-destined for man, and that God was to be worshipped more out of fear for His punishment than out of love for His mercy and grace. Both these positions became incomprehensible to him as he began to think for himself. In the doctrine of pre-destination, with its idea of apportioned sin, he saw nothing but the most flagrant injustice of the deity of popular faith who compels man to do things according to his own pre-ordered decree and then punishes them for their involuntary action. And the idea of worship out of fear he condemned as an irrational deed, beneath the dignity of man.

This does not mean that Byron was infused with the iconoclastic zeal of Shelley. He was never an atheist or an unbeliever. The worst that can be said of him is that he was a sceptic. In his own words, "I deny nothing, but doubt everything," not the existence of God but the deeds attributed to Him by man. With the Bible as a part of his daily reading, and having been "cudgelled to church" in his early days, he developed a profoundly religious feeling with a firm belief in God, which he unreservedly revealed in the "*Hebrew Melodies*." He was never without a fervent adoration for the personal and creative Deity of Christian theology as we have seen in his treatment of Nature, and was always willing to submit himself, in all humility, to the mercy and grace of that God. So he says in "*Childe Harold*:"

"Before the Chastener humbly let me bow,
O'er hearts divided and o'er hopes destroyed."¹

His utter surprise at the charge of atheism brought against him by the public, and the protestations of faith on his own part, we find in some of his correspondence of this period. In his letter to Hodgson, written in 1811, he throws himself "on the mercy of the 'Great First Cause,' least understood who must do what is most proper," while in his letters of 1813 written to Gifford and to Miss Milbanke he candidly affirms his faith in God and desires "to be convinced of much more."

¹ "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*," II, xiviii.

One thing we must, however, notice in connection with his conception of God towards the close of this period. Though he never believed in the doctrine of pre-destinated sin he had come to believe in a power that guided and controlled the events in the life of man. There were changes and vicissitudes in man's career that were entirely beyond his control and made a plaything of him. Byron had bitter personal experiences in this direction. He, accordingly, came to recognise in "*The Corsair*" the power of Fate as the inexorable decree of the omnipotent Deity, not as a tenet of Christian faith, but as a transcendental idea of the World-Will worked through man. In the case of Conrad the events follow fast and the hero seems to be completely under the control of some greater power, yet no miracle is worked. It is man's own activity that works out the Universal Will as an act of free-choice and for that he stands exalted or condemned. This was the conception of the transcendental greatness of man that characterised the age, and we find in Byron an acceptance of that creed. Conrad is a personification of the human will that has been developed through assiduous culture and controls the baser elements of human nature, symbolised by the masses. It gains its ascendancy by shunning "the grosser joys of sense," which are generally sought by the people, and "seems nourished by that abstinence." Released from the pursuit of mundane objects, it rises supreme, and makes the lower faculties of man carry out its will and work harmoniously. It triumphs over all the difficulties and trials of life and remains exalted even in defeat. This leads the poet to give us his philosophy of life when faced with failure and defeat, and when the mind sorrowfully recalls "ambition's expiring dreams." The feeling of the sufferer is usually that of remorse and repentance, and Byron has given us a masterly psychological study of it in "*The Corsair*." He says:

"There is a war, a chaos of the mind,
When all its elements convulsed, combined,
Lie dark and jarring with perturbed force,
And gnashing with impenitent Remorse—
That juggling fiend, who never spake before,
But cries "I warned thee!" when the deed is o'er.
Vain voice! the spirit burning but unbent,
May writhe, rebel—the weak alone repent!"¹

¹ "*The Corsair*."

Repentance, according to him, is useless and unavailing, because, in the first place, the course of action was freely-willed, and in the second place, it is irretrievably past. It is not for man to whine when the blow has fallen. He is also not to exhibit the common weakness of humanity that lays itself low and craves for mercy in moments of despair. The highest act of virtue, on the other hand, seems to be neither to submit or yield to misfortune, nor to pray for self destruction, but to bear all with determination, and thank God for the gift of fortitude. Such a behaviour signifies the reconciliation of the individual will with the universal. It takes us out of a life of impotency, repentant contemplation and ineffectual ideas into one of volition and attainment through a conscious effort of the will.

With no faith in the utility of outwardly acts of prayer and devotion, Byron did not have a high regard for religious institutions. He found them identified with dry external formality and class custom, instead of being subordinated to enlightenment and virtue amongst individuals, and a gospel of love amongst mankind. These were the essential constituents of genuine piety, but were held at a discount by the warring creed that proclaimed the doctrine of mutual hatred and asked of their adherents to expiate for their guilty deeds by practices of hollow faith. In "*The Prayer of Nature*" the poet has given us a strong denunciation of established systems, from this point of view. He says:—

" Shall each pretend to reach the skies,
Yet doom his brother to expire,
Whose soul a different hope supplies,
Or doctrines less severe inspire ?
Shall these, by creeds they can't expound,
Prepare a fancied bliss or woe ?
Shall reptiles, grovelling on the ground,
Their great Creator's purpose know ?
Shall those, who live for self alone,
Whose years float on in daily crime—
Shall they by Faith or guilt atone,
And live beyond the bounds of Time ?"

On the other hand, Byron cared for the universal elements of religions and regarded them as good, provided their followers attended to them properly and did not make them a "mask to cover villainy," as he

remarked to Fletcher. In his own case he is reported to have confessed: "I do not go to Church, like many of my accusers, but I have my hopes that I am no less a Christian than they, for God examines the inward parts of a man—not outward appearances." All these declarations voice his great desire to see religion recognised not merely in its formal side but as an ideal and spiritual effort on the part of man to eradicate the evils of selfish and baser instincts of life. He did not care what rituals a religion imposed or what form it wore, provided it yielded to its followers a positive experience of delight in an unselfish devotion to mankind. These were the higher purposes of life that could not be realised by mere verbal recognition. They had to be as instinctive, organic, and real in the nature of man as were his rough sensibility and evil desires. It is thus that Byron deals with the transcendental significance of human action by seeking its explanation from the standpoint of the self or the will within.

The problem of the immortality of the soul was a subject of constant speculation with Byron. With his hopes blighted by his first failure in love, and always brooding over it in his despondency, he felt disgusted with life, and his thoughts naturally wandered into the future prospect of the soul. Here he vacillated much between faith and scepticism, and this reveals the struggle that was going on in his mind. Brought up under an orthodox creed his impulse lay towards the acceptance of the doctrine, but the empirical spirit of the age told him not to accept it on trust. In "*The Hours of Idleness*" the problem has been often raised and the poet shows his leaning towards the former attitude. In "*The Prayer of Nature*" he is undecided and does not know whether to think that the soul, after "this dust to dust is restored," will "float on airy wing" and be united with God, the spring of all being, as Shelley conceived it would, or to consider it as deemed to "share with clay the grave's eternal bed." The former aspiration, however, is the strongest and most legitimate in man, sharing as he does in the Divine, and the poet concludes with the hope that to God again may his erring soul fly when released from the body. This hope was vague and indefinite, but was beginning to form itself into an articulate creed. In "*Adrian's Address to his Soul*," to the question

"To what unknown region bourn,
Wilt thou now wing thy distant flight?"

the poet's answer is that the soul, leaving its fleshly abode, would exist in some place deprived of its "gay humour," and live "pallid, cheerless and forlorn." Similar conception of the flight of the soul "to the regions of night" is repeated in "*The Tear*," which shows that the poet's mind is not made up as to the exact conditions of the soul's future existence, but that he does believe it to be imperishable, and regards in death a haven of rest after the stormy battle of life. Writing to Hodgson in September, 1811, he declares: "I will have nothing to do with your immortality; we are miserable enough in this life, without the absurdity of speculating upon another. If men are to live, why die at all? and if they die, why disturb the sweet and sound sleep that 'knows no waking'?... I looked to death as a relief from pain, without a wish for an after-life, but a confidence that the God who punishes in this existence had left that last asylum for the weary." Byron came to hold this opinion as a result of his personal sufferings and the conception of a merciful God as opposed to the God of vengeance. Miseries in the life of man are sufficient to break the strongest spirit without the necessity of adding to it the terror of a tortured life in eternity, or even the prospect of a happy life in heaven. The despair which has been a permanent feature of Byron's life has made him sick of existence both here and in the hereafter, and he represents in the character of the Giaour the feeling of his jaded soul that desires no pleasures of heaven but a peaceful sleep. Under the shadow of death, the Giaour rejects the consolations of prayer and declares:

"Waste not thine orison, despair
Is mightiest than thy pious prayer:
I would not, if I might, be blest;
I want no paradise, but rest."

His "o'er-laboured" soul longs only for the "sweet forgetfulness of life,"¹ and seeks death as "the universal home,

"Where weakness, strength, vice, virtue, sunk supine,
Alike in naked helplessness recline."²

Such a dark view of human existence with nothing to look forward to but the cold grave as its ultimate destination could not be a very comforting creed. Doubtless, the poet regarded it as a sleep of

¹ "*Lara*," I, xxiz.

² *Ibid.*

rest in which we dream the least, yet the prospect of eternal inactivity and nothingness cannot be in harmony with the principle of life and being which is the chief quality of the soul. Byron realised this fact too well, and side by side with his cynical outbursts, he never fails to exhibit, even to the charge of inconsistency, his undying faith in the "final goal" of the soul which consists in its return "to Him who gave."¹ The inner voice of his soul whispered to him, at rare moments, that all did not close in the grave and that death was not an end in itself but the beginning of a happy and an eternal life. It was the growth of that transcendental insight that marks the close of the first period. In "*Lara*" and the "*Hebrew Melodies*" there is an emphatic affirmation of the immortality of the soul in a state of perpetual union in the Universal. "The immortal mind," after it "leaves its darken'd dust behind," he says in the poem, "*When Coldness Wraps the Suffering Clay*," flows back into the sea of Universal Mind, becomes its part and parcel, and partakes in its infinity and eternity:

"A nameless and eternal thing,
Forgetting what it was to die."

In the physical form of human beings, he too, like Shelley, beholds a spiritual essence, the divine soul, which finds itself clogged in the prison-house of the flesh; a "bitter boon" of Nature as he tells us in "*Lara*." But while with Shelley the mould of clay is a thin veil, and the spiritual insight of man can penetrate through it in moments of ecstasy with Byron the heavy burden of flesh can never be lightened except when the soul frees itself through death and is finally merged in the Being of the Divinity. It is helped to that destiny by sincere faith and virtuous deeds, and not by merely ceremonial observances of a religious sect. As death draws nigh, *Lara* smiles "with an eye profane" at "the absolving cross" and "the holy bead," which *Kaled* flings back

"As if such but disturb'd the expiring man,
Nor seem'd to know his life but *then* began,
That life of Immortality."¹

This is a definite advance in Byron's conception of the future life of the soul. He had expressed doubts at his earlier utterances, and

denied it later, but now he seems to be convinced of its veracity as he frees himself from the godless materialism, superficial deism, and rampant rationalism of the eighteenth century. The faith remained with him to the last, and its closing phase is best expressed in his dying words when he said to Parry: "Eternity and space are before me; but on this subject, thank God, I am happy and at ease. The thought of living eternally, of again reviving, is a great pleasure."

[To be continued.]

EARLY ANNALS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, II 1859-66

A. P. DAS GUPTA.

C. A HOME OF ITS OWN FOR THE UNIVERSITY

WE have in the minutes of the Provisional Committee dated 24th January, 1857 the following entry :—

“ Read a letter from Major Bell, temporary president of the Building Committee of the Presidency College, dated the 17th January, as to the accommodation which the University and its office will require in the new building.

“ Resolved that a private room and an office for the Registrar, additional space for records and muniments when required, a council chamber adapted for meetings of the Senate, its Syndicate and Faculties, and a large hall for examinations include all the requirements of the University.”

The University however remained for a long time without a council chamber or an examination hall or even an office building of its own, before vigorous steps were taken to have a suitable habitation for it. The Registrar held his office in a suite of rooms at No. 10, Camac Street, far removed from the Indian quarter of the town to the great inconvenience of most who were concerned with the infant institution. The Syndicate held its monthly meetings at the private residence of the Vice-Chancellor. The meetings of the Faculties were held sometimes at the Civil Engineering College, and at other times at the private residence of the president of the Faculty ; and the meetings of the Senate at the residence of the Vice-Chancellor, the Civil Engineering College, or the Town Hall. In the affiliated institutions sufficient space was not available for examinations, and the Town Hall was generally used. The whole of the Town Hall was however not available and only a portion of the ground floor was used to accommodate candidates. On one occasion the B. A. candidates were disturbed,

during a great part of their examination, by a musical company practising on the upper floor of the Town Hall and the settlement of the Bengal races in a room adjoining the examination room.

The necessity of a habitation for the University was not pressed on the authorities in the first few years of its existence, partly because the success of the infant University during these years was naturally a matter of speculation, but mainly because it was felt that in view of the financial difficulties of the government caused by the Mutiny such application would not meet with any response. The University however soon made rapid strides and the financial troubles of the Government gradually began to disappear.

At every succeeding examination the problem of accommodating the candidates increased. One thousand and fifty eight candidates enrolled themselves for the Entrance Examination held on the 2nd January, 1862. The space available for the University in the Town Hall did not suffice and the examination had to be held partly in tents erected on the Maidan. The percentage of successful candidates was 47.16 of the number who appeared as against 51.33 in the previous year. The Junior Board of Examiners in Arts in reporting the results of the Entrance Examination to the Syndicate on the 31st January, 1862 referred to the intense heat under the tents in the afternoon of each day and suggested that this had possibly contributed to the larger number of failures that year. They remarked, "Many of the examiners whose duty it was to be present in the tents, complained of the heat and confinement which . . . with a due regard to health, they should not have been exposed to. But if these gentlemen suffered from such causes when they had no mental labour of any nature to perform, and were merely acting as policemen, how much more must the candidates have suffered. It is obvious that where men's minds are exposed to the anxiety and labour attending on such an examination, no effort should be spared to avoid any unusual physical strain. . . . We trust that the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate will pardon us for observing on this point, that it is unbecoming the dignity of a great University at the metropolis of the empire, not to have a suitable building, under its own management, for the conduct of its affairs. The success of this University is no longer a matter of speculation; the applications for Entrance are increasing in a ratio that we believe has no parallel in the history of the world. For those who have entered, additional means of instruction are becoming every year more necessary. Suitable halls in which lectures in some of

the higher branches, as was once proposed, might be given to the students of its many affiliated institutions in which examinations might be held and degrees conferred, have become a necessity, and we venture to express a hope that means may be taken, before long, to provide a University building worthy of the great objects which the University has been founded to carry out." Thereupon a sub-committee consisting of Dr. Duff and the Registrar was appointed to report whether a University building was required, and if so, what should be its situation and size. The sub-committee reported to the Syndicate on the 18th February, 1862. Discussing whether a University building was required the sub-committee pointed out that there was no building in Calcutta where University examinations could be held "with that convenience and propriety which their importance deserves." They referred to the inconvenience which candidates suffered from during the last examinations. Besides, a suitable building was required for the Registrar's office and for holding the meetings. The most important point in the opinion of the sub-committee however was that the University ought to have a building of its own where the proposed University lectures could be delivered. For this purpose, "even if some one of the affiliated institutions could afford the necessary accommodation, it will be apparent that the University could hardly accept it; as this might give rise to a dangerous preference of the institution selected over the others." Among other reasons for a University building was "the influence which such a structure must necessarily have on the community for whose use it is intended. It will bring home, more forcibly to the minds of all, the objects to be attained by the University, and it will impress on the natives of India the pains taken and the interest felt by Her Majesty's government on their behalf. In no country should such influences be disregarded; but in India, where so much depends on outward appearance, it is more especially desirable that the highest educational institution of the country should have something more than a name to recommend it to the notice of the people. Moreover a suitable edifice is a necessary part of all similar institutions in Europe, with the single exception of the London University, an exception which should not influence the decision of the present question in as much as the London University exists under very different circumstances."

As to the accommodation which would be required, the sub-committee opined that, "a two-storied building on a base of 150 feet square would probably be sufficient. This should contain, on the upper

floor, a large hall of 150 by 100 feet for the First examination in Arts, the B.A. and all other higher examinations, and two theatres for lectures of 75 by 50 each. On the basement story might be a library, rooms for Philosophical apparatus, and Museums illustrative of Physical Science, rooms for meetings of the different Faculties, a robing room for the Senate, Registrar's office and a hall, somewhat smaller than the hall above stairs, for meetings of the Senate. Such a building would afford ample accommodation for all purposes, except the Entrance examination, which must be held partly there and partly in some other available building." This was unavoidable, because with the gradual increase in the number of candidates for the Entrance examination it was impossible to make any provision within a single building.

As to the site of the new edifice the sub-committee reported that it "should be somewhere in the line of Colootollah Street, so as to be intermediate between the native colleges on the one hand, and the European and Eurasian on the other. This is a point of paramount importance. The University being from its very nature mainly designed for the native community, their feelings and convenience ought to be very specially consulted. . . . We feel assured that the line now indicated is the most southerly limit that could be regarded as tolerable by the native inhabitants at large. . . . "we have learnt that a large space of ground, in the locality now referred to, has been purchased and its site being cleared for the erection of a building for the Presidency and Medical Colleges. It probably might be a saving of public money were a portion of this space set apart for the erection of a suitable edifice for the University."

The matter was brought before the Senate on the 27th February, 1862. The Senate referred it back to the Syndicate with the request that the opinion of the Faculties be taken and that their reports after consideration of the Syndicate be brought up in a ripe form for the decision of the Senate.

When the matter was referred to the Faculty of Law for its opinion, that Faculty agreed that a University building was necessary, but it was unable to come to any conclusion regarding a site. If professorships were established, it thought, "the building should be situated in the native town"; otherwise, "we do not see that inconvenience would result from having the building in some more open, airy and conspicuous locality." The Faculty of Medicine merely resolved that

"... the situation and nature of the building must depend on the decision come to by the Senate on the question of establishing University professorships." The Faculty of Civil Engineering was prepared to express a more definite opinion and suggested that the University building would be best placed immediately in front of the Small Cause Court, whereas the Faculty of Arts resolved that the University building should be "situated in the native part of Calcutta, and that it should be capable of extension."

In the meanwhile a reference to the subject was made from the highest quarter when Lord Canning, replying to the farewell address presented to him by the Vice-Chancellor in a special meeting of the Senate on the 14th March, 1862, remarked, "Of all the shortcomings, which have necessarily attended upon an administration carried on through times of civil trouble and of financial difficulties, there has been none which has caused me more regret than that which has resulted from the necessity to withhold, for so many years, all increase of expenditure for education. And, although this necessity has pressed indiscriminately upon education of every class, it is in regard to the education of the higher ranks of native society that I have most deplored it. Sir, I am satisfied that in giving to those ranks, not in Calcutta only, but elsewhere in India, the opportunities of a liberal education which shall be acceptable to them, the British power in India would find a great help to good government and one of its best safeguards. But it has not been possible to attempt this, and mainly for the same reason, no progress has been made towards giving to your University a local habitation of its own. I trust, however, that better times are at hand."

The Syndicate, on the 5th June, 1862, adopted the view of the Faculty of Arts with reference to the site of the University building. It was also resolved that

"The Syndicate is led to believe that a space of ground, not less than five hundred feet square, should be secured at once, regard being had to the daily increasing cost of land, and to the necessity of providing beforehand for the gradual extension from time to time of the University buildings to meet the growing requirements of the University.

"The building to be erected immediately should it is considered contain at least, (1st) A spacious and indeed a stately Senate House or University Hall for the public meetings of the Senate. (2nd) A University Library of suitable dimensions. (3rd) A reading or consulting

room. (4th) A suitable chamber for the ordinary meetings of the Senate, the Syndicate, and the Faculties. (5th) A retiring or robing room for the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Senators. (6th) An office for the Registrar. (7th) A record room and office for his clerks. (8th) and (9th) Two large examination rooms capable of being fitted up, if necessary, as lecturing halls or theatres. The Syndicate recommends that the ordinary University examinations should not be held in the Senate House, and, on this ground, has indicated the want of separate examination rooms. It desires also to point out that the design and plans of the University building should be so framed as to admit of future symmetrical additions being made.

“ The details of the University buildings can of course be properly arranged only when a formal decision shall have been obtained as to the site, and as to the institution or otherwise of University professorships. But the submission of this general description of the views of the Syndicate as to the immediate requirements of the University in this respect, may conduce to the early adoption of some definite recommendation by the Senate.”

On the 14th June, 1862, the Senate passed resolutions on the subject identical with the views of the Syndicate and decided to apply to government to sanction the necessary expenditure. A letter in accordance with these resolutions was then written to the Secretary, Government of India, Home Department (25th June, 1862).

On the 12th March, 1863, a reply was received from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, informing the University that the Governor-General in Council “ will be prepared to enter upon the consideration of the proposal for a suitable building for University purposes whenever a site for such a building shall have been finally selected, and a plan of the structure prepared on approved principles, together with a careful estimate of its probable cost,” and also requesting the University to correspond with the Public Works Department to which the papers had been forwarded for the settlement of necessary preliminaries.

While the subject of a habitation of its own for the University was thus making slow progress the University Offices had to be removed from No. 10, Camac Street. The Registrar was served with a notice to vacate the rooms from the 1st January, 1864. Another suite of rooms was found for the same rent at No. 3, Russell Street where the offices were shifted.

Within a few months, the site for the proposed University building was settled. On the 31st March, 1864, the Government of India communicated to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Public Works Department that "for the University building the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that no better site can be found than to the west of College Street, facing the tank in front of the Hindoo College. Some of the ground already belongs to the Government, but if more is found to be required, the frontage beyond the present Government boundary may be taken up as far as the corner of the Hindoo College Square. The building should be arranged in such a manner, having regard to the centre line of the tank, as will admit of a symmetrical extension of it towards the corner of Colootollah Street, should the purchase of the bazar hereafter become possible, which at present is not the case.....the Lieutenant-Governor will now be good enough to cause the needful designs to be prepared." It was added that "the Government of India considers that the University building being of a somewhat cosmopolitan nature, and at the same time being of moderate dimensions, may, without objection, be dealt with in a less strict manner as regards the outlay on work of a decorative description."

More than a year and a half elapsed before the University heard on the subject from the Public Works Department. On the 11th December, 1865, the University was informed that Mr. Granville, the Architect to the Government of Bengal, had been desired to wait on the Vice-Chancellor with the plans of the proposed University building and that the P. W. D. would order the commencement of the work as soon as the plans were approved by the Syndicate and funds for the purpose were made available by the Government of India to whom the University was requested to apply for a special grant to be added to the Educational Budget of the ensuing year, as it was not possible to meet any part of the cost of the proposed building from the limited appropriation for Public Works in Bengal.

A letter was then written to the Government of India approving the plans prepared by Mr. Granville and requesting that a special grant for the purpose may be added to the Educational Budget of the ensuing year. The Government of India were of opinion that "it may yet be found possible to arrange the provision of funds without exceeding the Bengal Public Works budget grant" and informed the P. W. D., Bengal that the Governor-General in Council was very anxious that the

work should be taken in hand at an early date and that every effort should be made to hasten the preparation and submission of the design and estimate.

The following estimate (Estimate No. 1365-66 P. W. D., Bengal) was then submitted by the additional Executive Engineer of the Presidency Division for approval of the Government of India:—

For site	Rs. 81,660
For buildings, exclusive of out offices	„ 1,70,561
	<hr/>
Total Rs.	2,52,221

The sanction of the Governor-General in Council was conveyed in the orders of the Government of India in the Public Works Department No. 249C, dated 7th March, 1866, and the Architect to the Government of Bengal was instructed to go on at once with the work "on the Government land selected for it which is facing the centre of College Square Tank". The work was completed by the end of 1872 at the much higher cost of Rs. 4,34,697.

The first Convocation of the University in its own home was held on the 12th March, 1873. The sentiments expressed by the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. E. C. Bayley, on this historic occasion, deserve to be recorded. He remarked: "In to-day entering into possession of the noble hall in which we are assembled, the University of Calcutta enters also, it may be said, upon a new epoch in its career. . . . It was in the midst of the chief struggles of 1857 that the Government of India created the University of Calcutta, and gave to it, by the sanction of law, an independent and corporate existence. That work has now been completed by the liberal gift of this building which will hereafter constitute its local home and its visible embodiment."

THE VIGOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN AMERICA

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It has been said that psychology has a long past but only a short history. This paradoxical statement is not an expression of reproach or praise. Nor does it indicate anything about the remarkable vitality of psychology in the West, especially in America. It simply gives a perspective which can be sketched briefly. In ancient India and Greece, in mediaeval and modern Europe and America up till about 75 years ago, philosophy entirely nursed psychology. She wrapped it with her traditions and carried it in her arms. She showered it with her wisdom and guided its steps. Psychology grew up but it was not its own master. When science, as early as the sixties, stalked over Europe knocking down some of the postulates and props of philosophy and religion, psychology was at a loss. Long before Darwin, Lamarck and Huxley wielded the iconoclastic hammer of biological evolution the empirical writings of Locke, Hartley, and others of the same school, which made mind as nothing but a vast and intricate mesh of ideas, each connected with the other according to the "magic" law of association, had already been weaning psychology away from the traditional emphasis of philosophy. Progress in physiology in the first part of the 18th century and earlier helped to prepare the scientific basis of psychology. The twin principle of observation and experimentation which is the gospel of scientific methodology was in the air.

PSYCHOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

Psychology began as a science in 1860 with the publication of Fechner's book *Elemente der Psychophysik*, the first book * on experimental psychology based upon experimental data and not upon arm-chair speculation. Yet Fechner, who was a sort of a mystic, wrote this book for the sake of advancing philosophy, for the sake of solving the relation between body and mind, and not for the sake of placing

* Although modern science is beginning to throw light on some of the profound Indian researches in Yogic, psychological and other cognate subjects, such researches are not mentioned in this article because their approach though objective in certain respects has motivations and characteristics different from those noticed in modern psychology.

experimental psychology on its own feet. But he was indirectly doing that very thing. He lifted and compared over 64,000 small weights of different values and after many years came to the mathematical and psychological conclusion that the relationship between the sensation of weight and actual weight is not linear but logarithmic. That is, unequal additions of weight of a proportionate value give equal increases in sensation of weight. This relationship was extended to other sense fields. Wundt, the German philosopher, established at Leipzig in 1879 the first formal laboratory of experimental psychology in the world. He published many researches and trained many students who later became distinguished in psychology in Europe and America. He was combining the introspective with the instrumental method to investigate sensation, memory, imagination, feeling, etc. In methodology psychology was fast getting away from philosophy but the theoretical separation between the two was not as pronounced as it is to-day.

SCHOOLS OF PSYCHOLOGY

In America the flame of psychology was lighted in the '80's by William James, the famous Harvard pragmatist, admirer of Indian and Occidental mysticism. He was a philosopher by leaning and a psychologist by choice. As a professor of physiology he started a small psychological laboratory at Harvard University a few years before Wundt started his, but it was only a teaching device and not a formal institution. By his own admission James hated experimental work. He was interested in the dynamic process of mental life and the speculative aspect of psychological findings but not in the laborious procedures of laboratory psychology. However his *Principles of Psychology* (1890) was a monumental work. It was the last book he wrote on psychology before he broke into philosophical productivity which lasted for two decades until his death in 1910. In it he boiled down the experimental results of European psychologists and presented them with original elaborations in his masterly literary style. He did not found any school of psychology but he gave out hints which anticipated the principles of some of the schools that were founded later in America and elsewhere. In this consisted his greatness. He may have been inconsistent in some of his statements but his vision of the function of psychology was none the less magnificent.

Then there was the giant, versatile mind, Stanley Hall of Clark University, the founder of Child and Educational Psychology in

America, and also Ladd of Yale who was first a minister of religion and later became the pioneer writer in the branch of physiological psychology in that country.

The structuralist school of psychology headed by Titchener of Cornell University was expounding by the end of the 19th and first part of the 20th century that to understand mind one should first understand, by means of trained introspection and laboratory methods, the elements or bits of which mind is composed, *e.g.*, units or bits of sensation, feeling, and emotion. This was Wundtian tradition. James admired the spirit of systematic inquiry of this tradition but vigorously challenged its psychological atomism. The functionalist school of psychology headed by Dewey and Angell, formerly of Chicago University, went against the structuralists and took their stand on Darwin's theory of evolution and conceived mind in terms of its functionings and not of its units. For the organism as a whole, they contended, mind has a tremendous survival value in its adaptation to environment. To understand mind one has to understand the whole organism with its needs, its interrelated functions and progressive adjustments. Mind can be known by knowing mind at work and not by chopping it into bits of sensation, of feeling, etc. Mind is like a river which is more than a sum of water particles. Functionalism arose out of James's dynamic concept of mind—mind as a stream, as a continuum. It led to Woodworth's dynamic psychology, his concept of drives, and was not at all inconsistent with Cattell's researches on individual differences within this dynamic system. Then other studies came thick and fast: Thorndike's studies of animals, Watson's investigation of children and animals, his Behaviorism with its pooh-poohing of consciousness and philosophy, elaborate programme of testing intelligence, personality, motor skill, etc., and importation of Galton's, Pearson's, and Gauss's statistical procedures from England and the European continent. The germ of Gestalt psychology can be discovered in James though its genesis was in Germany and its strength came later from Köhler, Koffka, and others of that country. The reception of psychoanalysis which appeared in America later, body and soul, was in part prepared for by James again by his acceptance of what was called the "reservoir of the subconscious or subliminal region of consciousness."

Thus in the first quarter of the 20th century psychology has found itself. It has borrowed heavily from physiology, neurology, mathematics, anthropology, and specialized biological researches. It is proud that it

has broken with that type of old-fashioned speculation and spinning of ideas that has no objective evidence. Strictly speaking, functionalism is no longer a school of psychology. To-day its spirit has permeated the sinews of American psychology and is displaying its strength on all fronts.

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Let us now turn from the perspective to the doings of psychology. Some time ago the 44th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association (A.P.A.) was held at Hanover, N. H. It was a national, or rather an international, gathering. In addition to the majority of native Americans there were among the contributors of papers those who were born in Russia, Germany, Switzerland, India, etc. Forty-one of the American Universities having departments of experimental psychology were represented through members of their research or instructional staff who submitted 107 original papers, illustrated or otherwise, on different branches of psychology. The reading of no paper exceeded 15 minutes. Of the remaining 41 papers (total being 148) 11 were from 11 colleges, 10 from 8 hospitals, 18 from 15 private and semi-private institutions, and 2 from persons representing the Federal Government. It is a custom with the programme committee to scrupulously select papers for their originality and scientific merit. Descriptive papers which do not tackle some definite psychological problem in an objective way are not accepted. That year about 40 papers were rejected for technical or other reasons. Following is the ponderous list of subject headings under which the accepted papers were included: abnormal psychology, infant behavior, cortical function, social psychology, child psychology, human learning, electrophysiology, personality, cutaneous phenomena, psychometrics, conditioned response, emotion and motivation, auditory phenomena, educational psychology, and work and fatigue. In addition to these there were round table discussions on social, clinical and educational psychology, endocrine disfunction, and panel discussions on substitutes for I. Q. (intelligence quotient), research and instructional motion picture films.

PAINSTAKING RESEARCH

When one considers that the gathering and treating of data for every one of these papers, represent arduous labor covering days,

months, or even years, in the laboratory or hospital, among school children or college students, sometimes thousands in number, among factory workers or business house employees, or among rats, guinea pigs or monkeys, and also the handling of thousands of dollars' worth of delicate machinery, or moderately priced chronometers, especially designed pieces of apparatus, or cheap kymographs, reaction keys, problem boxes, verbal or non-verbal tests, and inevitable statistical formulas and formidable correlation tables—when one considers all this one can easily realize the virility of this young science, psychology, in American educational circles. The experimental conditions about which the investigator wants information are controlled as far as possible, the irrelevant conditions ruled out, data gathered, checked, re-checked, and conclusions drawn, confirming, modifying or refuting some old hypothesis or advancing a new one. This has been going on for several decades. All this means scientific interest and work. Such interest in psychology is not yet present in India. Only five or six universities here have post-graduate departments of experimental psychology.

It may not be out of place to thumb-sketch here the results of only a few of the investigations reported before the A. P. A.: words are not as important in the formation of concepts as in their use; students majoring in natural science change most in the direction of liberalism in their attitude toward war, race, and religion during their four years in college; the white rat can learn to discriminate absolute brightness; the new drug benzedrine has an excellent mitigating effect on fatigue, depression, emotional stress, intestinal spasm and other symptoms of neurosis; with certain tests of waking suggestibility it is not only possible to test hypnotizability but to predict the depth of hypnosis with accuracy; removal of frontal association areas of the brain in infant monkeys does not lead to the same amount of recovery of certain psychological and motor functions as in the case of removal of their motor-premotor areas; at least 12 days before birth, guinea pigs show characteristic spontaneous brain rhythm; anaesthetized rats also show this rhythm; normal human beings' electrical brain rhythm adapts itself more or less (recovers its normal amplitude) in the face of continuous stimulus attack in the form of sound and light; when deaf lip-readers can see a "speaking face" and simultaneously receive vibro-tactile stimulation of the spoken language they interpret speech better; ten different tests and measurements show that 88 per cent.

of a group of adolescent problem students exceed normal students in emotional reactivity.

Exclusive of professional institutions there are 154 universities and 532 colleges in America each under separate management. Most of the universities and quite a number of colleges teach experimental psychology. (Marsh's *American Universities and Colleges*, 1936, published by the American Council of Education, Washington, D. C.). Forty-nine of these institutions award Ph.D. degrees in psychology and 32 of the 49 have received honorable mention as being adequately staffed and equipped and 11 of the 32 are most distinguished. (Report of the Committee on Graduate Instruction published by the American Council of Education, 1934, Washington, D. C.). During the ten year period ending in 1935 psychology ranked seventh in a list of 47 subjects in art and science in which doctorates were awarded. The first rank belonged to chemistry. It had 3,565 doctorates to its credit, and psychology 866. And these do not include bogus doctorates. Long ago dispensers of such doctorates were severely handled by law and driven out of business for good. Candidates for doctorates naturally have to meet stringent requirements. How the services of this group of doctorates are utilized by municipalities, State and Federal Governments in clinics, schools, colleges, hospitals, industry, etc., will be evident later.

PUBLICATIONS

There were some interesting and valuable papers read in the psychology sessions of the last Indian Science Congress. But the Indian Psychological Association is not numerically strong. The importance of psychology to education and other agencies of social progress is not yet adequately realized by the public, the representatives of the public or the rulers. The situation is different in America. People are psychology-conscious. And in point of influence and number the American Psychological Association (A. P. A.) is a virile institution. In 1937 it had 587 members and 1,551 associates. Ordinarily none who has not the degree of doctor of philosophy or who has not published several acceptable research studies on psychology or allied subjects beyond his doctoral dissertation is eligible for membership. Persons who have shown proficiency in graduate or post-graduate research in psychology or are scientists or educators of

note working in their own fields may be elected to associateship upon recommendation. The A. P. A. publishes 7 learned psychological journals, some monthly, others bi-monthly and quarterly. The yearly budget for publication and other expenses amounts to thousands of dollars. Besides these publications there are 19 psychological periodicals run by accredited societies of psychologists. Annually altogether more than 14 thousand pages of technical or semi-technical psychological writings are put out by these periodicals. But these 26 journals can hardly take care of the steady flow of material issuing from psychological research laboratories of America. There is such a long waiting list of articles for the magazines that it is not unusual for an investigator to see his research in print a year or more after it has been accepted for publication.

Besides these psychological journals there are half a dozen or more national educational periodicals dealing with education from a psychological angle. And this does not include popular monthlies on psychology which represent a mixture of laboratory psychology, social psychology, applied psychology, religion, philosophy, common sense and sometimes plain hocus focus.

In its early days the A. P. A. had James, Dewey, and Royce, the great philosophers, for its presidents. In the last ten years it has had presidents who have become famous in their fields, *e.g.*, Lashley for the psychological phase of brain physiology, Thurstone for factor analysis, measurement of attitudes, personality or other psychological variables, Terman for revision of Binet's well-known intelligence test. The A. P. A. has representatives on the sections of psychology and education of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the largest scientific body in the world, also on the Social Science Research Council, National Research Council (sections of Anthropology and Psychology), National Occupational Conference, Inter-society Color Council, and New York Management Council. It is the representatives of the A. P. A. who recommend to the National Research Council annual fellowship awards for promising American psychologists.

REGIONAL GROUPS

The A. P. A. does not exhaust the psychical energy of the American lovers of psychology. The latter have formed themselves into six regional groups. Each member of these groups is either an

associate or a member of A. P. A. The Eastern, Midwestern, Washington-Baltimore, Rocky Mountain, Southern, and Western Psychological Associations have their own membership dues and annual meetings. There are also five other associations, *e.g.*, the Association of Consulting Psychologists and of Experimental Psychologists, Psychometric Society, Minnesota Society for Applied Psychology, and Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

To mention only one regional meeting, in April 1936 we found 71 papers presented at Evanston, Illinois, at the annual gathering of the Midwestern Psychological Association, the subjects ranging from psychopathology to aesthetics. Lack of space forbids their detailed description. We may name a few titles : a genetic study of gifted children ; the establishment of a criterion of depth of sleep in newborn infants ; the role of the basal metabolic rate in the intelligence of 90 grade school students ; the significance of practice and rest periods in motor learning ; the validity of testing in public employment offices ; recreational therapy in pre-psychotics ; intensity level preferences for speech in normal and hard-of-hearing ears ; an electromyographic study with respect to speed of movement and latency, disparate and reciprocal innervation, passive movement, attention and relaxation, the role of hypothalamus in emotional reaction and sleep, etc. Most of the papers were based on experimental and few on observational data.

PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINICS

One should not entertain the notion from what has preceded that psychology has taken the path only of theoretical research. On the contrary it is slowly branching out into almost every field of practical usefulness—medicine, law, education, industry, etc. Let us take the field of medicine and therapy. The medical profession has recognised for quite some time that under the strain and stress of modern American life there has been widely prevalent a type of disease which is not apparently caused, though may be accompanied by, determinable, structural or organic defects of the body. This is known as functional disease. Under this is grouped a medley of ailments—mental diseases (excluding those of organic etiology), neurosis, mal-adjusted behavior, nervous hypertension, behavior of problem children,

etc. In this age of severe economic competition and disparity, exciting movies, cheap novels, fast life-tempo, changing standards and strong desires, more inner conflicts are precipitated in people and hence more nervous and mental disorders. Old conventional and medical methods cannot successfully handle such cases. Psychiatrists who are physicians and are also trained in the branches of psychopathology, psychoanalysis and psychobiology and in the observation and treatment of the human mind are needed for the job. A fine psychiatrist is said to combine the attitude of a scientist with that of a priest. He is a good listener and a wise counsellor. The psychiatrist receives co-operation from the psychologist who may not be a physician. They are learning to work together. Kraepelin, one of the pioneers in modern psychiatry, was the disciple of Wundt, a pioneer of modern psychology.

Mental hygiene and psychiatric clinics are being established in hospitals, schools and other institutions. Their service is different from regular hospital care or the service of an ordinary physician. In America, State travelling psychiatric clinics visit about 400 cities, some daily, some bi-weekly, weekly or monthly. They go from one school to another in each city and diagnose and advise on children's behavior and mental problems. What can be done to help Bob to adjust himself to a playmate, to help his parents or teachers to understand him, to determine if possible why he is shy and easily hurt, why, intelligent as he is, he fails in the examination, what are the forces in his surroundings and his make-up that are causing personality difficulties? The old-fashioned method of giving the child a good whipping or scolding when he is gloomy, sulky, unsocial, and unresponsive in the class is gradually replaced by the method of investigating the root of such behavior and dealing with him accordingly.

In addition to the above travelling clinics there are in America approximately 700 permanent clinics conducted by cities, States, and the Federal Government along the same line in connection with hospitals or as separate administrative units. In the year 1935, out of 1,075 travelling and permanent clinics 667 that submitted their reports, handled 54,675 children and 39,622 adults, all being new cases during the year. The old cases that returned for counsel were not mentioned in the reports. It should be remembered that most of these children and adults are not definitely psychopathic. Most of them are average

human beings needing expert diagnosis and advice relating to some "kinks" or "twists" or peculiarities of their personality which if left uncared for might lead to trouble in home, school and ultimately in society. These clinics are manned by over 1,200 psychiatrists, 400 psychologists and 600 social workers, most of them having two or three degrees in the lines of their choice and the required experience in their work. These figures do not include the psychiatrists and physicians who are working in the State and Federal institutions of the insane, feeble-minded or mentally diseased, of which there are over 500 in that country. Nor do these include hundreds of psychologists connected with public school systems and quite a number of them that are in the psychological clinics.

II

MENTAL HYGIENE

One of the expanding movements in America that has a great deal to do with practical aspects of psychology is that of Mental Hygiene. It has its national headquarters in New York City and 60 branches at strategic points of the country. Its influence has spread to other shores. It was founded in 1910 by a man who lost his mind and later regained it. His name is Clifford Beers and his book, *A Mind That Found Itself*, awoke America to the importance of understanding diseased minds that were previously neglected or maltreated. Today well-known medical and public-spirited men including psychologists are on its committees. It receives grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation and other benevolent institutions. The organ of this movement is *Mental Hygiene* which disseminates pertinent knowledge drawn from medical, psychological and other scientific laboratories and institutions and from the store-house of common sense, part of which is traceable to a broad philosophic outlook. The movement promotes research in mental hygiene training, finances psychiatrists, advises medical colleges on introduction of courses in psychiatry, co-operates with educators on the problem of conservation of the mental health of school children and stimulates local and national governments to establish clinics of the type which we have mentioned. Since the day of its foundation it has spent approximately three and one-half million dollars on its projects.

Speech clinics and reading clinics are coming into vogue. More than thirty of them have already been established in as many universities and colleges. To these clinics all types of cases having speech and reading difficulties are sent for treatment. Psychologists are in charge of such clinics and are acting in conjunction with physicians. I have in mind especially clinics for stutterers and people with articulatory defects. In addition to graduate and doctorate researches emanating from such clinics, diagnostic psychological tests are developed to determine laterality, ocular dominance, incoordination of speech muscles and other behavior patterns of the stutterers in order to find leads for proper therapy. About ten per cent of the American people have some sort of speech difficulty and one per cent of them are stutterers, and though the number of accredited clinics is too small to handle all the cases, public interest in the scientific analysis and treatment of this difficulty is being aroused by the reports of such clinics and journals dealing with speech and speech correction.

EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

Much can be written about the direct and indirect influence of psychology on primary, secondary, and higher education. Improvement of study habits, differential teaching procedures based on individual differences amongst students, rest periods in kindergarten and pre-schools, interest in the teaching of children through concrete situations and objects, the practice of advising older students on the choice of courses, and arrangement of a quite flexible elective curriculum system—these are not just an outcome of a desire to introduce novelty in education but are sincere attempts to improve education on the basis of prolonged researches in respective fields.

The *Child Abstract* contains, annually, abstracts of over 3,000 articles relating to every aspect of child development and child education. Two years ago the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching finished a vast piece of psychological and educational research in the State of Pennsylvania extending over seven years. It pointed out the great variability in the talent of students, the over-emphasis on the part of most students on "courses," the dampening effect of such courses on native brilliance, and the need for making a "fluid curriculum" in which the students could "learn to swim," co-ordinate their powers and self-educate themselves with intelligent guidance and the least possible interference.

American education is swamped with tests—good, bad and indifferent. It is the desire of educationists to measure every aspect of the student's make up by means of statistically reliable and valid objective tests for the purpose of guiding the education of the learner according to his native leaning, and of modifying the concept of education to meet present needs. This is where mathematics has been of invaluable service to psychology. Statistical devices for getting averages, medians, standard deviations, reliability coefficients, correlation coefficients, are alway employed. The extensive use of intelligence tests in America dates from the time of the Great War. This has been called "psychology's greatest experiment in human engineering." Five experts appointed by the American Psychological Association were in charge of this work. As a direct result of the administration of the carefully constructed Army Alpha intelligence test to more than 1,750,000 men, eight thousand were discharged for defective intelligence, ten thousand were relegated to war service requiring low-grade ability, and ten thousand were sent for observation and further training. "Nearly one-third of the men examined were found to be unable to read or write or else did so too poorly to be classed as literates and to these was given a special examination prepared for illiterates." Since that time tests of every description have been devised and used in connection with literally thousands and thousands of school and college students: tests of mental capacity—reasoning, suggestibility, inventiveness, vocabulary, memory, association, comparison, completion; performance tests, psychomotor tests, foreign language tests, tests for vocational guidance, tests for knowledge of science, school achievement tests, physical education tests, teachers' rating scale, tests of personality, tests of musical talent, etc. There are more than three thousand separate tests available today. Every large school system in the country has psychologists connected with it to administer tests and to recommend segregation of or special attention to those students whose performance on these tests calls for either measure. Some of these students may belong to the precocious group, some to those groups that possess defective sensory, motor or higher mental processes.

RACE PROBLEM

Various sociological studies are approached through psychological channels. One method is to send out questionnaires to a large sample

of school, college and general population for information, and then to treat the data thus obtained according to psychological and statistical techniques. Race problems and race preferences are being investigated by this method. The result of such studies agrees very well with general observation in America. There is a definite color and racial bar put up by the Americans against the Negroes. And that holds true in the main for the Hindus, Chinese, Japanese and other inhabitants of Asia. Its shadow falls across social relationships and even academic advantages, intimacies or promotions. While Americans recognize the power of the brain or brawn in other races and the beauty of human contact with them they cannot altogether drive away from their heads the perpetual reminder, color. Of course there are exceptions. Broad Americans say that closer communication with races, better knowledge of them and further establishment of the spirit of internationalism through science and other means will some day make all this ridiculousness a thing of the past.

INDUSTRY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Industry is slowly invaded by the psychologists. The industrial psychologists or the psycho-technologists are doing a great deal in pointing out to the leaders of business the importance of what is known as the human factor in industry. The *Personnel Journal*, which is the official organ of the Personnel Research Federation, has been functioning for 15 years. Its aim is to aid business organizations, technical societies, research and educational institutions, social agencies and governmental establishments in the solution of the problems of personnel, and to better the conditions and relations of men in their occupations. Fifteen of the largest corporations in America including the American Telegraph and Telephone Company have utilized the services of the Personnel Research Federation. The industrial psychologists employed by corporations or connected with universities or other institutions are investigating subjects like the following by objective methods: industrial fatigue, amount of increased output as a result of rest periods in factories, improvement of employer-employee relationship, the last interview with the employee when he is discharged, selection of employees for a particular job by reliable and validated psychological tests, fitting the job to the worker and the worker to the job, improvement of working conditions like work benches,"

lighting, ventilation, arrangement of tools, etc., psychological methods in training workers, whole versus part method in the acquisition of skill, analysis of practice curves, transfer of training, influence of incentive upon practice, factors that may arrest progress, individual differences in susceptibility to accidents and monotony, and effect of emotional maladjustment on professional maladjustment. The Federation has introduced a merit rating on the basis of accident records, and has investigated job opportunities in fifty large industries, also changes in the occupational distribution of fifty million workers, their length of service and retiring ages, to determine the labor supply required by the larger industries.

The Psychological Corporation of New York, a non-profit organization, acts as a clearing house between the general public and psychologists in special fields and is promoting the cause of applied and industrial psychology.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

There is an increasing popularity of the subject of vocational guidance in America. Who has not come across people who have by reason of ignorance, pressure of parental advice, social consideration or haphazard mixture of circumstances early found themselves in jobs which they either do not like or are not fitted for but to which they have to stick the rest of their lives? Some have taken up types of work which do not call forth their full powers and potentialities. In order to avert waste of time, money and energy, and to secure the greatest individual satisfaction and social good people must find themselves out and see to it that they are in the right kind of work. To advise students on the choice of right professions the vocational psychologists, engaged in a large number of schools and colleges of America, and some in private practice, are making use of tests of intelligence—abstract, social, and mechanical—tests of personality, temperament, aptitudes, interest-seeking questionnaires, and also judgments of teachers, parents, records of scholastic success in school, behavior and attitudes on the play ground and in extra-curricular activities, records of physical health, and, of course, information on job opportunities. It takes proper data secured over a period of months and years and a great deal of insight to give useful vocational guidance to a person. Guidance

based upon snap judgment on a few minutes' interview is fast going by the board.

Though in use in fourteen countries of the world, the instruments of vocational guidance are not yet absolutely perfect. But the point of interest is that the responsibility involved in such guidance is being daily met by psychologists everywhere with a spirit of scientific caution and progressive objectivity. And judged by past successes vocational guidance seems to have a bright future.

APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY

Armed with the knowledge of bases of human behavior consisting of a few instinctual patterns and many conditioned habit patterns some of the applied psychologists engaged in industry, in advertising business and other occupations, are using that knowledge to call the attention of the public to the benefits which they think are worth having. They augment demands by telling the public in an appropriate way as to what should be demanded and why. An appropriate way is that which stimulates desires, which are of course never-ending. Back of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of annual advertising and salesmanship lies the study of human motivations and of the appeal of objects. Writing advertisements is not a haphazard affair with the American industrialists. Systematic studies on this subject reveal that laws of association and learning, *e.g.*, of frequency, recency and duration, enter into the layout of the advertiser's copy. Poly-syllables, vague titles, are not to be favored; attention-getting, interest-arousing words, pictures, colors are to be used in advertisements with proper placement and arrangement. Slogans and trade names are supposed to be short, simple, euphonious and suggestive of selling points and pleasant feeling-tones. Sometimes too much of erotic appeal is resorted to and decency is thus thrown to the winds. Good commodities are always advertised but dishonest and high-pressure advertising is not uncommon.

The importance of health, personality, social intelligence, and a shipshape cheerful outlook is emphasised by writers and lecturers on applied psychology. This message has fired the imagination of the average American. The message, in essence, is not bad, but one has to watch out for some of the message bearers.

PSYCHOLOGY AND LAW

Psychological understanding of criminals and criminality has been of use to the administration of law. The protective wing of the Juvenile Court, mild sentence for or probation of first-offenders, segregation of the feeble-minded and psychopaths, insight into individual motives to crime rather than adherence to the letter of the law—all this has introduced a benevolent aspect into the execution of justice, and this is not in a mean degree due to an emphasis on the psychological approach. Although opinions are divided as to what degrees or types of insanity should call for what type of punishment and although much confusion has resulted from the conflicting opinions of psychiatrists and clinical psychologists on the one hand and members of the bar and bench on the other, the situation seems to be slowly improving in the direction of finding a common basis of attack. Regarding the reliability of witnesses several factors, psychological or otherwise, are more and more taken into consideration : capriciousness of memory, exaggeration of the personal angle, capabilities of various classes of witnesses, prejudices, expert opinion, incidental memory, lapse of time following the witnessed event, and imaginative construction of the event.

The importance of the psychological viewpoint in the appreciation and pursuit of higher values of life is being realized by ministers of religion, philosophers, and laymen, although progress in this regard is very slow. Cults have attempted to take that vantage ground but they have not gone very far because their intellectual and spiritual forces are not organized and denominationalism is still in the saddle. One of the most important books on the psychology of religion entitled *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1901) was written in America by William James. Starbuck's *Psychology of Religion*, published a few years before William James's book, was a fine contribution. Many books along the same line have been written since. They have served to broaden peoples' views but their sphere of influence is limited. Courses in comparative religions are given in many universities but often they hit one narrow trail and are not yet psychological or comparative enough.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Despite some of its exaggerations and vagaries the psychoanalysis of Freud and others has uncovered most valuable knowledge of

the human mind, but in so doing it has had to battle sanctimoniousness and prudery. However it has not taken very long for the realism of the American mind to see sanity in the essence of psychoanalysis. Mental complex, compensation, sour-grape reactions, phobias, rationalization, sublimination, and many other concepts are common property. Even dramas and novels make use of psychoanalytic knowledge. Freud, Adler, Jung, and Ferenczi are far from outlandish characters in peoples' minds. America welcomed Freud to learned company long before Europe lifted its moral boycott from his discoveries.

It is borne in upon all that emotions, instinctual urges, and experiences shot through with strong feeling-tones are not to be lightly passed over. They are powerful components and determinants of behavior and of good and ill health, physical and mental. How this aspect of life is to be directed is of far greater concern in the securing of happiness in life than academic sharpening of the intellect. Philosophy and religion have given us indefinite warnings for ages, but through long clinical research psychoanalysis has made a frank revelation within us of a "hidden" universe, of surging whirlpools. It is both satisfying and terrifying—terrifying because it is known that individuals of certain types are liable to be caught in some of these biological and emotional whirlpools to their greatest damage, and satisfying because with proper guidance they may be steered away from them. But once they are in these whirlpools they can be pulled out only with difficulty. Although psychoanalysis has dissipated the sacred halo cast over children by pointing out that they are often automatons of the libidinous force in its pre-puberty form, it should not be thought that it has robbed parental affection of any of its real beauty. Truth never hurts in the long run.

APPRAISAL

It is staggering to note the accomplishments of this young science of psychology. Bits of knowledge are pouring in daily from every direction. But that is mostly one side of the picture. Psychology has made mistakes. Since it is young and virile it is natural that it should. Older sciences of physics and chemistry may laugh at this youth but the youth is marching on and pressing older heads into service. Psychologists themselves are aware of certain deficiencies of psychology. Complaints like the following are made: facts of psycho-

logy are few but its theories and schools are many ; there is more emphasis on quantity than on quality of research ; many tests are valueless because they are loosely constructed and poorly administered ; intelligence quotient (that is the ratio between the mental age of students as determined by tests and the chronological age), though practically useful, is a hodgepodge as it does not indicate a particular excellence or defect in a child's intellectual profile nor does it absolutely distinguish his school training from his native capacity ; psychological variables are not well controlled, hence sometimes conclusions of research are worthless ; experimental data are often piled up high without proving or disproving basic principles or without attempting at integration of available knowledge ; individual capacities are ignored in figuring out average or standardized performance of a group ; psychoanalysis is ridden to death, and, to cap it all, applied psychology has bred charlatans who use its fair name to make money by fooling the public and selling to them for a few dollars health, happiness, and success. Many such criticisms are made but psychologists are not unmindful of them. High standards are set by recognized psychologists for research, without of course altogether stifling the output of rising psychologists. Discussions about all these points are always kept alive, refinement of measuring techniques is constantly attempted and initiated, and charlatans are quietly kept out of the official family, A.P.A. All these are growing pains in periods of awkwardness. Yet psychology in America has not to be ashamed of its record for it has achieved a great deal within a short time. The Americans are turning to psychology to know themselves. By and large, they are putting it to good social use. They feel that if they can pursue an impartial spirit of inquiry in mental science as they have done in physical science they will not only understand more about the human mind and behavior but will improve the education of the nation and thus contribute in a measure to the strengthening of the forces that are badly needed to battle the innumerable ills of modern civilization.

PRE-HISTORIC JAPAN

DR. KALIDAS NAG

THE traditional habit of writing history out of *literary* documents coming mostly from the "civilised" epoch has often deprived countries like India and Japan of the light radiating from *non-literary* sources such as concrete discoveries of archaeology and anthropology. In India all studies used to begin with the Vedic literature beyond which few dared to go. But the concrete finds of the Indus Valley civilisation have forced Indologists to take their start at least a thousand years before the advent of the Vedic Aryans.

In Japan the old school of historians similarly depended on the literary traditions conserved in their historical and literary annals of a later date (700-800 A.D.), like *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki* and *Manyoshu*. But thanks to the growing interest of Japanese and foreign scholars in the study of prehistoric Japan, we are on the threshold of a new presentation of Japanese history and culture intimately connected with the continental Chinese and the vast Oceanic civilisation. This new school of thought is represented by the veteran archaeologist Dr. Ryuzo Torii who with his talented wife and daughter had led several expeditions into the extreme east of China which according to him was from time immemorial connected with Japan geologically as well as culturally. So far traces of the old stone age culture have not yet been found either in Japan or in Korea and Manchuria. But when the neighbouring city of Peking has sprung the greatest surprise on us with the hoary Peking Man, some of his cousins may also be discovered in regions farther east. Already Dr. J. G. Andersson, the leading Swedish authority on pre-historic China, has instituted some striking comparisons with reference to the archaeological finds of Dr. Torii. In an article on "The Cave Deposit at Sha Kuo T'un in Fengtien" (*Paleontologica Sinica*, 1923) Andersson compared the polished stone celts and pottery fragments of that neolithic site with similar discoveries made by Dr. Torii in Eastern Mongolia and South Manchuria. A very characteristic common type of tools is represented by the flaked arrow-point of flint-like material which Dr. Torii characterised as the "Mongol type" different from the "Manchu Arrow-head" which is

polished and generally made of slate. There is also a striking similarity between the Manchu arrow-points from Fengtien and those from Honan; and although Dr. Andersson does not fully agree with Dr. Torii in all details, he was inclined to see in such similarity of types "an indication of relationship between the peoples who lived in those widely separated areas." Another characteristic specimen, the Li-tripod, is found in Honan and in Fengtien but not traced so far in the pottery collection of Dr. Torii whose monograph "*Populations Préhistoriques de la Manchourie Méridionale*" is of outstanding merit inspite of certain obvious defects inevitable in a pioneer study. Dr. Torii also discovered in course of his examinations in Eastern Mongolia a coin of the second Han dynasty together with a chipped arrow-point which continued to be used even in comparatively late historical times. Thus future scholars have to fill up in Eastern Asia as well as in India the vast gaps between the aeneolithic culture of *circa* third millennium B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era. But the work of re-construction is progressing and it is time for us to take stock of the positive finds of archaeology and anthropology in Japan and her neighbouring zones of Eastern Asia.

We have noticed in our section on Pre-historic China how the Honan sites with its Yang Shao and Anyang cultures have offered certain types of tools and potteries which have made Dr. Andersson, Dr. Creel and others to think in term of cultural relations and contacts between Honan Zone, Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea and possibly pre-historic Japan as well. The intrusion of Pacific culture into China is certainly not improbable today specially because fresh discoveries from year to year are forcing us to revise many of our old notions with regard to the antiquity of races and cultures of the Far East. The Yang Shao culture in Honan was taken by Dr. Andersson to belong to the end of the neolithic era or rather the aeneolithic age when, as we find in our Indus Valley culture, man still depended upon the use of stone but had also learnt the use of metal and demonstrated rare skill in making ceramic products of great variety and excellence. The existence of wheel-made pottery in Eastern Asia, in Indus Valley and other sites made some European scholars suppose that the wheel was an argument against such antiquity as the third millennium B.C. But modern researches seemed to confirm the rival theory that while the wheel appeared comparatively late in the Western world, the type that appears in the pre-historic sites of the Far East proved the potter's

wheel to be of an indigenous type which evolved towards the end of the neolithic age. Forrer, in *Reallexikon der prähistorischen*, observes that the potter's wheel was invented in the near Orient where it has been in use since the neolithic times. Egyptian neolithic clay vessels are wheel-made and from Egypt the wheel technique entered Greece in the third millennium B.C., in Italy in the second millennium B.C. and thence to Central Europe in the Iron Age (after 1000 B.C.). So Hoernes, in *Kultur der Wrrzeit*, remarks that in Egypt the copper-stone age culture flourished from 5000 to 3000 B.C. So in dating the copper-stone age cultures of India, China and the Far East we may have to take it earlier than the at-present-accepted third millennium B.C. The discoveries of Dr. Andersson at Sha Kuo T'un in Fengtien which occupy an intermediate place between Japan and China are therefore of capital importance today. In the cave deposits there he found chipped instruments of flint-like stone, polished stone celts, flats stone-rings, mussel shell-rings, stone-discs, animal sculptures, animal and human bones, buttons and beads, bone instruments and arti-facts dwelling or ritualistic sites which are paralleled by similar finds from the pre-historic sites of Japan as well as of India. The Peking Man and his study have already tended to connect the pre-historic man of Japan and China and for years Japanese scholars have been searching for continental contexts of Japanese racial types and cultures. Immediately after the Russo-Japanese War Dr. R. Torii visited (1906) Eastern Mongolia. Mrs. Torii is also like her husband a very competent ethnologist publishing an illustrated volume of over 1000 pages on *Mongolia from the View-point of Ethnology*. Between 1906-1909 Dr. and Mrs. Torii investigated the culture of the Kitan races and published, in the *Journal of the College of Science* (1914-15) of the Imperial University of Tokyo, two very important monographs in French: *Populations Primitives de lu Mongolie Orientale* and *Populations Prehistoriques de la Manchourie Meridionale*. Now Dr. Torii is engaged in publishing the final results of his 30 years' research in a big volume published under the auspices of the Academy of Oriental Institute, Tokyo. In his work Dr. Torii is helped by his son who is a photographer and also by his daughter who, ever since she was fourteen, acted as her father's assistant and in 1934 Miss Torii was sent abroad doing research under Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews and Dr. Neil C. Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, where she examined their splendid Mongolian collection.

Dr. Torii is of opinion that the pre-historic finds of Japan described so far are not of the paleolithic but of the neolithic age. When the country was occupied by an aboriginal people who may be called proto-Ainus, if not the Ainus known to us. They are to be found all over the country from Okinawa to Hokkaido. They use weapons of stone, axes, chisels, scrapers, arrow-heads, spear-heads of stone and sometimes of bone. Their culture was specially rich in pottery materials: specially valuable being the clay images indicating the special dress, manners and customs of those days, ornamentation, tattooing, hair-dressing, use of vermilion and bone-combs, necklaces of bone and stone, bracelets of shells which are also so common among the aboriginal races of India. There is a common feature in their vessels and among the decorative motifs we find the coiling as well as geometrical lines. These proto-Ainus, therefore, were far from being uncivilised and they are a distinct ethnic type with profuse hairs so different from the average Japanese. In fishing, their main occupation, they used the bone-harpoon and their pit dwelling point to a resemblance with the ancient peoples of North-eastern Asia like the Chukchi, Koryaks, Aleuts and Eskimos who are now known to be the progenitors or cousins of the American Indians. Their culture called paleo-Siberian is characterised by coiling patterns on earthen vessels and images almost all female (male images being very rare) and therefore belonging to some mother-goddess cult. These characteristics are very rarely found in the neighbouring countries of Japan like Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia and China on the one hand and in the South Sea islands on the other. Possible traces, however, are found in Shantung and at Gladekow in the Maritime Province but these proto-Ainu people now seem to be an isolated folk like the modern Ainus and the Gilyak of the Amur River delta. Some of their vessels are compared by Joyce with those discovered in the shell-mounds of New Guinea, though there might have been no connection. But an intriguing problem, that of curly hair in Japanese island of Kyushu has been explained partially on the hypothesis of contact with the Indonesians (such as Hayato) who migrated into Japan when they had already received negrito blood. The Indonesian connection with pre-historic Japan should be studied with the Malayo-Polynesian theory of their linguistic origins.

Before the end of neolithic age, there was superimposed, on the aboriginal proto-Ainu culture, the pre-historic culture of the Japanese

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



Bronze Bodhi-Sattva



Haniwa clay female figures

proper. Their remains are distributed widely all over Japan, being more abundant in Kyushu, Chugoku, Kinki and Tokaido. They appear to come from a mixed stock and although they were different from the earlier aborigines, yet they showed bone and stone implements and potteries of the same type. A striking difference is seen, however, in a new phenomenon—the appearance of the megalithic monuments: tumuli, cairns, dolmen-like stones, menhirs and stone circles just as we have discovered in Hyderabad, Deccan and in other very old rock formations. Japanese mythological legends and early literature also conserved the memory of the circle of stones (Iwasaka) erected around the spot where a god was worshipped. While using the same proto-Ainu type of weapons, and implements of stones, these prehistoric Japanese people made a highly original kind of pottery shaped like a basket with basket patterns, ornamented with coiling designs and with a huge handle attached. They did use a crude sort of a wheel enabling them to make the vessels symmetrical in shape. The coiling pattern is rarely used and the general design is very simple often with no pattern or a few geometrical combinations. By occupation these peoples were hunters and fishermen who gradually learnt the art of agriculture and then a new element came from China (North and South), most probably from Western Korea. With the absorption of new elements there developed the proto-historic (Jodai) civilisation as against the pre-historic (Shindai) culture.

These people organised in clan system worshipped their guardian deities, the gods of the clans as well as the gods of sea and river, wood and mountain. But the natural objects were never deified. The service of the gods was the special privilege of the priests and the priestesses (sometimes called witches or miko) which seemed to prove that it was a sort of Shamanistic religion common to the Ural-Altaic peoples of Northern Asia and Europe. The Shaman or the priest alone could communicate with the unseen world of gods, demons and ancestral spirits and they used mirrors, jingle bells and hemp or paper pendants. Originally the Shamans were all women and even in the reign of the emperor Jimmu, a male deity was presiding over a great festival under the female title of the Sacred Daughter (Itsu-Hime). Ancient Japan seems thus to have been under a religious matriarchate. From now metal implements of bronze and specially of iron became more and more common. But while China specialised in metal casting, Japan forged her metal tools and vessels for ritualistic purposes. Along

with the earlier pottery vessels they made now a primitive porcelain *Sue* which entered Japan from China with the Chinese immigrants. The baking was good but the art of glazing was still unknown. In sword-making the Japanese of the period displayed fine workmanship. Swords were necessary to defend their rich agricultural lands growing rice and millet. There were plenty of games and animals in the mountain, and fish, oysters, etc., in the water. Silk was introduced from China and hemp was grown for clothes. Horses and cattle were domesticated and decorated with gold or cast-copper ornaments. Gold and silver rings of exquisite craftsmanship have been compared with similar specimens of Scythian and Sassanian models. Mirrors imported from China came to be much favoured specially as ritualistic objects. The domestic dwellings were made of wood erected high above the ground upon pillars with thatched roofs.

The disposal of the dead with stone-coffin in chambers of stone or clay is interesting. The tombs often were much more imposing than the dwelling houses and here the Japanese reminded us of the Egyptians burying the dead in their formal attire together with their belongings and retainers who were killed or urged to commit suicide, just as we find in the Honan tombs. Later on, clay figures were substituted for living men as we saw in the age of transition from the Shang to the Chou culture. Their weapons and armours testify to considerable progress in smithcraft. Huge forged swords of bronze have been discovered in the north of Kyushu, Chugoku and Shigoku but these being ritual objects and no other bronze implements being found on a large scale so far, scholars do not admit that there was a bronze age in Japan as in China and elsewhere. The Dotaku or the bronze bell was used for religious purposes and according to Dr. Torii it might have Southern Asiatic origin for it reminds us of the doki or bronze hand drum which is used by the tribes of South China, Annam, Siam and Burma. So Iron Age immediately followed the Stone Age in Japan and we know that the age of iron in India and some other parts of Asia was much higher than the European Iron Age.

THE ARCHAIC ART OF JAPAN

The valuable informations supplied by Dr. Torii have been supplemented by another noted writer, Noritake Tsuda, a former lecturer on Fine Arts in New York University. In his *Handbook of Japanese Art*

(Tokyo, 1936). he described two distinct types of neolithic pottery with characteristic designs and decorations : (1) The *Jomon-doki* pottery with angular edges and handles modelled into various forms of animal heads. Such a vessel is to be found in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum amidst the Ainu pottery collections. The ground surface in dark grey colour gives the impression of a mat and the designs are curvilinear. (2) Another kind of pottery of a later age, the *Yayoi-Shiki*, is reddish in colour and with few designs except wavy lines and zig-zags. While the earlier pottery is richer in decoration the later one is striking in the originality of form and therefore the two types may be of two distinct cultures of different epochs. The valuable pre-historic pottery objects are deposited mostly in the Imperial Household Museum, the Institute of Anthropology of the Imperial University and in the Prince Oyama Institute of Pre-historic Investigation, Tokyo. The museums of Nara and Kyoto as well as the Institute of Archaeology, Kyoto Imperial University, also exhibit valuable collections.

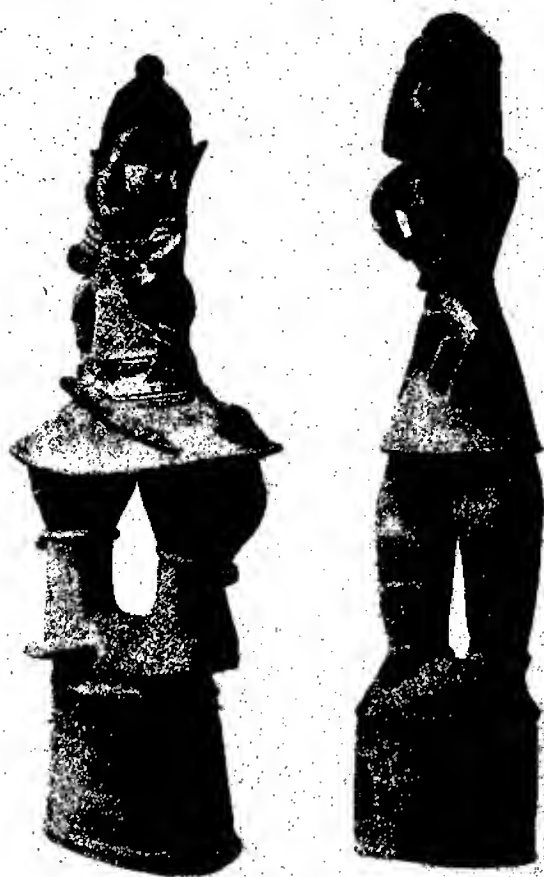
The burial mounds of ancient Japan have yielded a large number of proto-historic potteries, never glazed or painted, and made partially or entirely on the potter's wheel. The decoration is very simple and rude, scratched in the clay when soft with pointed tools or with combs. They show on the shoulders of vases the figures of men and animals and birds. Another interesting series of mortuary figures of men and women in coarse red terracotta are valuable models illustrating the manners and customs of proto-historic Japan. Other animals like birds and horses as well as house models may be intended for the services of the dead.

FROM BRONZE AGE TO YAMATO CULTURE

The Bronze Age in Japan was so short that many scholars do not admit its existence as a distinct epoch. The bronze objects like arrow heads, kris-shaped dagger, dotaku-bells were found in the limited area of Yamato, Izumo and Northern Kyushu. They mark, according to Mr. Tada, " the intermediate state between the art of the new stone age and that of the proto-historic period." That largest number of dotaku-bells is found in the Yamato province which is the central sphere of early Japanese culture and though the art of casting the bell may have been derived from China yet its designing with fin-like border with decorative knobs running down the side is considered to be

original to Japan. Pictures of contemporary life are represented in relief on the dotaku-bells: hunting scenes with bows, dolls and deer, boating and fishing, agricultural activities, styles of architecture, etc., are depicted on the bronze reliefs.

After the short bronze age, the iron age of Japan followed continuing down to 552 A.D. when Buddhism was first introduced into the court of Japan. Before that there was no organised religion except the cult of ancestor worship or Shintoism based on a patriarchal national policy. While the principal pursuit was agriculture there was differentiation of crafts into various hereditary industrial guilds (as in India) of potters, leather-makers, weavers of cotton, spinners of silk, copper and iron forgers of arms and armours which they decorated with gilded and incised patterns. Thus the Japanese people were very advanced in the technique of iron working as well as in the casting and gilding of bronze objects like mirrors, horse-furnishings and personal ornaments. They excelled in working in precious stones and could even manufacture white and blue glass. The proto-historic swords were perfectly straight with only one cutting-edge while curve-swords were fashionable in later times. Some swords are richly ornamented with bosses in *repousse* work. The armour is usually made of iron resembling the armour on the terracotta figures but very different from that of later historical times. A type of scale armour is also represented on the burial figures. The helmets of iron or bronze are very rare. The Signs of the Zodiac finely chiselled is found on a bronze helmet. The most important relics of metal are the horse-trappings decorated with inlaid designs sometimes coated with gold. That the Japanese of this proto-historic age were in close cultural relations with China is conclusively proved by the discovery of bronze mirrors reflecting clearly Chinese design, mythology, religion and folk-lore. Numerous examples of the Han mirrors (now in the Tokyo Imperial Museum) found in Japanese burial mounds help us to ascertain the epoch of intensive artistic exchange. The four sacred animals of the cardinal points are often represented : The Dragon on the East, the Tiger on the West, the Bird on the South and the Tortoise embraced by a Snake on the North. Deities like the Mother of the West, the Father of the East and the symbol of the Land of Everlasting Happiness are also represented. Their designs and inscriptions remind us strongly of the Chinese bronze-mirrors of the Han epoch gradually degenerating into the style of the Six dynasties.



Haniwa clay male figures



Personal ornaments consisted of rings of copper or bronze wrought in gold or silver. There were also various kinds of beads of stone and glass. The curved beads or magatama made of rock crystal steatite, jasper, agate, nephrite are the most important of ancient stone ornaments. The tube beads or the kuda-tama were less common and made of well-cut polished cylinders of jasper of a fine green colour and different shades or colours were produced by different styles of polish to suit the tastes of the people. It is significant in this connection to note the valuable evidences adduced by Dr. Laufer in his learned monograph, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, where he discusses the influence of Siberian or Turkish art and culture on ancient China and through China on Korea and Japan. Han bas-reliefs (about 1st century A.D.; Vide Chavannes: *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, 1893) are found on the hill of Hsiao T'ang Shan in Western Shantung, a province which is known to have connections with pre-historic Japan. It is not a matter of mere coincidence that the oldest document (traced so far) regarding Japan is the Chinese "Annals of the later Han dynasty." There it is recorded that the male and the female sex "are not separated (as in China) when taking meals; they eat with their hands and make use of the *pieu* and the *tou*." Now in ancient Chinese books we find mention of the following type of sacrificial vessels: (1) The *tou* made of wood (2) the *pieu* made of bamboo and (3) the *teng* made of pottery.

These three types of vessels are still used in the Chinese worship of Confucius and these vessels connect ancient China with pre-historic Japan and Korea as we find from the following story: The last emperor of the Shang-Yin dynasty fell into evil ways, so his nobles protested and one of them Chi-tzu who was imprisoned by the degenerate emperor was released by the victorious founder of the Chou dynasty. Honoured as a Chou officer Chi-tzu retired to Korea in 1122 B.C. He began to civilise the Koreans with Chinese philosophy and culture and taught the men and women of Korea to take their food and drink from the vessels *pieu* and *tou*. The above as we have seen came to be used by the Japanese people also in the Han period when Japan was connected intimately with Korea and through Korea with China. Recent excavations in Korea revealed that important Chinese colonies existed in Loiang, Nakniang, Rakuro and other places since the beginning of the Great Wall in 239 B.C. From 100 B.C. to 200 A.D. Chinese influence in Korea was considerable.

and continuous and gradually the influence extended to South Korea and Japan. It was during this period that the Kumaso (Later Hayato) and Idzumo folks conjointly effected the eastward conquest about 1st century A.D. Their capital was at Yamato and the three centres of Yamato cultures were Kyushu, Yamato and Kanto. Dr. Torii also, in his Japanese monograph *Yushi izen no Nippon*, connects the Yayoi culture of Japan with adjacent continental culture. Thus the peopling of Japan via Shantung and Korea and also across the Yellow Sea is generally accepted and it might have originated with the great racial movements (from the West to the East) stimulated by the Chou conquest of the Yellow River basin. This Japanese race proper must have met the aboriginal people the Ainus and the proto-Ainus and that the two mixed their blood is partially testified by the Tsugumo race supposed to be the common ancestors of the Ainus and the Japanese. The origin of the Ainu (Yemishi), however, is enveloped in mystery. They are supposed to have come in three migratory waves via Sado and Echigo and the three subtypes known to-day are Ili-no-moto, Karabito and Watari. They represent a very old generalised human type continuing the neolithic culture. Their language is isolated sometimes linked with the pre-Dravidian or Austric and sometimes with the language of Australian natives who contacted the Black races very early and a negrito element with curly hair is also traceable in some folks of Japan. This led to the formulation of the Malayo-Polynesian theory in explaining Japanese race origins. They are supposed by the champions of this Oceanic theory to spread out from Indonesia or South-eastern Asia reaching as far east as the Easter Islands and as far west as Madagascar. Some scholars believe the South-eastern Asiatic races to be Mongoloid, the Polynesian diffusion not taking place until after the emergence of the Japanese. The Malayas may be contemporary with or a little later than these Japanese. However, all these factors have got to be kept constantly in view while we enter into the study of Japanese archaeology and art. While working at the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii, my attention was drawn by my Japanese colleagues to a recent book by Hideo Ohba who published in 1934 his *Outline of Japanese Archaeology* (Nippon Koko-Gaku Gaisetsu). The book unfortunately is not yet translated but thanks to the kind courtesy of a Japanese friend, I give here a very brief outline of his treatment. After a few general discussions on archaeology the author

examines in detail the Jomondoki and the Yayoishiki pottery strata together with the dwelling ruins, the cemetery mounds, the ceremonial ruins, the relics of pre-historic industry: stone, clay-seals, bones, horns, teeth, shells, botanical and lacquer materials, copper and iron. He next examines the antiquities of the mound period connected with dwelling houses, ceremonials and primitive industries. In the concluding chapters he attempts to read ethnic or national characteristics in the various relics and further to give a chronological sequence in three successive stages: the Jomon, the Yayoi and the Mound phase of culture.

The difficulty of presenting an adequate picture of pre-historic Japan lies in the fact that most of the original papers, excavation reports, etc., are published in the Japanese language. As early as 1879, we find in the Memoirs of the science department, Tokyo University, published a paper by the American scholar Edward Morse on the "Shell-Mounds of Omori." Individual scholars have contributed valuable articles on Japanese pre-historic culture, archaeology, anthropology and philology appearing mostly in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, London and in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. The latter published (1882-1932) a series of articles by John Batchelor. From 1890 the United States National Museum in its reports is publishing articles on pre-historic Japan. Most of these materials were utilised by Dr. Neil Gordon Munro who published the first comprehensive survey, *Pre historic Japan* (Yokohama, 1911). The manuscript was complete in 1903 but unfortunately was destroyed by fire and it could not therefore be printed before 1911. Since then heaps of new materials have accumulated in course of the last 25 years. But in the absence of a systematic stock-taking we present below, for the benefit of our readers not having access to Dr. Munro's volume, a general outline of his study on Pre-historic Japan. A few crude stone-tools were discovered by Dr. Munro in the basin of the Hayakdwa which he tried to correlate with the bones of the Tertiary mammals found in gravel as described in the *Outlines of the Geology of Japan* published by the Imperial Geological Survey of Japan. During the Tertiary epoch Japan like Java was connected with the continent of Asia. The discovery of the Java Man (*pithecanthropus erectus*) followed by the tracing of the home of the Peking Man already living on rice has led some scholars to link up the two types of fossil men whose cousins may very conveniently lie in some part of Japan or

Korea undetected as yet. But most of the scholars are still sceptical with regard to the identification of stone tools with definite palaeolithic strata. They agree, however, so far as the neolithic sites are concerned, and over 4,000 such sites have been discovered. Specially numerous are the sites in the Kwanto provinces in Northern Japan where we find a later culture. The thickness of the Shell-heaps (Kaidzuka or kitchen-middens) vary from one to twelve feet. They contain animal bones, broken pottery and discarded stone tools. Human skulls found with broken pieces of pottery may suggest some sort of jar-burial.

The neolithic inhabitants of Japan lived in very simple huts during the six or more months of warm weather but in cold seasons many of them used pit dwellings which are found also in Korea and Formosa and which still survive amongst the Eta folk who were the former pariahs of Japan and who resemble in many ways the Ainus of the Kurile islands. The present Ainus are the last descendants of a race who were not much inferior in culture to the invading Yamato race who learnt agricultural arts from the Yemishi or Yezo, meaning outsider or barbarians, who still occupied a third of the mainland (Honsbu) as we know from the early Japanese chronicle Kojiki compiled about 712 A.D. Dr. Torii inspected some of these pit dwellings in the Kuriles in 1899. He also described the transition between the pit dwellings and the huts erected above the ground where no nails were used and the poles were tied together in a primitive fashion. The Ainus practised agriculture rather crudely using hoes frequently made of wood. The tools and devices for fishing, hunting and capturing animals for food attest to the various means of livelihood and the distribution of the neolithic remains on the islands around Japan proves that the primitive people used boats large enough to traverse fifty miles or more of open sea. These boats were hollowed out of logs (like Indian *Salti*) and may have been partially skin-covered.

THE CERAMIC ART

Abundant pottery materials are found in the north of Japan and as we proceed to the south-west they become less abundant as also the primitive sites. The materials of the primitive pottery is a

coarse clay tempered with sharp sand or particles of quartz or pebbles. They are generally imperfectly baked and the thinner vessels are sometimes uniformly fired and therefore superior to the Yayoishiki or intermediate pottery. The Northern pottery is occasionally covered with a slip of finer clay. The colour usually approaches that of terracotta with varying shades running into grey, dark-brown or black. Many of the vessels were made by coiling and coiling appears as a conventional decoration. The bottom of vessels often retained the impressions of the matting which was intended to prevent movement during moulding and the use of the potter's wheel is beyond doubt; some of the cooking pots, pans and bowls appear as finely moulded and decorated. The jars and vases often exhibit textile decorations. Characteristic Ainu patterns are found also on bowls, dishes, cups, bottles, lamps, braziers, incense-burners, etc., in the famous Takashima collection which shows striking nipple-pots or drinking vessels sometimes in quasi-human shape. Some shallow bowls with heavy pedestals are found in the Shinto rituals as a survival of more ancient culture. Some such types of handmade potteries are found in pre-historic Japan as well as in India, Greece and elsewhere. Among the minor objects are a few strainers and clay objects for stamping designs on cloth. Some earthenware plaques are distinctly anthropomorphic and probably connected with the clay images which are found in abundance.

These clay images were not intended to produce an all-round likeness and most of them are highly conventionalised. The female figures greatly outnumbered the male and they were mostly found in residential sites and not in the burial grounds. Most probably those were the effigies of the dead worshipped for the well-being of the living. Some of the images are quite nude and some provided with a loin-cloth which, however, did not conceal the sex. The disproportionately large eyes remind us of the eye-designs depicted on the Junks of China and the boats of Polynesia. There is comparative absence of sexual motif on these figures although the phallic symbol is common on the stone-club or *seki-bo*. The makers of the clay images or *Dogu* attached great importance to personal ornamentation like hair-dressing, tattooing, use of beads and earrings. Though a certain degree of nudity is the rule rather than the exception (as in India) the figures are seldom without some decorations which often serve the purpose of dress. The Yezo Ainu trace the art of tattooing to the *Koropok-guru*.

or pit-dwellers. But Kenrile Ainus attribute the practice to their ancestors as it was ascertained by Dr. Torii. Among the minor objects may be mentioned the neolithic magatama which serve as the model for the later Japanese kudutama, both deriving their form from the claws of the tiger which animal was deified in Korea. So its tooth or talon enjoyed great reputation as an amulet. In many such cases one must compare the ancient patterns and designs with those still lingering with the Ainu people as has been done by D. Sato and S. Sato who made a splendid collection of their own. But often we must remember that prehistoric Japan was connected with Korea, Manchuria and continental China, making the task more complicated and comparative study indispensable.

TRANSITION FROM THE PRIMITIVE TO THE INTERMEDIATE POTTERY

Pottery designs are the most valuable indices for determining, if not the exact chronology, at least the sequence of the cultural strata. In the earliest ceramics of Japan we find that designs in colour are rare and if they occur at all they are very simple, geometrical patterns like the triangle and circle to emphasise low relief. Red, white, black, or dark-grey and brown are the colours generally used. A thinner type of pottery shows some kind of polish and warm tints like red and pink with occasional touch of yellow and chocolate are used as the surface colour. Lacquer and red ochre were sometimes used for surface decoration.

Matting pattern, textile impressions are frequently seen ; but the most common are patterns produced by engraving or incision. Quite a large variety of beautiful designs emerge out of the combination of the engraved and the relieved patterns ; but the art of pictorial composition are rarely practised on clay as in the case of the possible representation of the Ainu myth (shared also by the Japanese and the Russian folk-lore) where the world is shown to be on the back of a fish. Lizard designs seem to occur in some cases. On the ornamented handles of the primitive vessels, birds, boar, snake and such animal motifs are found. These primitive patterns are largely conserved in the Ainu designs on wood, bone, textile fabric and skin. While differences are admitted yet the similarities are more significant. The Ainus may or may not be ethnically connected with the primitive races of Japan but there are many proofs of cultural contact.

Between the primitive and the Yamato pottery we notice an intermediate type found in shell heaps and sometimes associated with stone tools. This is known now as the Yayoi type distributed throughout Japan from south to north. They are sometimes found associated with Yamato relics like the Haniwa pottery. This pottery is not turned on the wheel and is therefore connected with some neolithic ware, though the paste is thinner and more uniformly baked than most of the neolithic pottery. Combs of bamboo or other materials were used to scratch patterns on the surface of the clay before drying. The lines of the intermediate pottery are sometimes crossed thus producing textile designs which are seen on the primitive as well as on the later Yamato pottery specially the triangular and quadrangular patterns. The decorations on the intermediate pottery are generally very subdued and sober with very few attempts at moulded decorations. Leaf designs appear now and then and most of the unglazed pottery which cannot be identified with the primitive or the Yamato type may be accepted to belong to the intermediate variety which approaches the primitive in its paste and the Yamato in its pattern, as was studied by Dr. Munro in the Minamikase Shell Mound. Some unglazed terracotta is found to be turned on the wheel, while in other hybrid potteries we find them partially wheel-made and partially hand-made. The intermediate pottery was connected with the later Yamato culture for they appear in the burial caves, cairns and tombs. The primitive potters of Japan were usually females and in the epoch following the primitive culture, this intermediate type of domestic pottery was probably evolved out of necessity by cruder artisans and their works were generally not used for burial whenever the classical sepulchral pottery were available for offerings of food or wine to the ancestral spirits. Some of the intermediate pottery types are said to approach the Malayan pottery and recently, since the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation, the Indus type came to be compared rather indiscriminately with the so-called "Ainu Pottery," meaning the primitive pottery of Japan.

Proto-historic Yamato Culture

The ethnic type which finally emerges as the Yamato or Japanese proper is, as it is admitted, a mixture of several distinct stocks. The most primitive aborigines may be called the proto-Ainus, a proto-Caucasian race who came to be modified by mixing their blood with the

Mongoloid races reaching Korea and possibly Japan in the first millennium B. C. when China was under the Chou dynasty. Next we notice certain Negrito characters which might be explained by the contact of Japan with Indonesia where the Mongoloid, the Negrito and the Caucasian (Indian) element were fused to form the Malayan races who were supposed to have left definite traces in the island of Kyushu. These immigrants from Malayasia belong probably to the stone age for the bronze weapons found in Kyushu have no affinity with the Malayan culture, on the contrary they are derived from some continental (Sino-Korean) contexts. The broad-headed Negrito was probably modified by Indonesian or Mongolian elements before their arrival in Japan, and we find in the case of the Igorrot of the Philippines which archipelago, situated midway between India and Japan, possibly recapitulated the same process of racial fusion. The agricultural population of Japan is reported to resemble the Igorrot but they represented the lower classes of primitive Japanese society. The conquering class was partly Caucasian and partly Mongoloid, forming the aristocratic type. Thus everything favours the theory that already in the pre-historic period Japan had a mixed population and that may be due to the fact of her being approachable from the mainland of Saghalin and the Tsushima straits and from Indonesia and Polynesia, backed by the northward direction of the Black Stream. Japan was thus the converging point of several ethnic and cultural migrations from the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Several ethnic elements continued to carry on the traditions of neolithic culture in Japan as Dr. Munro has shown while studying the sepulchral chambers, the dolmens, the stone rooms, the cists, the tumuli or earthen mounds, the cairns or cobble mounds. Many of these pre-historic features were continued through the proto-historic to the historic days by the highly gifted Yamato race, the real makers of Japan. The Yamato culture is associated throughout Japan with the intermediate pottery forming the ordinary household wares of these people. This pottery is marked with comb designs and was probably made by the Haniwa potters. For religious or ceremonial purposes they used the classical *Iwabe* or sacred vessels which are sub-divided into Korean and Japanese. We know definitely that China in the glorious Han epoch transformed the cultural life of Korea and Japan and therefore the establishment of Yamato power might have synchronised with those movements. The Han Annals of the beginning of the Christian



Wooden statue of
Bishamonten



Wild Goose, Muromachi period
(1334-1572)

era refer to the Japanese in these terms: "Their soldiers have spears and shields, wooden bows and bamboo arrows which are sometimes tipped with bones." These primitive arms were soon improved by the Japanese who, as we have seen, were experts in using metals like bronze and specially iron. Korea was probably the first to import these techniques of higher culture from China and we know that by the 5th century A. D. the Koreans adopted the Chinese script which also stimulated the development of the earliest script of Japan.

The classical *Iwaibe* vessels whether Korean or Japanese are sharply distinguished by their simple and restrained decoration as against the highly ornate embellishments of the primitive pottery. But they are uniformly baked, much harder than the primitive wares with finer paste. Bowls, dishes, cups, jars, bottles, flasks and drinking vases of different types have been collected and carefully preserved in the Imperial Household Museum and in the University of Tokyo collection. Sometimes human or animal figures in relief are introduced and occasionally a large jar has several small jars added to its shoulder forming the *Komochi* or child-bearing decoration. Survival of the ancient water-skin model appears now and then in Japanese jars. Spouted vessels for libation or drinking resemble those found in ancient Persia, India and in Sumerian pictographs. The leather bottle forms, well known from China to Egypt, were also initiated by the Yamato potters.

The decoration consists of textile designs, circular and triangular patterns or those composed of lines and dots together with very sparing use of figures in high relief. Horse, deer, wild boar, dog, bird, tortoise and human figures are seen moulded on the shoulders of the vases. A special type is represented, the *Haniwa*, consisting of cylinders of coarse terracotta. These are surmounted by human or animal figures and rarely by inanimate objects. It is connected with the intermediate pottery and other specimens of unglazed terracotta found in the Yamato tombs. Holes are usually seen in the sides of the cylinders which were probably intended for fixing them as ornamental adjuncts to the tumuli. The human figures surmounting the *Haniwa* are of different types and sometimes there is a suggestion of the raised hands in ceremonial attitude or as a form of salutation. The ear rings are common, so also the necklace and combs. Water vessel is shown carried on the head and a female figure is robed in a long

gown with close-fitting sleeves. So, iron armour, leather protection for the body strengthened with metal plates and metal helmets, are also shown as decoration on these terracotta figures which resemble more the Caucasian than the Mongolian type. Figures of swans, horses, hares and boars have also been found probably influenced by the Han pottery figures. The most important inanimate object represented is the arm-guard *Tomo* designed to enhance the sound caused by the impact of the bow-string in its recoil. The Yamato pottery, therefore, is the most valuable link connecting pre-historic Japanese art with the arts and crafts developing in the historic period inaugurated by the introduction of Buddhism in 552 A.D. from Korea and China.

MY EXPERIENCES IN THE WELFARE WORKS FOR THE BLIND ABROAD

SUBODHCHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L.

DURING my study trips to Europe, America, Canada and Japan, I was pleased to note that the stamp of each country's peculiar genius was definitely recognisable in its welfare works for the blind. It may be said, as a rather broad statement, that Great Britain and the United States of America have influenced directly or indirectly the works for the blind throughout the world ; but the evidences of adaptations by each country to its peculiar needs and environmental demands are unmistakably noticeable.

In this synoptic report, my attempt will be to outline in a very general way the common factors in the works of the visually handicapped which are more or less emphasized by the countries I visited.

1. DEFINITION OF BLINDNESS.

It is just natural to formulate the legal and social concept of blindness and its all-sided implications before inaugurating on a scientific basis any scheme of activities for those afflicted with this handicap. A mere misty approximation of the notion of blindness has a positively baneful effect on any welfare work, however well-meaning it may be.

All the advanced countries realised this at a very early stage of their blind work. In those countries, blindness has not only been strictly defined, but it has also been measured in terms of different degrees of the affliction. This has laid the scientific-minded workers for the blind in those countries to substitute the term "visual handicap" for the commonly used and more commonly misunderstood word "blindness."

The degree of vision which constitutes blindness in Great Britain, for instance, is 6/60, in America, 20/200, and so on. Periodic eye tests are held in every school for the visually handicapped as well as the sighted, and transference of enrolments takes place, if necessary, in accordance with the results of these eye tests.

2. EDUCATION OF PRE-SCHOOL BLIND CHILDREN.

The education and training of the blind begin in the very early years of their life. As early as the eighteenth month of their age, they are taken away from their homes and are placed in what is called "Sunshine Homes for the Blind Children," or the "Nursery Schools for the Blind."

Usually, the parents or the guardians do not know how to take care of their blind children or wards. They alternate between coddling and neglect. I was told of an instance in England where one of the twins born was blind. The parents used to confine their whole attention to their seeing child to the entire neglect of their blind child. Not only that, the parents used to tie up the sightless child to the corner of a cot, so that it could not hurt itself, while they had all their funs at home and excursions abroad in the company of the sighted child.

On the contrary, the better and preferential treatment meted out by a family to its blind child is a matter of common observation.

It needs no saying that both these attitudes prevent the normal growth of the blind children at home. The Sunshine Homes obviate these difficulties by putting the blind children under a common roof and giving them the same kind of treatment, facilities and environment.

Besides these problems of care and discipline, there are several other problems, mainly psychological and psychiatric in nature, which can never be solved with any measure of satisfaction unless the blind children are entrusted from their very infancy to the care and guidance of experts in the psychology and education of the visually handicapped. For instance, the problems of autostimulation, "blindism," personality maladjustment, etc., which start operating in the life of blind persons from their very childhood, can never be effectively tackled except by people trained in the psychology of the blind.

In these Sunshine Homes, the blind children are kept and trained till they are five or six years old, after which they are sent to the schools for the blind. Trained teachers and nurses are appointed in these Homes; where the sightless children are taught free and fearless movement of the body, lessons in the adjustment to the seeing world, elementary music, Braille, and simple handicrafts.

3. EDUCATION OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

In all the countries, except Japan, the primary school education of blind children is free and compulsory as that of the sighted. In each country, there are schools providing every scope and facility for the education and training of blind children. Japan has ninety schools for its seventy-six thousand blind population, although, as stated above, it has no provision for free and compulsory education of its blind children.

Before or immediately after the children are admitted to a school, their aptitudes and vocational possibilities are tested by intelligence and personality tests which have been adapted to the conditions of blind children from those devised for children with sight. Emphasis on the kind of education which each of these children should receive, depends to a great extent on the results of these tests. Those who are found mentally retarded, are given special attention, and their education is carried on by special teachers through what is called "opportunity classes."

There is systematic vocational guidance for each pupil, so that he or she is not left in a state of perplexity regarding the ways of making a living after the school years are over.

In order to encourage the reading habit among the blind children, scores of periodicals and thousands of books have been printed in Braille and placed within easy access. The Library for the Blind in New York City, the Library of Congress at Washington, the National Braille Library in London, etc., have, each of them, three or four hundred thousand books in Braille in different subjects, and they lend those books free to all blind people just for the mere asking.

The majority of the teachers in schools for the blind have been especially trained for this purpose. The education of the visually handicapped is quite a technical and growing subject, and no one can be expected to be an efficient teacher of the blind without knowing the psychological and educational problems especially involved in this specialised field. In Great Britain, the Board of Education stops all financial grants to a blind school if it employs a teacher who has not obtained a diploma from the College of Teachers for the Blind. In America, the blind schools discourage the appointment of teachers who have not received special training in the Education of the Visually Handicapped at Columbia or Harvard University.

The appointment of blind persons as teachers or workers for the blind is specially encouraged in those countries. They are regarded not only as efficient workers for the blind, but also as inspiring examples to them. In America, it has become an unwritten law that in a school or organisation for the blind, at least one-third of the staff should be recruited from among the blind. Some schools I visited have blind persons constituting as much as sixty per cent of its staff.

Besides, the heads of many schools and organisations for the blind are blind persons. The heads of most of the Public Commissions for the blind in America are themselves blind. The Executive Director of the American Foundation is also a blind person.

In all the progressive schools for the blind, there are arrangements for solving the special problems involved in the education of the partially-sighted children. There are such arrangements even in the schools for sighted children. In England and Germany, there are separate schools for children with partial vision. The partially-sighted children constitute, for educational purposes, a class by themselves. They cannot be educated either through sighted or blind methods. This truth has not been realised in our country with the result that hundreds of children with partial sight have lost and are losing their vision entirely.

In addition to the visually handicapped children, there is another group of children who are more unfortunate and whose educational problems are more difficult to solve. These are the deaf-blind mute children, suffering from the triple handicap of blindness, deafness and dumbness. America is ahead of all countries in the world in the education of these unfortunates, and Laura Bridgman, Helen Keeler, and a few others have shown what these children can do if educational facilities are provided for them. During my second visit in America, I discussed with Miss Helen Keeler the problems of these children and studied the methods of teaching them. Usually, the blind schools have opened departments for these children in their own premises.

In addition to these residential schools for the blind, classes for blind boys and girls have been opened in ordinary seeing schools. This is indeed a very interesting experiment. It helps the growth of mutual understanding between the blind and the seeing children from the very early stage of their lives. I am inclined to believe that there is a great scope and need for such classes in our country under its present economic conditions.

4. EDUCATION OF BLIND YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF POST-SCHOOL STAGE.

It has been realised in those countries that the blind boys and girls will be quite helpless if they are not taken care of after they finish their school education.

Those who are fit for higher studies are encouraged to enter colleges. There are several scholarships for assisting the needy students towards the college expenses.

Those who intend to take up music as the means of their livelihood are encouraged to enter the schools for higher music. There are several scholarships for these students as well.

Those who have specialised in some industry, are placed in what is called "sheltered workshops." These workshops are subsidised by Government and the public, and the blind people work here as apprentices for three or four years, after which they become regular workers. During the period of apprenticeship, all their expenses are paid for by these workshops.

5. ACTIVITIES OF THE AGENCIES AND ORGANISATIONS OF THE BLIND.

What is to be done with these educated and trained blind men and women? The agencies and organisations for the blind have been brought into existence to solve this and various other problems. There is no unhealthy rivalry among these organisations, since each of them is engaged to solve problems distinct from those handled by others. In London alone, there are about ten or twelve organisations working side by side to help the blind persons in different ways.

The principal activities of these organisations may be summarised as follows:—

A. They try to secure employments for the educated blind men and women. Through the efforts of these organisations, most of the blind people have been able to be contributing members of society. They have succeeded in inducing the German Government to pass a law to the effect that every firm or factory must employ a certain percentage of its staff from among the handicapped people. In Japan, a blind beggar has become an anachronism. In Great Britain, the blind persons have become eligible, in accordance with a law passed

by the Parliament early this year, for old-age pension when they are forty years old, while the seeing persons must be sixty-five in order to receive the benefits of this pension.

For those people, who are definitely unemployable, the Government has made special financial provisions through the efforts of these organisations. There are several homes where the unemployable blind men and women can live at public cost.

Those whose earning is not enough to meet their necessary expenses, receive augmentations in their wages either from those organisations or from the Government.

B. The education of the adult blind, *i. e.*, who lose their vision rather late in life, and who cannot obviously be taken care of by regular schools, is undertaken by these organisations. Teachers are sent to the homes of the adult blind and they are taught Braille and some useful occupation. The home teaching service is most efficient and widespread in Great Britain and the British Government is spending huge sums of money each year towards the maintenance of this service.

C. These organisations also undertake the publication of books and journals in Braille, Moon and in other types, as well as the making of talking-books. There are about eighty English periodicals in Braille published in America and Great Britain. In Japan, there is even a daily newspaper in Braille.

D. Agitations for the improvement of the lot of the blind are carried on unceasingly by these organisations. As a result, several legislations have been passed in all countries which have made the lives of the sightless community happier and respectable. A few of these legislative measures have been enumerated and discussed in the last paper appended to this report.

6. PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS.

This is a very important problem and more emphasis is being laid on it in every country. It has been held that about seventy per cent of blindness in every country is preventible, and every year the number of blind persons in the West is decreasing through the strict application of preventive methods. There may be a day when there will exist no blindness, and hence no problem of blindness to solve. But till that day comes, all possible arrangements should be made to lessen the miseries of the already existing and would-be blind persons.

7. CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing pages, I have recounted in a very general and shortest possible way my experiences regarding what other countries are doing in order to ameliorate the lot of the sightless community. It will be seen from the above dissertation that the visually handicapped persons are taken care of by those societies from the time they are born until they die. As a matter of fact, the societies in the West have become definitely conscious of the sacred responsibility towards their handicapped members. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* in this matter is considered to be very dangerous and has been abandoned by all civilized countries. It has been realised that society cannot progress very well if the handicapped persons belonging to different groups are allowed to remain as permanent drags on it.

I am positive that our society in India is making a great economic waste by not educating and not employing its blind individuals. Our society has to bear the burden for these people anyhow; then why should it not take something out of them? Besides, in certain spheres of activity, the blind individuals can render better and more efficient service than even the seeing. The Western societies have realised this truth and have been prompt to take advantage of it.

There is another way of looking at the same thing. Real sympathy is shown to the blind persons not by feeding them at public expense and keeping them idle at home, but by giving them education and burdening them with work and responsibility. This truth has not been realised in India and all efforts in helping the blind have thus been misguided and abortive. Dr. Childs, Professor of Psychology at Teachers' College, Columbia University, has rightly said: "for an individual to be a member of a society and yet have no responsible part in its activities is a form of social ostracism that breeds disastrous spiritual consequences."

In my opinion, the blind people have a more urgent need for education than even the seeing. There are mainly two reasons in support of this thesis.

First, the blind persons cannot be employed in any work without receiving any systematic training and education extending over several years, while there are various spheres of activities for the seeing individuals in which they may be employed without such protracted training and education. In those activities, the mere possession of

sight combined with some amount of commonsense is all that is needed to qualify a person for employment.

Secondly, the seeing people have the freedom of movement and several other things to keep themselves busy with. But the sightless individuals have to carry on a dreary and monotonous existence and have a feeling of helplessness and aloneness in the world if they are not taught something which will keep them busy and make them feel that time, after all, moves.

I should like to append four papers to this report.

The first paper lists the schools and organisations for the visually handicapped that I have visited abroad.

In addition to these places, I have met several successful and blind people of each country I visited in order to gain practical experience and inspiration.

The second paper states the courses which I took at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, towards my Master's Degree in Education, specialising in the Education of the Visually Handicapped.

The third paper describes a scheme of activities which should be undertaken at once in India for its visually handicapped persons. I submitted this paper to Columbia University as a course requirement and it was highly appreciated there.

The last paper is a copy of an article which I wrote and got published before I left India about two years ago. This contains many facts and figures regarding the blind community in India and abroad.

BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE

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NEW MANURES *

The wide use of different kinds of manure has been greatly stimulated by propaganda. This is noticeable in the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh in the Eastern Circle where the sale of sulphate of ammonia marketed by the Imperial Chemical Industries reached 7,000 maunds in the year 1933-34. It is understood that the amounts sold in subsequent years are on the increase. The cultivators are encouraged to use these manures by a praiseworthy step taken by the officers of the department as the result of which, concession rates in railway freight are enjoyed when these artificial manures are procured through the Agriculture Department. The cultivators paid for every maund they bought. This happened only because they were made to appreciate their values as a means of increasing the outturn of their crops. Reliable figures for the Western and Northern Circles are not available and the inference one is naturally tempted to draw is that perhaps equally energetic efforts for selling chemical manures were not made there. One would be justified in concluding that our cultivators all over this province would make more extensive use of these manures if they could be made to realise their value. The only way to do so is vigorous propaganda carried on directly by the suppliers supplemented by work carried on by the officers of the Agriculture Department in the different centres where demonstration and propaganda work is being conducted by them. It is no doubt true that a reduction in their price would have the effect of bringing them within the reach of a larger number of the less well-to-do cultivators. Similarly, a wider diffusion of knowledge of improved agricultural methods would have the effect of popularising their use. According to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Western Circle, the limited use of artificial manures is partly due to economic depression. This merely means that reduction in their price, if this is possible, is the best way of popularising their use.

The use of green manuring with leguminous crops such as *daincha* has not as yet made a wide appeal to our agriculturists. The pioneer

work in this direction carried on at Tagore's farm at Surul is praiseworthy. Perhaps the cultivator so conservative by nature is compelled by his poverty to use his land in the ways with which he has been familiar for generations and is averse to trying experiments about the value of which he feels doubtful.

It is very encouraging to find that in some parts of the Eastern Circle, such as Bhairab and Brahmanbaria, the agriculturists are gradually adopting the practice of using rotten water-hyacinth as manure. The writer's information when he last visited this part of Bengal in 1935 is that almost all the water-hyacinth collected in the Brahmanbaria sub-division was used for this purpose. Its systematic use in certain parts of our province would save our rivers from pollution and add considerably to the fertility of our land provided this practice became universal.

It is known to almost every one familiar with village life how, in an overwhelming majority of cases, farm-yard manure is ordinarily stored in the open and how a large part of its utility is lost by reason of the bad effects of exposure to rain. Propaganda rightly carried out should encourage the conservation of farm-yard manure by storing it in properly protected pits with sheds over them to prevent waste. This has already become quite popular in parts of the hill district of Darjeeling and the writer feels confident that if the agricultural officers concerned make it a point to impress on the cultivators the utility of preventing the waste now going on, their advice will be followed readily in every part of Bengal.

During the year 1934-35, about 28,000 and in 1935-36 about 32,500 maunds of artificial manure was manufactured at the different Government farms the whole of which was used in the farms themselves. The writer might be permitted in this connection to mention the fact that according to F. H. King, author of that outstanding work "Farmers of Forty Centuries" in which the author has made a study of the agricultural methods followed in China, Korea and Japan, specially in those parts of these three countries where intensive agriculture has been practised successfully for centuries without appreciable exhaustion of the soil, excepting human excreta, almost the only manure used is artificial manure identical in nearly all respects with that made at the Dacca Farm. It would be a step in the right direction if this system of manufacturing artificial farm-yard manure on a large scale by the utilisation of all waste organic material found

in every farm is introduced in every one of the Government districts, private and demonstration farms and, later on, taught by the demonstrators in the different centres. So much useful material which may, with proper treatment, be used as manure is wasted in our province, that every effort for making it properly and using it skilfully would more than repay the expense involved in popularising this much-needed improvement.

A comparison of the average outturn of the province of Bengal with the highest outturn in the different Government farms reveals some very interesting as well as saddening facts. Taking sugar-cane for instance, we find that the average outturn of sugar-cane in green weight is about 180 maunds per bigha for the province while the highest in Berhampur Government farm is about 1,000 maunds per bigha. The figures for paddy are approximately as follows: average for the whole province 5 maunds per bigha, highest average in Government farm 20 maunds per bigha. The writer is not in a position to supply figures for other crops but his information is that the highest average yield of practically all crops in Government farms is nearly always three to four times the average yield for the whole province.

While we should feel happy that our agriculturists are gradually making more and more extensive use of departmentally improved higher yielding seeds, we should not lose sight of the very important fact that a heavier production of crops always implies a greater demand on the reserve plant food in the soil. The cultivator while congratulating himself on the better outturn should also remember that this satisfactory state of things cannot continue permanently unless he gives back to the land, in some form or other, the plant food he is taking out. If this is not done, the land will undergo a slow and imperceptible impoverishment and the time, when even the use of improved strains of seed will not result in heavy crops, must come. So far as the writer is aware, the ordinary cultivator who has taken to the systematic use of improved seeds is not always putting back into his land to-day a larger amount of manure than his forefathers.

The time has come when we must see to it that our peasants not only use the heavier yielding improved seeds but also, along with it, put back into their land a larger amount of manure than they have done in the past. In this connection they should be told to draw their own inference from what they observe in the land they cultivate

themselves and the land cultivated in Government farms. The very high outturn in the latter, if it proves anything at all, proves beyond any doubt that even the poor impoverished soil of Bengal when properly treated and manured is still capable of yielding very satisfactory returns. The only way to convince them about the utility of more liberal manuring is to make it absolutely clear to them that the use of manure, taking into account the satisfactory crops, is a paying proposition, that a respectable margin of profit remains even after paying for manure. It is here that the utility of cheap green manure, of properly conserved cow-dung and specially of artificial farm-yard manure should be emphasised in propaganda work.

Everyone interested in agriculture as practised by cultivators in the province is aware that the only manure used almost universally is cow-dung. It is only very rarely that the amount available is sufficient to meet the normal demand. The result is that the gradual exhaustion of the soil with its consequent evil results has grown into a problem with us. It is this which induces the writer to lay stress on the urgent necessity of teaching the making of artificial farm yard manure to our cultivators. Its use would become very widely spread if only we could organise our propaganda work in this direction properly. Very useful work in this direction could be done by the Union Board farms reference to which will be made hereafter.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The Agricultural Engineer to the Government of Bengal, who has already designed improved machinery for the manufacture of sugar such as crushers, pug-mills, centrifugals, combined aerators and generators, devoted part of his time to the improvement of different varieties of ploughs previously designed by him and manufactured by Messrs. Ranwick & Co. The "Chasa" and "Deshbandhu" ploughs both meant for dry land crops enter any soil and plough at a uniform depth. They are not so heavy as the other well-known types designed by him and marketed under the names of "Amir," "Baugla" and "Sobhkam." The great merit of the former two lies in the fact that first they are within the draft of ordinary Bengal cattle which is not so strong as the cattle of other provinces and secondly, they do not require any pressure at the time of ploughing, and from this point of view, ought to be very useful for the comparatively weak and malaria-stricken, ill-fed peasantry of Western and Central Bengal.

Tests about the comparative merits of the improved ploughs and the *Desi* wooden ploughs were carried on. For *aus* paddy which is a low land crop, "Sobhkam No. 2," "Sobhkam A," "Bangla No. 2" and the *Desi* wooden ploughs were used. It was found that the "Bangla" plough gave the highest outturn, "Sobhkam" coming next. The price of these improved ploughs varies from Rs. 6-8 to Rs. 8.

Considering the economic depression and the poverty of the agriculturists as a class, the sale of these improved ploughs is not quite discouraging. It must not, however, be forgotten that the *Desi* plough costs from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 and that, in spite of strenuous efforts made by the officers of the Agriculture Department, the improved ploughs are selling in tens where they ought to sell in tens of thousands. What prevents their wider use is partly their comparatively high price. The writer has talked with agriculturists in different districts of Bengal and the impression he has gathered is that wherever the superiority of these ploughs has been demonstrated, the peasantry have always been convinced of their utility but that they are unable to use them mainly on account of their higher initial cost. A suggestion thrown out, perhaps at random, in more than one place, was that these, as well as improved seeds and artificial manures, should be supplied to reliable men banded together co-operatively. The writer does not possess sufficient experience in such matters to be able to say whether this could be worked satisfactorily, that is to say, as a sound economic proposition. At any rate, the suggestion is well worth investigation. There is, however, little doubt that improved agricultural implements will never come into wide use unless their price is reduced materially. As this is not a possibility on account of their higher cost of production, the only practical method of popularising them is to sell them on the instalment system. The writer must, however, confess that the difficulties which stand in the way of adopting this plan extensively seem so very formidable as to appear almost insurmountable.

There is another fact which came under the writer's notice quite recently. He offered a prize for the best cross-bred bullock exhibited in the Ballavpore mela last year. This exhibition is arranged by the Church Missionary Society's Nadia District Church Council. After consulting Rev. G. F. Cranswick, the then Principal of Dipti Mandir of Hat-Chapra, District Nadia, where, among other things, there are

arrangements for teaching agriculture, he considered it desirable that the prize should consist of an improved plough. He consulted the President as well as certain members of the Mela Committee and requested them to give him their advice after consulting the local agriculturists. Mr. Cranswick has been using the "Sobhkam" plough in the school farm and he, as well as the gentlemen whose opinion had been sought, united in stating that though the students of Dipti Mandir used this improved plough and were convinced about its superiority, after finishing their course and going back to their land, they preferred to use the *Desi* plough as it was lighter and more easily handled. He was further told that an improved plough of the departmental type would not be acceptable to the winner of the prize. There was thus no option but to offer a *Desi* plough though care was taken to have it made as strongly as possible.

One very intelligent agriculturist who had received his general education as well as his agricultural training at Mr. Cranswick's school informed the writer that the real objection to these departmentally improved ploughs lay in the fact that in order to get the best results it was essential that they should be worked with the help of draft cattle stronger than the half-starved, weak and lean animals ordinarily found in the villages of Bengal. The writer has found that the "Sobhkam" plough is being used with good results in all the Government farms and he considers that the reason advanced by this cultivator is what stands in the way of their popularity and more extensive use. It follows therefore that the question of the use of improved agricultural implements is so intimately bound up with the question of improvement of draft cattle, that improvement in the former will only be possible with improvement in the latter. In this connection it ought to be mentioned that according to the latest report on the Land Revenue Administration of Bengal, Khas Mahal tenants in the district of Bogra are being trained to use the improved "Sobhkam" plough and hand hoes by being allowed their free use, Government meeting the cost of providing them. This is a very laudable attempt and the example ought to be followed elsewhere specially in those Government farms where cultivation is conducted under the Barga system.

(To be continued.)

SURENDRANATH BANERJEA*

BY KAMALA DEVI

"The one fact that stands out above all things else in the life and work of Surendra Nath Banerjea is that he occupies a front place among that glorious band, headed by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, whom History will proclaim to the future generations of this and other lands as the Regenerators of Modern India."

— B. C. PAL.

SURENDRANATH Banerjea was born at a time when the country was passing through an abrupt transition by the impact of English civilisation. Raja Ram Mohun Roy lived, worked, and died nearly two decades before the birth of Surendranath. The Raja was the precursor of a new dawn, a new era in Bengal. Although the Raja was commonly known as a religious reformer and founder of the Brahmo Samaj, his real message to his country, nay, to the modern world, embraced the entire field of man's social life. He stood on a plane from where he viewed the world problem with that depth and breadth of vision which can be seen only among the very greatest of men. Others followed him in his work of reform and reconstruction. Devendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen. Iswarchandra Vidya-sagar and Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Bankimchandra Chatterji and Hemchandra Banerji, Harischandra Mukerji and Kristodas Pal worked to infuse new life into the moribund society—to re-create literature, reform religion, reconstruct society, rejuvenate public life. Thus, a galaxy of great men, whom the country produced before him, made the ground ready for the work which Surendranath was destined to do.

Surendranath was born in a Brahmin family on November 10, 1848, in Calcutta. The predominant influence in the family was that of orthodoxy represented by his grandfather, whose life was one of plain living and high thinking, that gave him a dignity that no wealth could confer. But this old man of the old school gave his eldest son Durgacharan Banerjea—the father of our hero—the best kind of education available in those days. Durgacharan was a favourite pupil of David Hare, one of the pioneers of English education in Bengal. He

* For her essay on this subject in Bengali the authoress was awarded the Mokshadasundari Gold Medal for 1937, by the University.

subsequently joined the Medical College and was one of the most distinguished physicians of the day in Calcutta. And like the disciples of Derozio, he broke away from the old moorings of orthodoxy and conservatism and was a convert to a new cult. Interesting stories of the life of our English-educated community have been fascinatingly told by Rajnarayan Bose in his autobiography and by Sibnath Sastri in his 'Ramtanu Lahiri and the Bengali society of his time.'

So, Surendranath's earliest life was spent in an atmosphere of controversy that stimulated a spirit of research and enquiry, and amid a conflict of opposing forces. His father sent him to 'Parental Academic Institution' to learn English—a school chiefly attended by Anglo-Indian boys. Subsequently he was sent to the Doveton College for his University education. His career in School and College was 'fairly distinguished.' But he was never the topmost boy, though he was always very near the top. To quote him, "but in the course of a few years, and in the long run, I left behind those boys who had beaten me at the start; and in life I think I have out-distanced every one of my school or college rivals." *

He was self-dependent from his very boyhood. Throughout his career in school and college he never had a home-tutor and had to depend entirely upon himself, when quite a young boy at school, to learn two such difficult foreign languages as English and Latin. He matriculated in 1863 and took his B.A. Degree in 1868.

At the suggestion of his Principal, Mr. John Sime, who was impressed with his brilliance, Dr. Durgacharan arranged for sending Surendranath to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service. It may be noted incidentally that while Surendranath was only a child of five years, his father drew up a will in which he directed that Surendranath should be sent to England to complete his education which would be helpful to him in life.

On March 3, 1868, Surendranath sailed for England along with his friends Romesh Chunder Dutt and Behari Lal Gupta. He successfully passed the competitive test examination for the Indian Civil Service. But on the ground of an alleged discrepancy about his age, the Civil Service Commissioners had his name removed from the list of successful candidates. The removal of his name and that of another Indian candidate evoked an outburst of indignation in India, and the Indian

leaders, including the great Vidyasagar, joined in an affidavit testifying to the Indian method of reckoning age. Surendranath was not the man to take the decision of the Commissioners lying down. As a result of an application before the Queen's Bench, in which he was helped by Sir Taraknath Palit (then Mr. T. Palit, who was then in England, having been recently called to the Bar), the Civil Service Commissioners quietly reinstated him and the other candidate in their positions as selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service. It is sad to reflect that his father died on February 20, 1870, before this happy news could reach him. Surendranath received the news of his father's death about the middle of March which 'dazed, overpowered and half stunned' him. His father was, throughout his long and eventful career, an ever-living source of encouragement and inspiration to him. He lost nearly a year in fighting the case and appeared at the Final Examination of 1871, doing two years' work in one year's time, and passed along with his friends R. C. Dutt and B. L. Gupta.

On his return home he was posted to Sylhet as Assistant Magistrate and joined his appointment on November 23, 1871. Mr. H. C. Sutherland—an Anglo-Indian—was Magistrate of the District who was his immediate superior. He tried to befriend him, but at the same time refused to admit him on terms of equality into the local European society. Surendranath could not but resent this attitude.

However, he rapidly passed the departmental examinations and got the powers of a first-class Magistrate. One Mr. Posford, who was his senior as Assistant Magistrate, also appeared at the departmental examination with Surendranath. Surendranath passed and he failed. Mr. Sutherland, who was imbued with a strong racial feeling, did not like that he should have passed and that Mr. Posford should have failed. The contrast seemed in Mr. Sutherland's eyes to be derogatory to the prestige of the ruling race. This was the real root of his misfortune in his official life. The English executive officials of the place wanted to let the young Bengalee Civilian realise his limitations.

At that time Sir George Campbell was the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He was not friendly to the English-educated middle class who began to crowd higher Government offices and learned professions like law and medicine. Satyendranath Tagore, Romesh Chunder Dutt, B. L. Gupta and Surendranath Banerjia had gone to England and passed into the Indian Civil Service. These products of the Hindu

College and newly founded University—ardent students of Rousseau, Voltaire, Comte, Milton, Burke, Bright and Gladstone—were impatient to change the lot of their fellow-countrymen, and movements were afoot towards this end. Sir George Campbell's Government wanted to curb this growing spirit of self-assertion and freedom in the English-educated youth. The British members of the Government could not look upon these with equanimity and were ill at ease at these developments in the members of a subject race

"It was the general impression among the people of Sylhet that Mr. Sutherland actively worked for the dismissal of Surendranath from the Civil Service." "Mr. Sutherland encouraged spies to carry tales about Surendranath to him." * At length, a plea was found. Mr. Banerjea had entered a person as "ferar" or absconder when he was not really absconding. The Magistrate called for the records and asked him for a full explanation, which he gave. The Magistrate wrote to the District Judge, who addressed the High Court and the Government was moved. A Commission was appointed to enquire into the whole matter.

Surendranath prayed for the hearing of the case in Calcutta and that he should be provided by Government with counsel for his defence. Both the prayers were rejected. He was dismissed from the Service with a compassionate allowance of rupees fifty a month.

The actual facts of the case, however, stated by the District Judge of Sylhet in his letter addressed to the High Court, have been reproduced *in extenso* in the "Memories of My Life and Times" by Mr. Bipinchandra Pal. A careful perusal of the Judge's letter leads an impartial reader but to one conclusion that Surendranath's (then only twenty-three years old) offence amounted to nothing more than grave carelessness and laxity of due supervision of the acts of his subordinates and he was by no means guilty of any grave misconduct in respect of his official duties. The real crime of Surendranath was his colour and race and his claims to perfectly equal treatment from the members of the ruling race. Bipinchandra made the following observation in his autobiography, which he wrote in his very mature age of seventy, on this episode: "Indeed the thing for which poor Surendra Nath had been sought to be pilloried throughout his public life, is not at all uncommon in our Courts; and there are very few Civilians fresh from

* Memories of My Life and Times—B. C. Pal.

'home' who could not, if their early records were carefully searched, be convicted of the kind of carelessness, for which such indignities were heaped upon this young Bengalee Civilian."

But the innate buoyancy of his spirit kept him up. He made up his mind to proceed to England and to lay his case before the authorities of the India Office. So, he left Calcutta in March, 1874, and arriving in London in April, he at once placed himself in communication with the India Office. Within a few weeks of his arrival, however, he was officially informed that he had been dismissed from the Indian Civil Service. This was a crushing blow, but it could not crush Surendranath.

He was already a student of the Middle Temple and had kept eight terms. He made up his mind to stay on in England and finish his terms and be called to the Bar. In April, 1875, he was to be called and his name was duly put up; but his dismissal from the Civil Service was raised as an objection from some unknown quarter, and the Benchers of the Middle Temple declined to call him to the Bar. From the Civil Service he had been dismissed, from the Bar he was shut out!

The outlook was dismal and dark. His friends declared that he was a ruined man, but he himself never despaired nor lost the exuberant joyousness of his youthful nature. In the iron grip of ruin itself, he had already formed some forecast of the work that was awaiting him.

He was in England from April, 1874 to May, 1875; during this period he was quietly and laboriously preparing himself for a dedicated life of unselfish devotion in the service of his Motherland. He felt that he had suffered because he was a member of a disorganised community, that had no public opinion, no voice in the counsels of their Government. He recovered his buoyancy in the new hope that there was still work for him in a higher and nobler sphere than before. The personal wrong done to him opened his eyes to the utter helplessness of his people, 'that they were helots, hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of their birth,' and he determined to set himself to the task of helping his people. 'Out of death cometh life, a higher life, a nobler resurrection.' It was verily so in the case of Surendranath.

After his unsuccessful attempt to be reinstated to the Indian Civil Service and then to be called to the Bar, he came back to Calcutta in June, 1875, and was received by his noble wife 'with a bright

cheery countenance.' He at once began to take a part in public affairs. At a largely attended meeting held in the theatre of the Medical College to promote temperance movement he made his first public utterance and at once secured his place among the recognised public speakers. Soon after, the great Vidyasagar, an intimate friend of Surendranath's father, offered him an appointment as Professor of English in his College, which he accepted.

This afforded him an opportunity to be of useful service to his country, of which he took the fullest advantage. He used all his powers to inspire his students with patriotism. The Students' Association, organised about this time by the late Mr. A. M. Bose in collaboration with Surendranath, found in him its most active worker. He made student life in Calcutta instinct with a new spirit. He delivered lectures in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood upon such subjects as Indian Unity, the Study of History, the Life of Mazzini, the Life of Chaitanya, High English Education, etc. His lecture 'On the Rise of the Sikh Power in the Panjab' from the platform of the Students' Association created 'almost a literal storm about College Square.' 'His position as the most powerful orator of his generation was at once established by this performance.' Swami Vivekananda, among others, was one of those who regularly attended his meetings in those days.

He was invited to work as a teacher of the City School (for it had not then become a college) founded by his friend Anandamohan in 1879. He was so very popular as a Professor that the institutions he joined were crowded by hundreds of students. In 1882, Surendranath took over charge of a school known as Presidency Institution. He thoroughly reorganised the school and eventually raised it to the status of a first-grade college—the now famous Ripon College. Surendranath has been rightly called the Arnold of Bengal. Arnold made Rugby famous, and Surendranath, the college named after Ripon.

His love for the students was intense and sincere. In his autobiography he wrote: "Between the students and myself there grew up an attachment which I regarded as one of my most valued possessions. It was with the greatest reluctance that I ceased to be a teacher, for I loved the students and I rejoiced in their company." Again: "If I have contributed to the up-building of student-life; the students in their turn have made me what I am. If I have inspired them with the spirit of service they in their turn have rejuvenated me and filled

me with ardour of youth. I have grown young in their company and by daily contact with them I have retained even amid advancing years some of my qualities of youth."

He regarded his vocation as a sacred calling and that is why, when he was offered a post under the Tippera Raj, on a salary of rupees seven hundred a month, he had no difficulty in refusing the offer. His duties were indeed multitudinous, but to those of the class-room he accorded a special preference. He always set a high value upon his educational work and put it in the forefront of his activities. "Political work," he said, "is more or less useful. Educational work has in it the elements of permanent utility." He believed that "the empire of the teacher is an ever enduring empire which extends over the future. The teachers are the masters of the future. Theirs is a heaven-appointed task—a sacred vocation—a divine mission." He was engaged in the active work of teaching from 1875 to 1912.

After his return from England when he was doing his work among the student community he was thinking of "forming an Association to represent the views of the educated middle-class community and inspire them with a living interest in public affairs." There was the British Indian Association, 'but it was essentially and by its creed an Association of landholders.' It had no active political programme nor had any activity in creating public opinion by direct appeals to the people. 'There was thus the clear need for another political Association on a more democratic basis.'

So, preparations were made in co-operation with Anandamohan for founding an Association, and on July 26, 1876, an inaugural meeting was held. It is worth noticing here that on that day Surendranath's (then) only son died. But, all the same, he came to the meeting, as he rightly apprehended opposition from Mr. Kali Churn Banerjee, an eloquent speaker of no mean order and a man of great learning, and made an ardent and impassioned speech and carried the whole house with him to the utter discomfiture of his opponent. The foundation of the Indian Association was one of the most notable achievements of his life. He kept himself in the background—accepting no office in view of his dismissal from Civil Service—but laboured indefatigably in its behalf, trying to realise through it the ideals of his life: (1) The creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country; (2) the unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations; (3) the promotion

of friendly feelings between Hindus and Mahomedans ; and lastly the inclusion or the masses in the great public movements of the day.

The Indian Association had started as an all-India organisation itself and a National Conference was sitting in Calcutta, when the first Indian National Congress was being organised in Bombay. Surendranath invited delegates from the different districts of Northern India to this Conference. The late Mr. Pal, an illustrious political thinker of the first order and a keen student of history, expressed his considered opinion about twenty years ago on the work of the Indian Association—which was the work of Surendranath—in these words : " . . . there is every reason to think that if the National Congress had not been started under much greater influential auspices than Surendranath or his friends had then secured for their organisation. . . our political activities and organisation would have been much stronger and of a far more constitutional character than they are today."

Within a year of the foundation of the Association, an opportunity arose for realising some of the great ideals that the Association stood for. Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, reduced the maximum limit of age for the competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service from twenty-one to nineteen years. This 'created a painful impression throughout India.' The Indian Association resolved upon organising a national movement. A great public meeting was held at the Town Hall and Surendranath was appointed special delegate to visit the different provinces. He undertook a political tour in Northern and Western India visiting important places in the U. P., the Patiala, Bombay and Madras, and made impressive and stirring speeches before crowded audiences.

His lecturing tour was an unqualified success. Everywhere he was accorded warm and enthusiastic reception. People hung on his utterances and his addresses evoked live response from the people.. It revealed for the first time the possibilities of united 'action among all the Indian peoples for common political purposes and thus prepared the way for the birth of the Indian National Congress. He was recognised at once as the man of the hour, and in the Panjab he was hailed as a prophet.

This lecturing tour once for all established for him that unique position in the public life of India which before or even after him, until Mahatma Gandhi's appearance in Indian politics, none else could achieve. " He is by far and above the one man in India, whom! if the

occasion came, a plebiscite of his English-educated countrymen would with an overwhelming majority acclaim as their trusted leader. Some are leaders of public opinion in their own province, others of their own class or community . . . ; but while the position of all these men in the public life of their country is provincial or sectional, that of Surendra Nath alone is, unquestionably, national because no other man in his generation or even before him has contributed more to the birth and growth of our present national ideas and aspirations than what Surendra Nath has done"—thus observed Bipinchandra who himself was an accredited all-India leader of the extremist school during the days of the Swadeshi Movement.

Surenranath was the apostle of constitutional agitation in India. He has been a political 'agitator'—in the best sense of the term. He never once wavered in his faith in constitutional agitation. Even in the more recent history of Bengal, he held that all agitations must be constitutional to win the day. The object of all these agitations was to achieve Self-Government. He said. "We must have a political share in the government of our own country; we shall permit no exclusive bureaucracy to govern India; and it remains to be seen whether a great and civilised people will not comply with the legitimate prayer and demands of a subject race upon whom it has already conferred such inestimable blessings. . . . We want to have a voice in the taxation and the government of this country. Give us these privileges. Let us have opportunities for the gratification of our legitimate aspirations, and then from one part of the country to another, there will be a contented, happy and prosperous people blessing their own Government and blessing the Providence which has placed them under such a Government."

He had firm faith in agitation in England as well which was evident from the fact of Mr. Lalmoohan Ghose's being sent to England on behalf of the Indian Association to represent the cause of the Indian people on the Civil Service question. These efforts were not entirely futile. It vindicated a principle that constitutional agitation is a legitimate mode of getting grievances redressed. In 1879 Surendra-nath proposed that a permanent deputation be established in England to keep the British public informed about Indian questions. In later years the National Congress established an organ of Indian opinion in England and a Parliamentary Committee to watch its interests in Parliament. Deputation of distinguished and capable Indians became

more and more frequent. It was Surendranath who started and popularised the idea. Even today, the extremist leaders of the Congress think it an imperative necessity to have organisations in England and in the countries of Europe and America to watch the interests of the Indian National Congress and carry on propaganda in its behalf; and to this end the late lamented President Patel bequeathed by his will a large sum to be utilised for this purpose and entrusted Mr. Subhaschandra Bose to organise it. So, the idea of carrying on the Congress movement abroad was anticipated by the 'Moderate' Surendranath more than fifty years ago.

In 1879, he took over charge of the 'Bengalee,' an English weekly, which was then in a moribund condition. Under his able editorship it was in no time converted into the most powerful Indian organ of Calcutta. The popularity of the 'Bengalee' continued until Surendranath was forced to sever his connection when he had to accept the Ministership of his province after the introduction of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in India in 1921. The service rendered to the country by Surendranath as a journalist through the columnus of the 'Bengalee' was conspicuous and inestimable.

The popularity of Surendranath and his paper the 'Bengalee' immeasurably enhanced when he was prosecuted for an article in his paper in April, 1883, criticising the conduct of Mr. Justice Norris. He was tried by a Full Bench of the High Court and was sentenced to an imprisonment for two months in the Civil Jail. The Court room, the corridors, the approaches to the Court were crowded by a vast number of men among whom could be seen the most notable citizens of Calcutta. Kumar Indrachandra Singh of Paikpara was present in the Court with a sum of a lakh of rupees in cash to pay down any fine that might be imposed.

When sentence had been passed, it was deemed prudent to remove him not in the prisoners' van but in Mr. Justice Norris's own carriage by a Sheriff's officer. He was already the idol of the student community. This persecution made him dearer still, and they were so much excited and upset on hearing of the sentence passed on him that even Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who was then a student of the Presidency College and who was even then noted for his extraordinary talents and level-headedness, came out of the class room and actively participated in the students' demonstrations that were almost wild.

—(To be continued.)

BASIC ENGLISH AND ITS POSSIBILITIES*

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I

THE decision of the University of Calcutta to adopt the vernacular in place of English as the medium of instruction in the schools, should lead to a fresh examination of the question of the teaching of English itself in Bengal. The matter should now be looked at from a new viewpoint. Use of English as the medium certainly gave the students a greater opportunity of learning it for simple and practical purposes. Whether the foreign medium was a hindrance to the study of other subjects and to the assimilation of thoughts and arguments, is a different matter. With regard to the learning of English, the question certainly arises, what should be done to make up for this loss of opportunity under the new system. Of course, the University's decision will affect only the higher classes in the schools, for in the lower classes English had never been the medium of instruction, books on History, Geography, Hygiene, Elementary Science, etc., having already been compiled in the vernacular. But those who want to join the University, or to enter business or Government Service, have to pass through these higher classes. It is certainly desirable that they should have that command of English which is likely, under the present circumstances, to ensure success in their respective spheres of work.

The use of English in schools as a medium of instruction meant a greater opportunity for the students in more senses than one. They had not only to read more English books and pay more attention to the language, but also to answer questions on different subjects like Science, History, Geography, etc., in English. The literary exercise involved in the latter was certainly very valuable in calling forth their linguistic instincts and developing their powers of expression. It was virtually the practical part of their language-study, which helped to establish a correspondence between reality and expression, so far as they were

* A large portion of this article was written in London in consultation with Mr. C. K. Ogden, Miss Lockhart and Dr. Graham of the Orthological Institute, who agreed with the views expressed in it. A few paragraphs have since been added, pointing out the difficulty of introducing Basic in Indian schools.

concerned. This went hand in hand with the study of purely literary pieces, poetry and prose.

Even with this rather comprehensive training in English, students found it difficult to write simple English and to follow the lectures when they joined the college after leaving school. Students turned out under the new scheme, deprived of the more practical and more valuable part of their training in English, would not, it might reasonably be feared, be able to carry on their work in the English-speaking world, or profit at all by their studies in the University, where lectures must, for at least some time to come, be delivered in English.

If the foreign language must be given up as the medium of instruction in schools—and certainly there are obvious reasons for substituting the vernacular for it—some means must be adopted to improve the standard of knowledge of work-a-day English amongst the students or at least to prevent it from deteriorating. In the schools and colleges of this country English is studied as literature, and masterpieces of great authors are generally prescribed for the students. Their language is not, in most cases, strictly modern—such as is now used in everyday life by Englishmen. Besides, the study of pieces of emotive poetry and prose, full of the language of sensibility, feeling, and imagination, is not in the case of Indian students an effective means of picking up English. It is not at all likely to give them much command of the language for practical purposes. What has been aimed at in the English classes of schools in the past, is proficiency in literary or bookish English. Students have been encouraged to learn niceties of style and figures of speech, and taught to paraphrase passages into literary English. As an eminent educationist observes, "To write a paraphrase is to compose another passage made as nearly as possible a rival to the first. Rarely tried with a prose original, with poetry it is an invitation to write another poem—in prose—on a partially similar theme. As such, it is an exercise whose effects are often very far indeed from an improved comprehension of the original. This is the kind of paraphrase the more promising kind of pupil usually produces, and he deserves our sympathy. For the terms of the task set him are something of an outrage on his sensibility."

Except, possibly, to the few who want to specialize in English Literature later, this system is of no use. It involves waste of time

and energy which might have been more profitably spent. It is very likely to lead to misappreciation of fine phrases to which young students are usually attracted and to mis-association of ideas. The tendency to these evils has been to some extent neutralised in the past in consequence of simple, work-a-day English being the medium of instruction. Under the new arrangement, the evils of the study of bookish or literary English are likely to become more glaring. The old ideal must disappear if the students' knowledge of English of the right type is to improve.

What is needed is to devise a system which, while economizing time and labour, will help the students to pick up a knowledge of the English language sufficient for expressing their ideas on ordinary affairs in the modern world, and serving as a medium of instruction in the University in the different branches of learning.

It must be admitted that this system cannot be introduced for the first time in the higher classes. Here the students are already obsessed with a liking for literary English, a love of phrases, idioms, and expressions which have no application to the ordinary concerns of everyday life. This is inculcated upon them when they are in the lowest classes. Though instruction in other subjects is not then given through English, yet the tradition of literary English has its influence on the teaching of the language even in the case of little children. Undoubtedly the kindergarten system and object lessons have done something to bring language in closer touch with experience; yet much remains to be done. And something can be done by Basic English.

Basic, in one sense, belongs to the class of proposed world-languages of which Esperanto is best known. The desirability of a Universal Language has been felt by many, though its possibility has been doubted. There have been diverse views on the question of an international language. Some people have looked to the "the gradual disappearance of existing languages" to make room for a universal medium, while others have visualised the latter as existing side by side with the former. According to some, again, the Universal Language should have a vocabulary to which all the principal languages must make substantial contributions. Others regard this as undesirable. Esperanto aspired to oust other languages, and derives its vocabulary from a number of tongues, while Basic is exclusively English and has no higher ambition than to be a mere Auxiliary

Language which facilitates the study of ordinary English. Esperanto, again, is synthetic, retaining as it does traces of archaism like inflexions, etc., while Basic is very largely analytic.

The origin of Basic explains the prominence of this last characteristic, for it has to be traced to the emergence of modern languages in Europe from the old synthetic languages, especially Latin. The progress from Classical Latin to the Roman Languages partly illustrates the gradual disappearance of inflexions, etc., and "the setting aside of word-magic and respect for forms and rituals." Along with the dropping of what are called "verbal niceties" came the "march away from specific towards general terms." English "carried further the process of simplification both in its Anglo-Saxon and its Latin derivatives." Single words expressive of complex conceptions were replaced by groups of words, each expressing a component idea. The structure of Standard English, such as it became after this simplification, crumbled in America where democracy and science had their effect on language as much as on society. It has been remarked that the "American people were romping amid the ruins of the English language." Its disintegration in America was to some extent due to the influence of another analytic language, *viz.*, Chinese which is "without cases, modes, tenses and a complex system of derivations."

A very important thing about Basic is that it is the expression of the modern scientific and practical bent of mind. All languages, including normal English, had their origin in unscientific ages, and are vehicles of thought lacking—to judge by the modern standard—in clearness, realism, scientific accuracy and precision. This is to be seen in the want of directness and the verbiage of most of the phrases and idioms. Their embellishments and rhetoric betray the absence of correspondence between reality and expression. Metaphors and figures are based on mis-association of ideas or on their far-fetched connections. Even in apparently simple expressions irreconcilable ideas are often linked up—sometimes movement is predicated of an abstract conception or an emotion is associated with the idea of space. For beginners, especially for foreigners, the difficulty involved in getting familiar with these peculiarities is considerable. They are opposed to normal and instinctive ways of thought, and hence come as a shock to the unsophisticated minds of children when they try to learn a foreign tongue. Basic is realistic and scientific. It distinguishes names of things (picturable or otherwise), of operations, qualities and directions. These

are defined with fair accuracy, and mis-association of ideas has been avoided as far as possible. Some are diagrammatically represented. The different planes to which prepositions or directives refer are clearly indicated where there is difficulty. Basic presses into its service Tanagrams (the Seven Picture-Makers), Isotype figures and the Motion Picture. According to the Basic Theory, when we use language, we merely express the movement of a thing (having a certain quality) in a certain direction, or its existence in a particular position. Such are the simplest forms of statement, and complex statements are only combinations of these. The "qualifiers" or adjectives have been limited to 150, and, so far as possible, their opposites have been linked with them. This ensures precision.

One may say that the logic of analysis of the principles underlying modern thought, forms the basis of the selection of the "operators," the explanation of the "directives," and the transformation of the "verbs" into names of things or actions. However mankind may progress in future, it can safely be asserted that they are sure to develop a scientific mentality which is in close touch with reality. If so, Basic may well be a specially appropriate vehicle of expression in international affairs. If, as Mr. Ogden says, international language should not consist of merely idealistic terms, as the outcome of some unstable enthusiasm or arbitrary philological principle, Basic, because it is scientific, can very well develop into an international language.

(To be continued.)

FILMS IN INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

BY SHRIKUL JETENDRAN RASOOL

WHEN, some years ago, the problems connected with the systematic introduction of the cinema as an aid to teaching and the use of the film in popular education came up for consideration, a violent reaction broke out in many sections of the class of teachers. A distinct, if imprecise, impression was given that there was in the air a tendency to revolutionise the whole business of teaching. One heard remarks about the mechanisation of the school, reduction in the teaching staff, standardisation of the school, and even the substitution of the film for the teacher. It is easy to remember the lively polemics of that time and the attacks launched against any one who saw in the motion picture an incomparable means of expression and persuasion.

It was forgotten that the utilisation of the motion picture was not meant to revolutionise teaching, but to provide contemporary, didactic methods with a most useful aid.

It was forgotten that the tumultuous existence of to-day is bringing the school continually nearer life.

It was forgotten that to day—for impellent and logical exigencies regarding our safeguarding of future generations—we must add to the discipline of the mind also that of the body.

It was forgotten, finally, that the cinema was only the last expression at the time of that visual instruction which, for more than 2,000 years, the leading educationists and innovators in teaching systems had urgently desired.

Visual Instruction

The motion picture with its animated images came to substitute the static fixed projections and the lack of life and reality in the old pictures, the wall drawings, and the stuffed birds. It came to complete the laboratory experiments, showing the young people what a product really represents while formerly merely the dry formula was all that was learnt, while its chemical composition was barely hinted at, and then without reference to its importance to the country's productive life.

To-day we are facing a further scientific development which is the prelude to a vast step in the field of education.

It is vast in numerous ways and under many aspects, in consequence it is desirable that we should assume our position at once so as to avoid two disadvantages: one being the arising of misunderstanding (as happened in the case of the cinema and the world of teaching) which may retard the utilisation of new means offered by science, a means that holds immense possibilities for evolution as did the fixed and moving pictures in their day, and secondly to avoid purely trade and money making influences turning television to uses capable of creating a repetition of what happened in the coming and growth of motion picture.

Important Questions

We are perfectly aware that very serious questions of an industrial and juridical character will arise with the coming of television, questions which affect directly the very future of the cinema industry in the course of time.

At the same time, connected with these serious questions, there are others of not less importance at the time when all humanity is endeavouring to give a higher educational tone to our social life, and therefore trying to raise the educational level of the masses.

It will be remembered that when the cinema appeared, the spirit of the early workers in this field of activity, like that of pioneers, turned with absolute spontaneity towards the simplest forms of knowledge, that is, of education. The analysis or synthesis of movement was nothing but an analysis or synthesis of the life which surrounds us, or escapes us, of which we so often are ignorant, while we ought to know it. After a few years, the documentaries disappeared, and the few films made from real life which the public had supported had vanished. The didactic and educational domain was completely swamped by the flood of amusement pictures.

It took some thirty years for the motion picture to gain a consciousness of its immense possibilities.

Its Possibilities.

All this, however, is but a beginning, and only touches the fringe of of the problem. A fleeting glance opens up a vision of exacting possibilities. If there is a point in which the technical improvement of cinematography and the activity of a country can meet for the purpose of obtaining better results, it is in the field of industry, which is not merely a collection of firms and factories, but is the rhythm, respiration and cadence of the national energies.

Side by side with the rural sentiment which wants to see the earth rich with grain and the peoples' homes blooming with health, we must have that sentiment for industry which exalts the creative faculties of man.

The greatness of a country is revealed in one way—by the smoking chimneys of its factories and industrial establishments. There is an army of peasants engaged in ploughing the valleys and making the mountain sides glow with green verdure, and at the same time there is an army of craftsmen handling fire for productive ends.

The cinema can be, in this connection, an instrument for spreading cognitions, for providing better technique and for knitting the nation together industrially and morally.

Vocational Films

Under these aspects, the educational motion picture finds its first task in the vocational film and the vocational trading film. We have to face here one of the principal themes of our argument.

What we have to do is to show the young people the various possibilities that are open to them in industry, at the same time leading them to make a choice corresponding to their interests, aptitudes, family

situation and condition of the labour market. We must, in a word, utilise to the maximum the energies and capabilities of the rising generation.

Reading is useful to begin with, and visits to factories and workshops will widen the first knowledge. An attendance to museum will also help to extend acquaintance with fact. A methodical teaching of the various trades and crafts by means of the motion picture will prove useful for completing the work.

Best Way of Illustration

If it is true that a craft or trade is a complex of operations aiming at a given end, the motion picture is, *par excellence*, the best way of illustration.

The decomposition of a craft into a certain number of technical movements can again be analysed into a number of smaller and less significant gestures or movements of the hands and feet, and in the film these movements and gestures find their best chance of being properly illustrated. A great deal can be done with acceleration, slow motion and colour cinematography to make things clear to the student.

We now come to the vocational training, that is, to teaching the apprentice who has chosen his craft or trade how to set about his work. It is a form of improvement of the first importance to increase the worker's output and general capacity according to the most modern systems of rationalising labour.

The workman is now made, and a task can be given him. It becomes then necessary to make the man technically perfect, to qualify him, to make him a specialist. And this not only in his interest but for the economic interest of the industrial concerns themselves.

Creative Influence

The cinema exercises on industry a finally creative influence. The fascination of the screen is often the cause or the originating impulse of new ideas. Even only considering that which is inherent to the spectacle, what advantages have not been derived by electrotechnics from the devices that have come into existence owing to the requirements of the sound film, and what further benefits will not accrue to mechanics and chemistry from the inevitable developments of the colour film? All forms of activity find an increment in cinematographic propaganda, whether documentary or theatrical, from architecture which teaches us to renovate our houses inside out, to sport which urges young people to daring, and improves industry owing to the incessant requirements for better wheels, screws, motors, etc.

The film, the task of which in this country is to spread a knowledge of a country's industrial life, may be demonstrative and illustrative of technique, but it should above all things stress the social value of the nation's industrial effort. A sense of national pride in the national industry must be created among the people such as to allow them to understand that a nation's life is not only lived in offices and libraries, or in the halls, but is closely and intimately bound up with the workman, the peasant and the poor.

THE VALUE OF MUSIC IN EDUCATION

IBNE HASAN KAISER, M.A.

A Need in Our Schools

The All-India Music Conference recently passed a resolution asking the heads of the various institutions to start compulsory music classes which, I think is a very sound proposal. From the standpoint of the individual, the national and international value of the subject India simply cannot afford to neglect or despise her music.

With education now a transferred subject in the hands of Indian ministers the national music of the country must be honoured, must be taught, must be financially upheld, and the first and the easiest means of doing this is to make an elementary course of class singing, with proper training in notation, *talam* and intonation, compulsory right up to the college.

The educational thought of the world looks on the importance of the inclusion of music in school curricula from three different standpoints. The Greek ideal of education considered music a subject which, with gymnastics alone, should be taught exclusively between the age of 7 and 14, rhythm and poetry being included in the term music. The modern Western attitude is to include music as a compulsory subject to be learnt by every student, but to a limited extent.

No Organised Training

The attitude of Indian educational authorities is to exclude music altogether from the curricula of high schools and boys' schools generally. Thus we find in India—where on all sides the evidence is that music is inextricably mixed up with the life of the people—there is no organised training upon which the people depend for the expression of emotions.

The Greeks, as expressed by Plato, considered that 'when youths have made a good beginning in play (gymnastics) and by the help of music have gained the habit of good order, then this habit of good order will accompany them in all their actions and be a principle of growth to them and if there be any fallen places in the State they will raise them again.'

At another time he says: 'Our education had two branches of gymnastic, which was occupied with the body and music the sister art, which infused a natural harmony into mind and literature.' It was not only in the West that music was at one time considered so fundamentally valuable to the character of the nation but in Asia also Confucius said, 'If one should desire to know whether a kingdom is well governed, if its morals are good or bad, the quality of its music will furnish the answer.'

With many of the Oriental races the acquiring of Occidental culture has resulted in the abandonment of their own. The Japanese are an example of this. Occidental music is now being widely spread through Japan and the natives are avid in its appreciation. It is not because it is great in itself. If a thing is inherently great, whether it be an art or a custom or merely an idea, it is never abandoned, as it is evident in Japanese paintings and decorative arts, which are their great means of expression. Instead of being abandoned as their music, they have profoundly impressed themselves on Western civilisation and have influenced the art of every country they have touched.

Indian music is therefore superior to that of Japan and many other countries who are ignorant of the fact. It is three thousand years old and is by far the most complicated and intricate system of the music of all nations, and a science hardly to be excelled by any creation of the human mind. Like all branches of learning, it is based upon the religious faiths, observances, legends and traditions of the country, depicting the social manners and customs of the people in the history of the times and words of the songs.

The Time Theory

Another distinguishing feature of our Indian music is its time theory, or the practice of assigning stated times of the day or night for singing the Ragas. This practice has existed in the country from time immemorial. The law-makers of olden days were ardent and profound students of nature. They unravelled the hidden secrets of sound by long study, and made sure that certain sounds harmonised with certain notes in certain seasons, and adjusted the notes in accordance with nature.

According to these law-givers the 24 hours of a night and day were divided into 8 parts each part lasting for 3 hours. The first morning part lasted from 6 to 9 o'clock in which Bhairon and all its species and Ramkali could be sung; 9 to 12 was the time for Bhairvi and Todee, 12 to 3 was the time for Bhimpasi and Dhaam. Similarly the time for each Raga was fixed without which it had no significance.

It is a pity that our music which has been attributed to divine origin for centuries past is in the hands mostly of illiterate artists. Their inborn prejudice and narrow-mindedness which prevents them from imparting their art is a thing that must be conquered. They must be made to realise the superiority of a national interest over a private interest. And they must be made to see that the greater the spread of education in music the greater will be the demand for their services, that by being givers in the first instance they will certainly be takers in the next.

A Suggestion

If music had to fulfil the noble mission that it sets before us in life, we should not allow it to degenerate but on the other hand put forth all our efforts to keep it pure and undefiled. Unless and until the level of the present musical education is raised, we will lose much of what has been left to our generation. For this purpose I would suggest that a Saṅgīta Committee should be formed whose business it should be to collect and preserve the obscure varieties of certain Ragas from these professionals and to fix their definitions, and the rule of singing them. They should prepare graded courses of study for the teaching of the various Ragas.

In addition to this pressing need this committee must also hasten to preserve in permanent form, by means of gramophone records the existing art of singing, the best specimens of which rest with the aged artists whom the impicable hand of death may snatch away any moment. The finest part of Indian music is incapable of notations. The shades of notes, the graces the gradations and the undulations cannot be put down. They have to be learnt from the gramophone when the artists are dead and gone. It is only in this way that our national music can be elevated and preserved from its present degradation and low status to which it is now sinking.

At Home and Abroad

Black American's Interest in India

At a crowded meeting of welcome to Nehru, India's great leader, in one of London's largest halls, leading personalities of Britain's democratic movement greeted the distinguished visitor and representative of millions of human beings. Outstanding on the platform was the giant form of one of the world's leading singers, Paul Robeson; musical critics record that, moved by this first encounter with Nehru, he sang as never before in his life.

Paul Robeson indicated the strong feeling and sympathy of the Negro people towards India in the following splendid address of welcome:

He said: "For a long time I have wanted to meet Nehru, the great Indian leader and it is indeed a rare privilege to be given the opportunity to say a few words of welcome.

"We in Black America and other parts of the world, have closely watched the Indian struggle and have been conscious of its importance for us. To-day, with the events in Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria and the West Indies fresh in our minds—events which are the result of a common onslaught by reactionary forces working in close collaboration—to-day it has become increasingly clear that the struggle for an enlightened and progressive European Democracy and the colonial struggle for democratic freedom are inter-dependent and inseparable.

"And as there is common action by the opposing forces—so in even greater measure must there be unified action by the democratic and progressive forces. In fact, many distressing problems would long ago have been solved had this unity existed.

"The struggle of the Indian people, their courage, the emergence of leaders like Nehru give the lie to tales of a hopelessly backward people, of a decayed culture, and so on, *ad nauseum*. And there is one thing, it seems to me, we people of long oppression must remember; we must not be talked out of our heritage.

"We must be proud of our traditions and where possible draw upon them to enrich the contribution we can make to a world which can ill afford to lose whatever of value human beings have created.

"This applies as well to the great folk cultures of the working and peasant masses in Europe, Asia and America.

"The comradely contribution by different peoples to a common civilisation is no longer a dream, for on one-sixth of the earth's surface such a civilisation does exist, and these peoples with their rich nationalist culture firmly bound into one socialist union stand as a bulwork against the forces of reaction, and a leading force in the struggle for peace.

"Daily it becomes more and more apparent that this struggle for peace, as was said long ago, is indivisible.

"And I am certain that under the leadership of men such as Nehru, the people of India will undoubtedly remain in the front rank of the progressive human forces of our time."

Everest Climber Returns

No plans had been made by the Everest Expedition regarding another attempt to climb the mountain, Mr. Odell, a member of the party, informed the Press.

Mr. Odell, who was accompanied by his wife, arrived from Kalimpong.

They are leaving for Colombo, from where they will sail for England.

Bohemia-Silesia Border

It is officially announced from Waldenburg (Silesia) that the Czechs have started mobilising troops on all the border districts from Troppau to Trautenau. The streets are occupied by troops and barricades, machine-guns and rifles are visible through binoculars.

The Sudeten population is represented as becoming restless because the military measures are damaging their crops during the harvest. The area indicated runs for 100 miles along the border between Bohemia and Silesia.

The news of the reported Czech mobilisation was announced by the official German News Agency—

Czech Government officially deny the report of mobilisation on the Silesian or any other frontier.

A *communiqué* declares that "no abnormal troop movements have taken place today or any other day on the Silesian or any other border and none are contemplated."

The Czech Legation in London categorically denies that Czechs are mobilising, *Reuter* was informed that the Czech Minister in London had spoken to Prague in the afternoon and was informed that there was nothing unusual to report.

King's Visit to France

Almost on the eve of the King's visit to Paris Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier exchanged cordial letters, it is understood, re-affirming the close and friendly relations of the two countries and the close association of their International policies. Official circles emphasise that the letters contained no new commitment of any kind. It is assumed that the correspondence touched on the problems of Spain, Czechoslovakia and the Mediterranean.

Lord Halifax accompanied the King. He will have an opportunity of consulting M. Bonnet, especially with regard to the position in Czechoslovakia, which, it is felt in London, might well develop into an even more difficult problem in the next month or so, although news received in London indicates that the Czech Government are doing everything possible to meet the just demands of the Sudetens.

Anglo-French Harmony

An official *communiqué* issued in Paris at the close of the conversations between the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, the French Premier M. Daladier and the French Foreign Minister, M. Bonnet, affirms that "the complete harmony of views established during the visit of the French Ministers to London on April 28 and 29 last is entirely maintained."

Soviet Troops' Activity in Manchukuo

The Japanese Ambassador in Moscow has been instructed to protest against the alleged occupation of Changku Feng hill by the Soviet troops and the killing of a Japanese gendarme there.

A Foreign Office spokesman said that it depended entirely on the Soviet attitude whether the incident became serious or not.

Meanwhile, the Japanese military authorities have not yet received a reply to their demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On the contrary, according to Press reports, there has been a further concentration of Soviet troops in Changku Feng, and Soviet artillery are alleged to have been sent to the mouth of the Tumen river on the Soviet-Korea border.

League Union

Mr. Maxwell Garnett, Secretary, League of Nations Union, has resigned following an adverse vote by the executive committee of the Union.

Lord Lytton has explained that the vote adverse to Mr. Garnett was not a vote for a policy of political propaganda as against one of education in League principles, as Mr. Garnett had suggested. The reasons that caused some members of the executive committee to desire new secretary were, he says, very diverse.

Franco's Relentless Advance

The eve of the second anniversary of the Spanish war sees General Franco's forces relentlessly approaching Valencia along the Teruel-Sagunto road in one of the major battles of the war. An advance averaging four miles is claimed today. Fighting is proceeding on the outskirts of Barracas.

With modern scientific entrenchments with which the countryside is seamed the Republicans are offering obstinate but fruitless resistance. Pounded by a terrific artillery barrage and a rain of heavy bombs, the defenders are unable to sustain the final assault of the infantry and after a moment of sanguinary fighting the resistance usually collapses.

Pandit Nehru

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru fulfilled a number of personal engagements including a visit to the Soviet Embassy where he met M. Maisky, the Ambassador.

He left for Paris at the head of the Indian delegation to the International Peace campaign. The principal speakers at the gathering were Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Cecil and Pandit Nehru.

The conference discussed the bombing of open towns in China and Spain and medical aid to China. Bombing on the North-West Frontier and the Indian boycott of Japanese goods in sympathy with China were also raised in this connexion.

Mr. Krishna Menon was the permanent delegate to the conference, supported by five or six other Indian representatives.

Ex-King Amanullah

A new organization called the Khilafat party is being formed among Khawaezel Mohmands by two tribesmen who recently returned to Waziristan after several months' stay as guests of the Faqir of Ipi. They have already enlisted a number of members.

The object of the party is said to be the restoration of ex-King Amanullah Khan to the throne at Kabul.

Privileges and Commons

The House of Commons, without a division, agreed to a motion of Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Liberal leader, remitting the question as to who summoned Mr. Duncan Sandys, Conservative M. P. for Norwood, to appear before a military court of inquiry, to the Select Committee which is now considering the Official Secrets Act affair.

The motion re-affirmed the view that the summons was a breach of privilege.

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, who had moved that the resolution passed in the House on July 11, agreeing that the report of the Committee of Privileges be rescinded and the report recommitted to the Committee of Privileges, accepted Sir Archibald Sinclair's amendment.

The Prime Minister said that the Government had expressed the opinion that it was the proper course to adopt.

The Select Committee met again and it is understood, so far as its original terms of reference went, the Committee has finished taking evidence.

Germany and Manchukuo Sign Trade Pact

A Manchukuo-German trade treaty has been signed, it is understood, to provide that Germany shall double her purchases of soya beans and Manchukuo shall double her purchases of German machinery.

Germany will grant Manchukuo credits to the extent of 65,000,000 yen.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News & Views relating to cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Rangoon University

His Excellency the Chancellor has directed that a Convocation of Rangoon University be held on December 8 for the conferment of degrees and post-graduate diplomas.

Patna University

Pandit Amar Nath Jha, M.A., Head of the Department of English, and at present acting Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, has, it is understood, been invited to address the Patna University Convocation in November.

Patna University Lectures

Mr. Manu Subedar, who has been appointed Banaili Reader in Indian Economics, Patna University, will give a series of lectures, beginning on August 1. One of the subjects will be "Federal Finance."

Professor Amarnath Jha

Professor Amar Nath Jha, M.A., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, was given a welcome address at Darbhanga in the premises of the Co-operative Bank by the members of the local Maithil Sahitya Parisad. The function was a grand success.

Panjab University

A press note issued by the Registrar of the University of the Panjab says that the words "Indian Vernaculars" have been changed into "Modern Indian Languages" wherever used in the Panjab University calendar and the examinations known as the "vernacular languages examinations" shall hence forward be styled as "examinations in Modern Indian Languages."

High School Course in Madras

The reorganisation of the University and High School courses of education as proposed by the Government of Madras in their communique issued in June, 1937, by the Interim Ministry came up for consideration at a meeting of the Committee of the Syndicate of the Madras University, Mr. S. E. Ranganathan, Vice-Chancellor, presiding.

The Principals of various First Grade Colleges and other educational authorities attended the meeting. It was proposed in the communique to abolish intermediate classes of the University Course and to extend S. S. L. C. by one year and have three years' course for B. A. Degree examination.

After two and half hours' discussion to-day the Syndicate Committee is understood to have unanimously decided on the retention of Intermediate classes and decided not to make any change in the existing arrangements of the University course.

As regards the High School course, it is understood, the Committee was in favour of an alteration by substituting the Matriculation system for the present S. S. L. C. course and entrusting the University authorities with the control of Matriculation Examination.

Andhra University

The Annual Convocation of the Andhra University has been, with the approval of H. E. the Chancellor, fixed to take place on Thursday, the 1st December, 1938. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has kindly accepted the invitation of the Chancellor to deliver the Convocation Address.

Andhra University Assam Medical Council

On the recommendation of the Assam Medical Council the Governor of Assam has directed that the possession of any or either of the M.B. and B.S. degrees and the L.M.S. diploma granted by the Andhra University shall entitle a person to have his name entered in the Register of Registered Practitioners maintained in this province.

Travancore University

The Institute of Textile Technology of the Travancore University will commence working from the 22nd August. It will provide instruction for diploma courses in textile technology and textile chemistry and certificate courses in weaving handloom and power looms, bleaching, dyeing and embroidery, for women only and carpet making and coir weaving. The diploma courses will extend over a period of three years and the certificate courses over two years. Six students will be admitted to each of the diploma and the certificate courses.

Patna University

A Patna University *communiqué* says:

A large number of applications are being addressed direct to the Vice-Chancellor, in the majority of cases, by students who do not belong to the Patna University, praying that they may be allowed to appear at the examinations of this University without attending lectures.

Such prayers seem to be based on a misunderstanding of the Government Notification No. 1460-E, dated June, 11, 1938, which has been published in the papers for general information.

It is therefore hereby notified that the concession contained in the Government notification referred to above extends only to the students who have appeared and failed at the examination of the Patna University, and "it does not extend to the students of other Universities, nor to those who have not failed at an examination of the Patna University."

Students, to whom the concession applies, are not required to apply to the Vice-Chancellor or to the Registrar at all. All that they are required

to do is to apply, in due time, to the Principal of the college from which they last appeared and failed, before the date of the test examination in their college, and the Principal will send up such students as ex-students, if they pass the test examination and fulfil other conditions required by the Regulations.

Students in general are again advised that it is futile to address applications direct to the Vice-Chancellor, who is not in a position to decide matters off-hand without reference to the Rules and Regulations and to office records, according to the nature of the case in all of which the assistance of his staff is necessary.

Such procedure on the part of the students only entails delay in the disposal of business.

It is therefore advised that all applications from students should be addressed only to the Registrar, and submitted as far as possible through the head of the institutions (Principal or Head Master or Inspector of School as the case may be).

All-Orissa Students' Federation

Brisk propaganda is going on for the coming session of the All-Orissa Students' Federation which is going to take place here during the month of August. A great enthusiasm prevails in the town among the student community. The Secretary of the Puri Town League has applied to the District Magistrate to obtain permission for holding the Conference in Puri Zilla School. Babu Binsidhar Mahapatra, a student of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, is living here permanently to work with the local students in this connection.

To Study Flood Problem In Orissa

Sir M. Visvesvaraya has written a letter to Mahatma Gandhi stating that he would visit Orissa in connection with the flood problem. Although it is most likely that he would go to Orissa sometime in August when the rivers are generally flooded, but the definite date has not yet been fixed.

It may be mentioned here that on the request of the Orissa Cabinet through Mahatma Gandhi to suggest measures for the permanent solution of the flood problem in Orissa, Sir M. Visvesvaraya agreed to take up the question. The purpose of his visit is to have a personal knowledge of the condition in the province.

Raipur College

The Hon'ble Pt. B. S. Shukla, late Minister for Education of C. P. and Berar, performed the opening ceremony of the Chhattisgarh Arts College, Raipur, on 16th July, 1938, when the said institution started on first year of its academic career.

Historical Records Commission

Professor D. N. Banerji, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca, has been appointed by the Government of India to be a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, for three years with effect from July 17, 1938.

Ajmer-Merwara

A sum of about Rs. 4½ lakhs distributed as follows is likely to be spent this year on education in Ajmer-Merwara according to the budget provision for the year :—

	Rs.
(1) University Education	... 83,500
(2) Secondary Education	... 2,32,600
(3) Primary Education	... 94,400
(4) Special Education	... 16,500
(5) General (Direction, Inspection, Scholarships and Miscellaneous)	... 42,500
Total	... 4,74,500

The main features of the programme drawn up for the year consist in opening of primary schools to meet the increasing demand for expansion of primary education in rural areas, provision of additional teachers in primary schools for girls, provision of refresher courses for teachers and strengthening of the inspecting staff.

Twenty-five new primary schools, of which 15 for boys and 10 for girls, will be opened during the year. It is proposed also to add one more teacher to each of the 10 existing girls' schools which have only one teacher, at present.

Sanction has been accorded to a scheme for the construction of 4 hostels for the vernacular middle schools at Pisangan, Srinagar, Harmora and Masuda at a cost of Rs. 56,000 (non-recurring), and a Government building at Deoli has been placed at the disposal of the Education Department for use as a hostel for the vernacular middle school there. Provision has also been made for a special non-recurring grant of Rs. 7,900 to certain non-Government secondary schools. Vocational classes have been added to some of the secondary schools.

Training College

The establishment of a Training College for graduate teachers under the control of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior and the opening of a Women's Training Class in the Central Girls' School, Ajmer, are at present under the active consideration of the Government.

Vernacular Teachers' Training Classes already exist in the Government Normal School, Ajmer and the Mission Vernacular Final School, Beawar, and Training Classes for primary teachers are held at Bhim and Bhinai. A training class for woman teachers is also maintained at Nasirabad by the Presbyterian Mission, while some pupil teachers are sent to the Delhi Women's Training School.

Steps have also been taken for the strengthening of the inspecting staff. In addition to the combined post of Superintendent of Education for Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Central India, there are already for Ajmer-Merwara alone one District Inspector of Schools and two District Assistant Inspectors, the number of District Assistant Inspectors has been increased.

from two to three, and a new whole-time post of Inspectress of Schools has been sanctioned from 1937-38.

The strengthening of the inspecting staff, which provides for more adequate supervision and inspection of schools, will, it is hoped, give further impetus to the improvement and expansion of education especially in the rural areas.

Indian Art in London

The great art treasures of the Indian Museum at South Kensington have been saved from disposal by the combined efforts of the India Society and East India Association.

The recent reorganization undertaken by the Ministry of Works in London in connection with the museum in London contained proposals which would imperil the future of the Indian Museum at South Kensington. This museum has been in existence for a long time and was the property of the East India Company. After the passing of the Act of 1858 it was transferred to the hands of the Secretary of State for India.

Representations were made by the India Society and the Council of the East India Association to the Under-Secretary of State for India pointing out that the Indian Museum was the sole repository of Indian culture in the centre of the Empire and shines both as an educational centre and as a sign of esteem which Indian culture has won for itself in the West. It was also brought to the notice of the Under-Secretary of State that it was an institution where facilities existed for the instruction of students in the London University, and probationers of the Indian Civil Service and Indian Army. This representation was also supported by the Royal Society of Arts and the Royal Asiatic Society and the School of Oriental Studies.

The Under-Secretary of State has been successful in getting the Office of Works of His Majesty's Government to so develop the Victoria and Albert Museum that room can be found for housing the whole of the Indian collection.

Miscellany

LASBAX'S THIRD EMPIRE FOR FRANCE

In the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1936, a paper on "The People and the State in Neo-Democracy" was published by the present writer. It was maintained that "in spite of all seeming *digvijayas* (world-conquests) of dictatorship the expansion of democracy is the most outstanding fact of societal organisations and theories throughout the world." In that analysis the categories, neo-democracy and neo-despotism, were used as political correlates of the economic categories, neo-socialism and neo-capitalism respectively. The economic and the political categories were taken as constituting one socio-cultural *Gesamt* (form-complex). A verification of this standpoint was found in the ideology of Professor Otto Koellhauser's *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Staatslehre* or Sketch of General Political Theory (Tuebingen, 1933) and *Deutsches Verfassungsrecht* or German Law of the Constitution (Berlin, 1935).

The conceptions or rather hopes of a French author for his *patrie* may likewise be cited as another verification. In 1934 was published at Paris Professor Emil Lasbax's *La France ira-t-elle à un Troisième Empire?* (Is France moving towards a Third Empire?) What follows is a resumé of some of the leading ideas of Lasbax.

Entire social existence exhibits the rhythm of three items, and this rhythm repeats itself in history, says Lasbax. In the political domain the triad consists of royalty, republic and empire in succession. The regime of royalty is followed by that of republic and the regime of republic by that of empire. But royalty, republic and empire are to be taken as constitutional types of a very general or generic character. Each is capable of denoting the most diverse varieties of political experience.

In this conception of the political categories it would be absurd according to Lasbax to take all imperialism as nothing but Bonapartist imperialism. Each and every variety of imperialism is not to be taken as belonging ideologically to the "right" or as equivalent to putting republican legality to sleep.

The "balance of history," furnishes us to-day with *coup d'états* leading to authoritarian governments, bolshevism, fascism and national-socialism, such as involve the destruction of the liberty of individuals. A new "civism" has been developing which represents the philosophy neither of the "subject" of old monarchies nor of the "citizen" of modern republics. And this does not appear to be transient or transitory. These dictatorships have come to stay and cannot be regarded as constituting a danger to established order.

It is not in the irrational impulses of a crowd that the explanation of these phenomena is to be sought but in the vital processes of a social organism. Communism and reaction against communism—these two conflicting currents among the peoples have come to a common platform of mutual solidarity. One does not encounter here the caprices of individuals like Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler. Rather, it is the powerful collective forces operating in the depths and not on the surface of society that are incarnated by these individuals.

The cycle of royalty followed by republic and of that again by empire does not happen arbitrarily or by accident. It represents a vital rhythm corresponding to the rhythm of individual lives: infancy, puberty, youth, manhood, etc. In politics as in individual life every transition implies a crisis and this crisis can be "foreseen" and "treated" by the biologist, the hygienist or the medical expert. There is in this sense such a thing as the medicine of societies which should be able to declare that no regime of political life is destined to be eternal or that a regime which was necessary and valuable in the past is not likely to be useful in the future. The political regimes cannot be changed, postponed or prevented at one's own sweet will just as one cannot possibly alter the succession of infancy, adolescence, etc. The succession of the three political regimes has been seen in ancient Greece, ancient Rome as well as twice in French history down to 1789-1870.

From 1872 to 1875 the constitution of France was factually royalist, prepared as it was for King Henry V, Count of Chambord. It was not before 1875 that the republic was formally proclaimed although the constitution continues to be republican only in name. Sociologically, then, the cycle is now ripe for an empire, believes Lasbax as prophet.

The dictators of to-day do not have to catch the imagination of the masses by riding a black horse in the uniform of a general with a hat of white feathers, says he. They are clothed in the daily dress of the ordinary citizens, the democratic costume of the parliamentarians. Indeed, they make bold to frequent the lobbies of Parliament. Nay, it is not to the "right" that they care to address their charms and sorceries but to the "left." According to Lasbax the progressive march towards the Empire is already in evidence in France. The Senate is becoming more influential than the *Chambre des Députés*. The social conscience of the French people is getting used to ordinances, decrees, full powers, etc. of the government. The legislature is being sacrificed inch by inch to the Executive.

The empire as conceived by Lasbax is an intermediate form of government. It is a mixture of royalty and republic. It is a synthesis of contraries.

The empire of Bonaparte was an original synthesis of the royalty of Louis XIV and the republican reforms of the Convention (1793). The Second Empire synthesised the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philip and the plebiscite suffrage of the National Assembly (1848). Exactly in the same manner a new imperialism, when it makes its appearance in France, is bound to combine the parliamentary monarchism of Henry V (the original constitution of 1875) with the subsequent achievements of the present Third Republic after it has successively passed through conservatism, radicalism, radical-socialism and socialism.

The French people find themselves to-day in the *milieu* of the birth-throes of the Third Empire. And the pivot of this imperialism in France, as in Germany under Hitler, is communism or socialism, the latest phase of economism,—and not the forms, more or less monarchistic, of old spiritual sovereignties or theocracies. And it is here that the Third Empire encounters on a common ground the "neo-socialism" of to-day which is trying to get itself relieved of Marxist extremism and the materialistic excesses of Marxian ideology.

Lasbax is the professor of philosophy at the University of Clermont-Ferrand. Among his other works are to be mentioned *Le Problème du Mal* (The Problem of the Evil), *La Hiérarchie dans l'Univers chez Spinoza* (The Hierarchy in the Universe according to Spinoza), *La Cité Humaine* (The

Human City, Organization or Society) in two volumes, etc. Lasbax is the General Secretary of the International Society of Sociology as well as the Editor of the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris). It is worth while to observe that like Gaston Richard of Bordeaux, Lasbax is one of the exponents of the anti-Durkheimian sociology in France. In *La Cité Humaine* he has exhibited his ideological affiliations to the creative individualism of Espinas and Bergson. As an instance of his contacts with India to-day, be it observed incidentally, may be noted his paper in French presented to the Ramakrishna Centenary International Parliament of Religions (Calcutta, 1937) on "The Rhythm of Sacrifice and Prayer."¹

RENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CORPORATIVE STATE AS AN EXPRESSION OF FASCIST TOTALITARIANISM.

The positive aspects of the Fascist state as contrasted with the negative ones of the others were emphasised by Mussolini in 1929 as follows:—

"The Fascist State is not a night-watchman, solicitous only of the personal safety of the citizens; nor is it organised exclusively for the purpose of guaranteeing a certain degree of material prosperity and relatively peaceful conditions of life. A board of directors would do as much. Neither is it exclusively political, divorced from practical realities and holding itself aloof from the multifarious activities of the citizen and the nation. The State, as conceived and realised by Fascism, is a spiritual and ethical entity for securing the political, juridical, and economic organisation of the nation—an organisation which in its origin and growth is a manifestation of the spirit."

In 1932 while writing *La Dottrina del Fascismo*² Mussolini in justification of his antipathy to the negativism of the liberal state made the following observations:—

"Since 1929 economic and political development have everywhere emphasised these truths. The importance of the State is rapidly growing. The so-called crisis can only be settled by State action and within the orbit of the State. Where are the ghosts of the Jules Simons who, in the early days of liberalism proclaimed that the 'State should endeavour to render itself useless and prepare to hand in its resignation?' Or of MacCulloch who, in the second half of the last century, urged that the State should desist from governing too much? And what of the English Bentham who considered that all industry asked of government was to be left alone, and of the German Humboldt who expressed the opinion that the best Government was a 'lazy' one? What would they say now to the unceasing, inevitable and urgently requested intervention of government in business? It is true that the second generation of economists was less uncompromising in this respect than the first, and that even Adam Smith left the door ajar—however cautiously—for government intervention in business."

The past history and fortunes of liberalism are not glorious in Mussolini's appraisal. His view finds expression in the following statements:—

"Liberalism really flourished for fifteen years only. It rose in 1830 as a reaction to the Holy Alliance which tried to force Europe to recede further

¹ *The Religions of the World* (Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 175-117

² Available in English as *The Doctrine of Fascism* (Florence, 1930).

back than 1789; it touched its zenith in 1848 when even Pius IXth was a liberal. Its decline began immediately after that year. If 1848 was a year of light and poetry, 1849 was a year of darkness and tragedy. The Roman Republic was killed by a sister republic, that of France. In that same year Marx, in his famous *Communist Manifesto* launched the gospel of socialism. In 1851 Napoleon III made his illiberal *coup d'état* and ruled France until 1870 when he was turned out by a popular rising following one of the severest military defeats known to history. The victor was Bismarck who never even knew the whereabouts of liberalism and its prophets. It is symptomatic that throughout the XIXth century the religion of liberalism was completely unknown to so highly civilised a people as the Germans but for one parenthesis which has been described as the 'ridiculous parliament of Frankfort' which lasted just one season. Germany attained her national unity outside liberalism and in opposition to liberalism, a doctrine which seems foreign to the German temperament, essentially monarchical, whereas liberalism is the historic and logical anteroom to anarchy. The three stages in the making of German unity were the three wars of 1804, 1866 and 1870, led by such 'liberals' as Moltke and Bismarck. And in the upbuilding of Italian unity liberalism played a very minor part when compared to the contribution made by Mazzini and Garibaldi who were not liberals. But for the intervention of the illiberal Napoleon III we should not have had Lombardy, and without that of the illiberal Bismarck at Sadowa and at Sedan very probably we should not have had Venetia in 1866 and in 1870 we should not have entered Rome. The years going from 1870 to 1915 cover a period which marked, even in the opinion of the high priests of the new creed, the twilight of their religion attacked by decadentism in literature and by activism in practice. Activism: that is to say, nationalism, futurism, fascism."

The totalitarian state of Fascism condemns the negativism of the liberal state. According to Mussolini the "Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value." It is "a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values." This totalitarian State therefore condemns not only socialism but even trade unionism. It is the corporative economy that agrees with the Fascist totalitarian concept.

The position is described by Mussolini as follows:—

"No individuals or groups (political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes) can be outside the State. Fascism is therefore opposed to Socialism to which unity within the State (which amalgamates classes into a single economic and ethical reality) is unknown, and which sees in history nothing but the class struggle. Fascism is likewise opposed to trade-unionism as a class weapon. But when brought within the orbit of the State, Fascism recognises the real needs which gave rise to socialism and trade-unionism, giving them due weight in the guild or corporative system in which divergent interests are co-ordinated and harmonised in the unity of the State."

One may naturally inquire as to whether the professedly anti-liberal; anti-democratic, anti-socialistic totalitarian state of Fascism is not monarchical absolutism of certain medieval or ancient epochs. Mussolini is a futurist and is not prepared to admit that his totalitarianism has anything to do with the human experiences previous to 1789. He is emphatic in his views as follows:—

"History does not travel backwards. The Fascist doctrine has not taken De Maistre as its prophet. Monarchical absolutism is of the past,

and so is ecclesiastical. Dead and done for are feudal privileges and the division of society into closed, uncommunicating castes. Neither has the Fascist conception of authority anything in common with that of the police-ridden State. A party holding 'totalitarian' rule over a nation, is a new departure in history. There are no points of reference nor of comparison."

The final *dénouement*, as it were, of the totalitarian positive state has found expression in the corporations.¹ In November, 1933, Mussolini passed a resolution to the effect that

"The National Council of Corporations:

"define corporations as the instrument which, under the aegis of the State, carries out the complete organic and unitarian regulation of production with a view to the expansion of the wealth, political power and well-being of the Italian people;

"declare that the number of corporations to be formed for the main branches of production should, on principle, be adequate to meet the real needs of national economy;

"establish that the general staff of each corporation shall include representatives of State administration, of the Fascist Party, of capital, of labour and of experts;

"assign to the corporations as their specific tasks: conciliation, consultation (compulsory on problems of major importance) and the promulgation, through the National Council of Corporations, of laws regulating the economic activities of the country;

"leave to the Grand Council of Fascism the decision on the further developments of a constitutional and political order which should result from the effective formation and practical working of the corporations."

While moving this resolution Mussolini observed as follows:

"When, the Grand Council was set up on January 13th, 1923, superficial observers may have viewed the event as the creation of a new organ. No, indeed, upon that day political liberalism was buried. By creating the Militia, the armed defence of the party and of the Revolution, and the Grand Council, the supreme organ of the Revolution, we entered definitely upon the road of Revolution, after dealing a death blow to all that stood for the theory and the practice of liberalism.

"To-day we are burying economic liberalism as well. The corporation operates in the economic field as the Grand Council and the Militia operate in the political field. Corporations mean regulated economy and therefore also controlled economy, for there can be no regulation without control. Corporations supersede socialism and supersede liberalism. They establish a new synthesis."

The philosophy of corporations is the exact antipodes of that of Marxism. In *lo stato corporativo* which has been functioning since February, 1934, "the class-struggle, understood in the Marxist sense signifying struggle between workers grouped on one side and masters grouped on the other, is replaced by debates on matters concerning various categories of producers. Disputes or debates of this nature may arise between various categories of workers, or between various categories of masters, or even between masters and workers, but they are viewed as one of the inevitable forms of human restlessness, indeed of human life, and it is because such disputes can be

¹ Mussolini: *The Corporate State* (Florence, 1936), containing Mussolini's lectures, the Labour Charter as well as the laws on the syndicates and the corporations.

settled and transformed into as many agreements that human life progresses with unrelenting and unbroken trend.

Since national life should develop in a manner profitable to one and all, after creating organs to represent individual and particular interests, namely, the syndicates, it became necessary to establish links between these interests, in order that they might merge, or in the event of disputes, that difficulties might be settled. These connecting links, which establish collaboration, are provided by the corporations. In embryo the corporation was conceived as an organ where masters and workers might come in touch with one another and establish co-operation. Once the initial concept of the corporation was fully elaborated on the lines set forth in the Labour Charter, the corporation took definite shape through the Act of February 5th, 1934, as the organ for collaboration between all the categories engaged within a given cycle of production, viewed as a compound of products and exchanges which go to the making of a certain branch of economic activity.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CORPORATIONS AND SYNDICATES OF ITALIAN ECONOMY

The foundation of economic life in *lo stato mussoliniano* is to be found in the syndicates.¹ In Anglo-American ideology the syndicates of Fascist Italy are nothing but (1) trade unions and (2) employers' associations. It should be observed at once that the syndicates of French or international syndicalism are identical with trade unions as known in the English-speaking world. In pre-Fascist Italy also the syndicalists were but trade-unionists like their French, British and other comrades. Attention is to be specially drawn to the fact that Mussolini's totalitarianism has sought to describe the employers' associations by the same term which is used for the associations of workmen. There should be no ground for suspecting that Fascism is anti-labour or non-labour. Perhaps it is pro-labour with vengeance.

The syndicates of totalitarian Italy in the five big branches of economic life may be enumerated in the following manner on the strength of official documents in English:

A. In Agriculture: (a) workingmen: four categories; (b) employers: four categories.

B. In Industry: (a) workingmen: twenty categories, (b) employers: forty-five categories.

C. In Trade and Commerce: (a) workingmen: five categories, (b) employers: thirty-seven categories.

D. In Banking and Insurance: (a) workingmen: four categories, (b) employers: twelve categories.

E. In the Arts and Professions: twenty-two categories.

The fifth branch does not contemplate any workingmen. In each of the other four branches the syndicates of the workingmen function independently of those of the employers.

It is with the object of establishing connecting links or *liaison* between the workingmen and the employers that the corporations have been devised. The corporations are twenty-two in number as follows:²

A. In Agriculture, Industry and Commerce; eight, e.g., corporation of cereals, corporation of sugar, corporation of textiles, etc.

¹ G. Bortolotto: *Diritto Corporativo* (Milan, 1934), pp. 65-68; 106-121.

² G. Bortolotto: *Diritto Corporativo* (Milan, 1934), pp. 161-166.

B. In Industry and Commerce: eight, e.g., corporation of metal and engineering, corporation of clothing trades, etc.

C. In Public Services; six, e.g., corporation of the arts and professions, corporation of inland transport, corporation of credit and insurance, etc.

In order to understand how solidarity and harmony between the classes are brought about in and through these corporations it is worthwhile to examine the constitution of, say, the corporation of chemical trades.

The Council of the corporation of chemical trades consists of a President and 68 members, as follows:—

3 representatives of the National Fascist Party;

3 employers and 3 workers representing inorganic acids, alkalis, chlorine, heavy gases and other inorganic chemical products;

3 employers and 3 workers representing fertilizers and other chemical products used in farming;

3 employers and 3 workers representing explosives;

1 employer and 1 worker representing phosphorus and matches;

1 employer and 1 worker representing plastics;

2 employers and 2 workers representing synthetic dyes, medicines and photographic requisites;

2 employers and 2 workers representing pigments, paints, inks, shoe and leather polishes and creams;

2 employers and 2 workers representing soap, candles and glycerine;

1 employer and 1 worker representing tanning products;

1 employer and 1 worker representing tanning industries;

2 employers and 2 workers representing essential oils, perfumes, synthetic oils;

2 employers and 2 workers representing mineral oils;

1 employer and 1 worker representing distillation of coal and tar and bituminous substances;

2 employers and 2 workers representing pharmaceutical products;

1 representative of chemists;

1 representative of pharmacists;

1 representative of agricultural co-operative societies.

The total number of employers includes two representatives of persons managing industrial and commercial concerns.

The corporations can therefore function as central *liaison* organs. By the Act of February, 1934 they are empowered to fix tariffs for labour and professional services and prices for the sale of goods to the public at special terms. In other words, both prices and wages are settled by workingmen and employers after discussion at a round table, so to say, in which the state and the National Fascist Party also have a voice.

BHNOY KUMAR SARKAR

ARTIFICIAL TEXTILE FIBRES IN GERMANY

German imports of cotton—especially of American cotton—have declined in recent years, says the *Agricultural Situation* (Washington, D.C.). From 1933 through 1937, net imports from all sources dropped from 1,669,000 bales to 1,129,000 bales—a reduction of 540,000 bales within 5 years. Most of the reduction was in imports of American cotton.

Reason for the decrease is to be found in the increased German production of textile raw materials—from 47,000 short tons in 1933 to 227,000

in 1937. Production of staple fibre ("viskra") alone, in 1937, was the equivalent of more than 500,000 bales of cotton.

The German Institute for Business Research has estimated that whereas production of textile raw materials in 1932 was only about 5 per cent. of consumption requirements (a relationship which had been maintained practically since the World War), production in 1937 was more than 22 per cent. of domestic consumption.

For more than 20 years, Germany has been experimenting with the use of wood-cellulose in the production of artificial textile fibres. Processes of manufacturing continuous filament rayon were developed; but it was not until the advent of its program of "autarchy" (self-sufficiency) corresponding to our *Swadeshi* that Germany attempted production of staple fibre on a large scale.

Within 5 years, from 1933 to 1937, the production of staple fibre was increased from less than 6,000 short tons to more than 110,000 short tons. Meanwhile, production of rayon increased from 31,000 short tons to 62,800 short tons. A further substantial increase in production of these fibres is indicated for 1938 by recent additions to plant manufacturing capacity.

German production of natural fibres such as flax, hemp, and wool also has increased during the last 5 years. Production of flax fibre for spinning was increased from about 3,400 short tons in 1933 to more than 37,000 in 1937; hemp production rose from 220 short tons to nearly 8,300; wool-production increased from 5,700 short tons to about 8,200.

The combined production of textile raw materials in Germany—1925 to date—is shown in the following table:

Year.	Agriculturally produced.	Industrially produced.	Total.
	short tons.	short tons.	short ton
1925	42,500	14,000	56,500
1928	20,700	25,400	46,100
1933	9,400	37,600	47,000
1936	46,300	1,014,000	1,47,600
1937	53,900	173,100	2,27,000

Production costs of staple fibre have been reduced in recent years, and the quality and suitability of the fibre improved. Nevertheless, the cost is still high relative to cotton; an additional unfavourable factor is that the timber which has been cut for the manufacture of this product has exceeded the new growth.

Even allowing for an increase in timber supplies through the recent acquisition of Austria, Germany eventually will be confronted with the problem of importing larger quantities of timber for the production of cellulose or of improving larger quantities of textile raw materials, particularly cotton.

Substantial quantities of timber can be obtained from neighbouring countries willing to accept German goods in payment and it appears likely that Germany will favour such imports in preference to imports of overseas—particularly of American—cotton.

It must be recognized, however, that under the present German system of clearing agreements, imports are limited by the amount of German goods that can be absorbed by the other parties to the agreements. Recent developments indicate that many countries now supplying Germany with cotton and timber are being surfeited with German goods used in payment thereof.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner: A Biography By K. M. Panikkar, Oxford University Press. Price 18s.

This is a publication which is most welcome at this time. If the proposed federation of British Indian provinces with the Indian States is at all to take place, we should have a more intimate knowledge of the Indian States. Besides, the ideal of the progressive states under their enlightened rulers should be held up before the eyes of the less progressive ones for their emulation. Though the book is essentially a biography of H. H. The Maharaja Ganga Singhji of Bikaner written on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his rule, it shows at the same time what immense progress an Indian State can make—even though not particularly favoured by nature and with all the disadvantages and drawbacks of their status—in the course of half a century, if it has the good fortune to have a true statesman like the present Maharaja at its helm. Under the rule of Maharaja Ganga Singhji a desert State has been miraculously transformed. Irrigation has fertilised Bikaner and done away with chronic famine; railway communications have been increased ten-fold; primary and secondary education have been widely disseminated; a legislative assembly with a non-official majority has been set up in the State, and municipalities, district boards and *panchayats* carry on local self-government. In place of a government of the mediaeval type, there is now a strong administrative machinery of the modern type worked from the centre. This is indeed a great record of achievement.

Besides what he has done for his own state, the Maharaja's biography is of importance to all students of Indian history for the great part he has taken in the wider fields of Indian and Imperial politics. When the Great War broke out he eagerly volunteered his services to fight for the British Empire. It was loyalty of this kind that placed England under a deep debt of gratitude to India and made it difficult for her to refuse to concede the legitimate demands of India for constitutional advance. The policy which followed of associating India in all important matters of imperial concern resulted in the nomination of representatives of India at the Imperial War Cabinet, the Imperial Conference and at the Peace Conference. The Maharaja of Bikaner was one of the three representatives of India at the Imperial Conference, served in the Imperial War Cabinet and along with Lord Sinha signed the Treaty of Versailles. It was also the efforts of the Maharaja seconded by Lord Sinha that secured for India a place among the original members of the League of Nations. That in every affair of importance, the Maharaja of Bikaner is regarded as the representative and spokesman of the Indian princes is evident from the fact that when the Chamber of Princes was constituted he was elected to be its first Chancellor.

It is common to suppose that the interests of the Indian princes and those of British India are distinct from each other. The Maharaja, by pleading on many occasions in public for greater political advance in British India and voicing the demands of India as a whole, has shown the way to that co-operation between British India and Indian States which alone can make the federation successful, and has earned for himself a position among the foremost statesmen in India.

Thus Mr. Panikkar in delineating the character and recording the achievements of one of the finest of Indian Princes has made a distinct contribution to Indian History, and writing as he does in a lucid style has been able to produce an eminently readable work.

A. P. D. G.

"India And Her Problems"—By T. R. Shankar. Published by P. R. Rama Iyar & Co., Ltd., Esplanade, Madras. Price As. 8.

Due no doubt to many forces at work the Indian problem has been pushed to the forefront of world's problems, and in this neat little volume before us Mr. T. R. Shankar, a keen and intelligent student of the problems of modern India, deals with the various aspects of Indian regeneration.

Within the short compass of this volume, the author has attempted a short but comprehensive survey of the Indian scene in its perspective and in detail.

His analysis is masterly. He attacks the problems of the day in seven exhaustive sections dealing with Socialism, Federation, the Wardha Scheme of Education and the Caste System. The Introduction deals with the inevitable repercussions of the contact of cultures between Britain and India. The young author has spared no logic to refute Marxian Socialism. His attack on Federation is forcible but when he comes to the Wardha Scheme, we are afraid, he lays himself open to the charge of being a bit rash. The education he has received has, in our opinion, to some extent, blurred his vision; and in his youthful enthusiasm for academic honours and theoretical gifts for the children of the soil, he has lost sight of the grim realities of the position in the country. How can, we ask, a dose of literature console a hungry stomach?

The language of the book is simple and the author has taken great pains to marshal facts.

KAMALAKANTA MOOKERJEE

Physics—An introductory text-book by H. J. Taylor. Pp. 448. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 5.

Many text-books in Physics are being written now-a-days, but hardly one can come across a book that is suitable for the beginners in Indian Universities. This book, however, seems to remove this long-felt want. According to the author, the aim throughout the book "has been to place the emphasis on fundamental," and it can safely be asserted that he has attained considerable success in that direction. In dealing with the subject matter in all the different branches of Physics, the author seems to keep in mind the rapid growth of that branch and he has presented the classical portions in such a way as to kindle a hankering for the knowledge for modern Physics. In this way the book will be a real acquisition to the young men of our country who intend to continue the study of Physical Science after the intermediate course of our Universities. The examples given at the end are illustrative and instructive and their solution will clarify the concepts formed in the study of the book.

The book however is not completely free from printing mistakes. Thus at page 97, the description of the high vacuum pumps does not agree with the figure at one point.

B. N. C.

Ourselves

[I. *The Late Viscount Santa Clara*.—II. *The Late MM. Gurucharan Tarkadarshuntirika*.—III. *Books, Manuscripts and Papers of the late Mammohan Ghose*.—IV. *Research on Colloid Soil Constituents*.—V. *Scheme for the Development of Fresh Water Fishes*.—VI. *Diploma in Anaesthetics*.—VII. *Professor Shahid Suhrawardy*.—VIII. *The late Sir Asutosh's Portrait*.—IX. *Portrait of the late Sir Desaprasad Saradchikary*.—X. *Premchand Roychand Studentship for 1937*.—XI. *Accommodation of students from Scheduled Castes*.—XII. *Rajshahi College*.—XIII. *Dates of University Examinations*.—XIV. *Results of L.T. and B.T. Examinations*.—XV. *Result of B.Com. Examination*.—XVI. *Result of the English Teachership Certificate Examination*.—XVII. *Result of Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (General), 1938*.—XVIII. *Result of Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (Geography), 1938*.—XIX. *Result of M.B. Examination*.—XX. *Appointment of Research Officer for investigating Problems of Mulberry Cultivation*.—XXI. *Prarthana Samaj, Bombay*.]

I. THE LATE VISCOUNT SANTA CLARA

Viscount Santa Clara who died recently at Kalimpong following an attack of dysentery was a lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies of our University. He belonged to the Spanish aristocracy and was originally known as Viscount Galarza. After some years spent as a student in Paris, he came out to Egypt, joining the University of Cairo as Professor of Philosophy. It was in Egypt that he learnt Arabic and the philosophy of Islam, becoming a convert to Mahomedanism. He had, however, to leave that country in 1931 when the decision of the Government to employ none but Egyptians came into force. He was afterwards appointed a lecturer in our University.

The late Viscount Santa Clara, who was a bachelor all his life, practised meditation for some hours daily and was a mystic himself. During his stay in Egypt he preached a new faith to which he gave the name of Holy Light or Santa Clara. He was a recluse by habit and wore a dress of black silk. He was a man of attractive personality with the charming courtesy of the old Spanish aristocracy. As a lecturer in the University he was much sought after by the students to whom he offered the ripe fruits of his extensive study in Occidental as well as in Oriental philosophies. The University has lost in him a great scholar and a true guide of youth.

II. THE LATE MM. GURUCHARAN TARKADARSHANTIRTHA

MM. Gurucharan Tarkadarshantirtha who was formerly a lecturer in Philosophy in our University died in Calcutta at the age of 74. His remains were cremated at the Nimtala Burning Ghat where many distinguished people were present to pay their last homage to the Mahanabopadhyay. He is survived by two sons and a daughter to whom we offer our sincere condolences at their bereavement.

III. BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS AND PAPERS OF THE LATE MANMOHAN GHOSE

Miss Latika Ghose has made over to the University several manuscripts, letters and works of her father along with their copyright, requesting that they may be preserved and that out of the profits that will accrue from their sale proceeds when they are published, some suitable memorial may be established in the shape of a medal or scholarship to be named after the late Mr. Manmohan Ghose. The offer was made some months ago jointly by Mrs. Mrinalini Dutt and Miss Latika Ghose and was accepted with thanks by the University.

Professor Harendra Coomar Mookerjee, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A., and Professor Praphulla Chandra Ghose, M.A., have been requested by the University to submit a report regarding the use that may be made of the unpublished works of the late Mr. Ghose.

IV. RESEARCH ON COLLOID SOIL CONSTITUENTS

Sir John Russel of the Imperial Council of Agriculture, Simla, recommended some time ago that Professor J. N. Mukherjee of the University Science College should work in a good soil laboratory in England for the period of six months in connexion with a scheme of research on Colloid Soil Constituents. This recommendation was approved by the Soil Science Committee and the Advisory Board of the Council, and enquiries were made by the Imperial Council if the University would be prepared to give necessary facilities to Professor J. N. Mukherjee to enable him to proceed to Rothamstead and other laboratories on leave in 1939.

Our University has granted leave to Professor Mukherjee for the period he would be required to carry on his investigation abroad, and arrangements are being made for the teaching of his subject in the Post-Graduate Department during his absence on leave.

V. SCHEME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRESH WATER FISHES

Our University has approved of an extension scheme for the investigation of the life-history, bionomics and development of fresh water fishes in Bengal, prepared by Prof. H. K. Mookerjee of the University Science College. The scheme was at first sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for a period of three years and Professor Mookerjee began his investigations in December, 1936. The scheme which the University has approved is for a period of six years only and it has been ascertained that the University would not practically have to spend anything on the working of the extension scheme.

VI. DIPLOMA IN ANAESTHETICS

According to the Regulations for the Diploma in Anaesthetics, just withdrawn, the Royal Colleges were prepared to consider the recommendation of the Committee of Management of the Examining Board to grant the Diploma to an Anaesthetist without examination provided he had at least ten years' experience in a general hospital connected with a recognised medical school in the British Empire.

The Committee of Management has now been directed by the Royal Colleges to consider applications up to the 31st December, 1938, for the award of the Diploma from Anaesthetists whom the Committee believes to possess suitable experience in the profession, although they may not fulfil the conditions previously required for the award. Full particulars regarding the matter may be had of the Secretary of the Board, 8-11, Queen Square; London, W. C. 1.

VII. PROFESSOR SHAHID SUHRAWARDY

Professor Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.), has been appointed an additional Delegate to the Oriental Conference at Brussels, which will be held in September this year. He will read a paper there on "The Iranian Import in Indian Art." Professor Suhrawardy left for Europe in the last week of July.

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VIII. THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH'S PORTRAIT

Subscriptions were invited from the public some years ago for a portrait of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the sum of Rs. 1,520 was collected. It was originally intended that the portrait should be kept in the Central Municipal Office Buildings, Calcutta. But on the execution of the portrait by Mr. J. P. Ganguly recently, it has been found that it cannot suitably be housed in the Municipal Office Buildings and it has, therefore, been arranged to transfer the portrait to the custody of the Town Hall where it will be hung on one of the walls.

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IX. PORTRAIT OF THE LATE SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

Srimati Niharbala Mitra, the second daughter of the late Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, has conveyed to the University the offer of a life-size oil painting of her illustrious father to be executed by one of the best artists of Bengal with the request that it might be hung in the Senate Hall close to the portrait of her grandfather, the late Dr. S. K. Sarvadhikary. The offer has been accepted with thanks.

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X. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP FOR 1937

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Arts for 1937 has been awarded to Messrs. Makhanlal Mukherjee, M.A., and Sasibhushan Dasgupta, M.A. The former submitted a thesis on "The Nature and Function of Dialectic as Developed in Indian Philosophy," and the latter, on "Tantric Buddhism in Relation to the Buddhist Sahajiya Cult." We congratulate the recipients of this honour.

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XI. ACCOMMODATION OF STUDENTS FROM SCHEDULED CASTES

In addition to the stipends announced in the last number of this journal by which the seat-rent to be paid by students from scheduled castes residing in hostels and messes would be reduced by Rs. 4/- a month, steps are being taken in view of increased demand for accommodation to provide a separate hostel or hostels for the exclusive use of such students, under the direct control of the Education Department.

XII. RAJSHAHI COLLEGE

The Managing Director, Students' Home, Rajshahi, wrote to the University complaining against a Notice which the Principal, Rajshahi College, issued restraining the students of the College from choosing the hostel for their residence unless they were obliged to do so on the ground of pecuniary difficulties. The University authorities have informed the Principal that as the hostel is recognised by the University no restriction should be placed on students desiring to join it.

XIII. DATES OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The commencing dates of the D.P.H., M.B., M.L., and B.L., examinations have been fixed as follows:—

D.P.H. (Part I)	1st September, 1938.
Do. (Part II)	19th September, 1938.
M.B. Examinations	14th November, 1938.
M.L. Examination	2nd December, 1938.
B.L. Examinations	12th December, 1938.

XIV. RESULTS OF L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination, 1938, was 18, all of whom passed.

Of the successful candidates 6 passed in the First Class and 12 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 100.

The percentage was 77·7 in 1937.

The number of candidates registered for the B.T. Examination, 1938, was 230, of whom 1 was absent.

The number of candidates who actually appeared was 229 of whom 1 was expelled, and 159 passed.

Of the successful candidates 29 passed in the First Division and 115 in the Second.

The percentage of passes is 68·1.

The percentage of passes was 74·4 in 1937.

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XV. RESULT OF B.COM. EXAMINATION

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1938, was 392, of whom 13 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 379.

The number of candidates who passed the examination was 266, of whom 4 passed in the First Division.

One candidate who was allowed to appear in one subject passed.

The percentage of passes is 69·65.

The percentage of passes was 58·5 in 1937.

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XVI. RESULT OF THE ENGLISH TEACHERSHIP CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1938

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 11, of whom 2 were absent and 9 passed. The percentage of passes is 100.

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XVII. RESULT OF TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION (General), 1938

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 52, of whom 45 passed. Of the successful candidates 1 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 84·6.

The percentage of passes in 1937 was 88·8.

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XVIII. RESULT OF TEACHERS' TRAINING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION (Geography), 1938

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 68, of whom 65 passed. Of the successful candidates, 4 passed with Distinction.

The percentage of passes is 95.5.

The percentage of passes was 100 in 1937.

XIX. RESULT OF THE M.B. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1938

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 227, of whom 65 passed, 160 failed and 2 were absent.

Of the successful candidates two obtained Honours in Midwifery.

XX. APPOINTMENT OF RESEARCH OFFICER FOR INVESTIGATING PROBLEMS OF MULBERRY CULTIVATION

Mr. Narendranath Ray, M.Sc., who is now on training in the Sericulture Department has been appointed Research Officer to investigate the chemical problems connected with the cultivation of mulberry. He will be placed under the guidance of Professor J. N. Mukherjee of the University Science College. Our University has agreed to offer facilities for Sericulture Research at the request of the Deputy Director of Sericulture, Bengal, in view of the Scheme the Department proposes to carry out for the improvement of Sericulture in the province.

XXI. PRARTHANA SAMAJ, BOMBAY

The Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, will celebrate its historical Week at Kamshet in Poona from the 2nd to 8th October, 1938. Arrangements have been made to facilitate the visit of delegates by offering them board and accommodation free of cost. A few students are required to conduct investigation in some historical subject at Kamshet for three or four months under the guidance of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A. Our University has brought the matter to the notice of the teachers and students through the

Secretary, Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science. Students willing to undertake research work at Kamshet may write to the Hony. Secretary, Prarthana Samaj, Bombay 4. The programme is printed below:—

"HISTORICAL WEEK AT KAMSHET (Dt. Ponna).

2nd to 8th October, 1938.

Programme.

(Liable to change later.)

October 2nd, Sunday. Guests arrive at Kamshet at noon or in the afternoon.

6-30—8 P.M. Welcome. Meeting opened by Sir J. N. Sarkar: General sketch of the work ahead.

3rd to 8th. Daily meetings.

8-30—10 A.M.

3-30—5 P.M.

6-30—8-30 P.M.

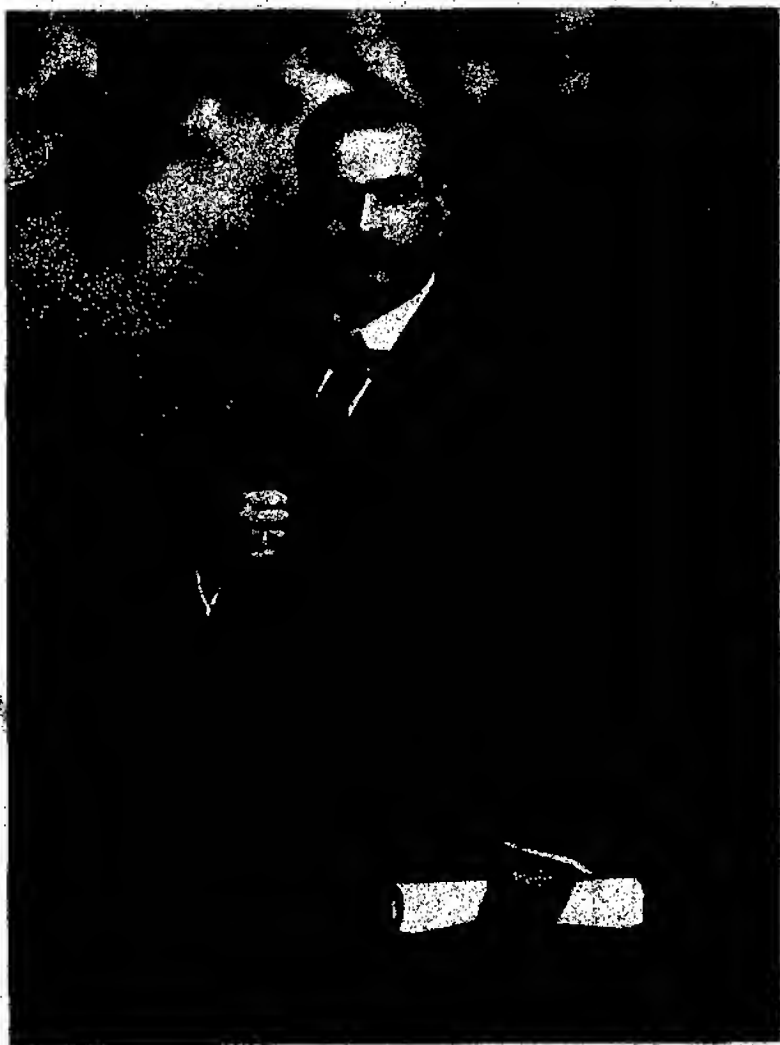
(On three days the last meeting will break up at 7, when Sir J. N. Sarkar will deliver lantern lectures.)

One day will be reserved for ladies' section, and one afternoon for the Poetry and Music section if sufficiently supported.

Subjects of discussion and lecture:—

1. Survey of work done and being done in the different provinces and universities.
2. Division of labour for a co-operative History of India.
3. Division and cataloguing of materials, books, manuscripts, etc., available in India.
4. Our special needs:—
 - (a) Linguistic equipment and co-sharing.
 - (b) Preparation of bibliographies.
 - (c) Building up of a full research library.
 - (d) Specialisation of research.

5. Special study of the problems of Maratha historiography—the work done since 1898 and now before us—the men and materials.
 6. The Deccan College as a centre of historical research. What is needed ? The ways and means.
 7. Creation of a permanent body for helping research workers and publishing the most needful materials and the best theses of poorer scholars.
 8. Establishment of a library at Kamshet.
- (A synopsis of the points to be considered will be printed and circulated early in September next.)."



MR. SYAMA PROSAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A.
Vice-Chancellor (1934-38)



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1938

ROBINSON JEFFERS : POET OF ABSOLUTE NEGATION

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

THE tradition is already established that Robinson Jeffers is lonely and proud as an eagle. He will indulge in no polemics, he will not even stoop to defend himself publicly against the aspersions cast by the critics. Poetry is apparently too personal, too intimate a part of his life for him to engage in literary controversies. His poetry, he has wisely determined, will speak for itself. In this attitude of detachment and isolation, however, one detects more than a fiercely cherished independence, more than a superb indifference to the opinions and ideologies of his time. There is evident, too, an unconscious feeling of guilt or shame, an inward disgust that he who beholds humanity and its petty affairs with cosmic disdain should be pre-occupied with the art of poetry. Expressed again and again in his work is the conviction of absolute futility, and he finds it difficult to square this conviction with the strenuous pursuit of an art that implies affirmation of some kind. Whether or not this feeling exists, a careful examination of the poetry he has published so far indicates that he has been a prey to chronic inner conflicts which seriously interfere with the free play of his creative powers and which to some extent condition

his choice of treatment and theme. In his moral and intellectual nihilism he is representative not only of a large part of American thought but also of the modern mind struggling unavailingly to achieve faith and freedom in a world that is out of joint.

It is a commonplace of criticism that the great poet writes instinctively and from a superabundance of energy ; creation is pictured as an organic act that fuses form and content. Milton set out to justify the ways of God to man. Wordsworth felt no tormenting doubts about his mission in life. Shelley was inspired by a flaming vision of humanity in the golden age, sceptreless, uncircumscribed, free. In Jeffers' poetry, on the contrary, there are few positive qualities : no religious or humanitarian exaltation, no traditional values, no supernatural faith. Complete negation forms the ganglionic centre of his *Weltanschauung*. But since absolute negation in art is a logical contradiction, for it denies the condition that makes the creative life possible, Jeffers was forced by the exigencies of his vocation to preach nihilism in a passionate and almost prophetic strain. He would reveal to blind, deluded humanity, the masses with their pitiful egotism and ignoble greed and contemptible bribing of the gods with prayer and sacrificial offerings . . . he would reveal to them the difficult choice they must make. They must will the extinction of desire, for that is the crucial condition of ultimate peace. This Buddhist conception of *Nirvana* is communicated with such powerful force that it becomes a positive utterance, an evangel of salvation. Jeffers endeavours to overwhelm the dynamic, Occidental will by a furious exhibition of counter-will—as if a nation should seek to end all wars by an aggressive display of military power.

Little of this conflict or purpose entered into the composition of Jeffers' maiden volume of verse, *Flagons and Apples*, now a valuable collectors' item, in which Jeffers is quite plainly testing his wings. The poems, though experimental in form and expression, are interesting in the light they throw on the poet's subsequent development. *Californians*, the next book of his to appear, shows a surprising growth in technical competence. Though the form is still largely imitative, the thought, the language, the images and rhythms are increasingly individual. He is slowly forging his own idiosyncratic style of expression. Still no one could have predicted, on the basis of these two early volumes, that Jeffers would become a poet of the first order.

II

Between 1916, when *Californians* was published, and 1924, when *Roan Stallion and Other Poems* was issued, Jeffers must have grown tremendously in vision and experience. Until his biography or autobiography is written, we shall not know what revelations he had caught, what spiritual crises he passed through. Was it the air and landscape of California, where he had established his home, the mountainous coast, the surging waters of the Pacific, which had put this dark spell on him? Was it a reaction, inevitable in one of his austere temperament, to the decadence and distempers of his age? Was it merely the fruit of ripening maturity which made his mood so predominantly tragic? To ask questions like these, however, is to assume that every philosophy, every pilgrimage of the mind is caused by external forces. To find a partial answer to the above questions, all the critic can do is to examine the work itself.

With the publication of *Roan Stallion and Other Poems*, re-issued by a reputable New York publisher as *Roan Stallion, Tamar, and Other Poems*, it was made clear that America had at last found its native poet. His work is of epic proportions. In the handling of his material, in the delineation of character, passion, and fate, in technical mastery he is superior to Walt Whitman. The expression of his verse is direct and unconventional; there are no stock imitations. If he reminds one of the Greek tragic dramatists and the Elizabethan writers at their racy best, he does not borrow from them. He belongs essentially to no tradition. If one must seek for sources of influence and inspiration, one must turn to Science and Industrialism and the World War and modern philosophy and psychology rather than to literature alone.

"Roan Stallion" tells in loose-flowing cadences the tragic story of California, a nobly formed woman married to a brutal outcast. More important than the violent movement of the plot with its strained symbolism are the lyrical interludes which voice Jeffers' innermost thoughts. The germ of his philosophy is contained in the passage:

"Humanity is the start of the race: I say
Humanity is the mold to break away from, the crust to break
through, the coal to break into fire,
The atom to be split.

Tragedy that breaks man's face and a white
fire flies out of it; vision that fools him

Out of his limits, desire that fools him out of his limits, unnatural
 crime, inhuman science,
 Useless intelligence of far stars, dim knowledge of the spinning demons
 that make an atom,
 These break, these pierce, these deify, praising their God
 shrilly with fierce voices: not in a man's shape
 He approves the praise, he that walks lightning-naked on the Pacific,
 that laces the sun with planets,
 The heart of the atom with electrons: what is humanity in this
 cosmos? For him, the last
 Least taint of a trace in the dregs of the solution; for itself, the mold to
 break away from, the coal
 "To break into fire, the atom to be split."

"Tamar," another narrative in the volume, is dominated by the theme of incest, but it is relatively free from sensationalism as commonly conceived. Incest springs naturally from the nature of the environment, the circumstances, and the compulsions of the characters involved in the story. Perhaps the best poem in the book is "The Tower Beyond Tragedy," which is related structurally and thematically to the first two plays of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*. The action revolves round the return of Agamemnon, the murder committed by Clytemnestra, and the slaying of the mother by Orestes. There is all the difference in the world between this modern psychoanalytic tale and the tragedy composed by Aeschylus. The Greeks are resigned to fate; they accept as natural the world they live in; there is a divine order in the universe; the gods keep even the balance of good and evil. But in the cosmos created by Jeffers' genius there are no compensations. The sensual, instinct-driven, lust-abandoned Clytemnestra is contrasted with the obsessed prophetess, Cassandra. The sinister theme of incest again obtrudes itself, a symbol of man's incurable craving to return to the womb, to merge with *Nirvana*.

Cawdor, which came out in 1928, was even more uncompromisingly pessimistic. Throughout the poem one is assaulted by the violence of despair. The good, the industrious, the talented are broken on the wheel of life; the evil and grasping and mediocre seem to succeed. Intelligence is a curse and a handicap. There is no salvation nor is death the end. The story is full of unrelieved terror. His characters are like forces of Nature; their instincts possess them; the tragedy lies in the fact that these instincts conflict with their humanity.

The characters refuse to be resigned ; they are strong and yet they, too, must taste the bitterness of defeat.

Dear Judas, Jeffers' next book of poetry, is commonly regarded as a disappointing performance. The point of view is flagrantly sacrilegious. Judas, not Jesus, is the hero. Christ is the symbol of the lust for power grown inverted, exorbitant, diseased. Judas, the human, is the saviour who sacrifices Jesus in order to curb his unbridled ambition. It is a passion play against a background of modern scientific scepticism. Its central theme is that only by a bloody sacrifice will the multitude be led to believe in Christ.

Thurso's Landing, likewise, betrays a marked falling-off in power. In spite of the magnificent poetry that draws the curtain on the end—Thurso's throat is cut and his young beautiful wife poisons herself—the *dénouement* remains needlessly violent and bloody. Similarly with *The Women at Point Sur*. Through it there pulsates a spiritual terror and horror which induces no pity ; only fear and revulsion. Such a welter of misery and crazed sensuality and actual madness is undoubtedly the reflection of a tortured mind. Though Jeffers shapes his material to his æsthetic purpose, his fantasy is inhuman in its frenzy, its emphasis on agony and abnormality. Jeffers is burdened by the mystery of life which he seeks both to transcend and to destroy. At one moment he is convinced that the universe must have a meaning ; at another he vehemently rejects any quest for meaning as anthropomorphic illusion. He strives to get beyond life, beyond the human-all-too-human, and falls into unintelligible contradictions. The tragedy of *The Women at Point Sur* lies not only in the fate inflicted upon the characters but also in the failure of the author—a failure which was perhaps inevitable—to humanize the absolute. Jeffers seems to feel that it is only by the road of insanity, by shattering the accepted values of humanity, that man can arrive at true understanding. Christ has gone mad. The people have begun to repudiate the ideals by which they were so long betrayed ; they recoil from the spurious dogmas of justice, chastity, virtue, democracy, and lose even the quasi-instinctive reverence for love.

In *Descent to the Dead* Jeffers writes on a theme that can call forth the fulness of his powers. That theme is associated with the vision of time as infinitely vast, time which reduces all striving, all hope and ambition and desire to nothingness. In a number of stark

elegies composed while on a visit to Ireland, his ancestral home, he laments the passing of a race, the inexorable flow of time. Throwing off the disguise which narrative affords, Jeffers here faces personally the problem which chiefly concerns him—the nature of death. Running like a *leit-motif* through these rugged elegies is the craving for annihilation. Man must escape, violently if necessary, the limitations of humanity and be re-absorbed in the life of Nature. When the body decomposes it does not vanish—it is joined to the vast chemical cycle of Nature's process. By casting off the spell of desire and by willing annihilation, man achieves a kind of timeless immortality.

Give Your Heart to the Hawks (1933) is lacking in that imaginative synthesis which fuses form and substance, character and plot, reality and art into organic unity. The story deals with a murder committed in a fit of jealous rage and the consequent agonies of remorse that the murderer suffers. Haunted by the ghost of his brother, the murderer broods on the shining beauty and mystery of death, which is peace and salvation, and at last gives his heart to the hawks—leaps off a cliff. The development and the conclusion of the poem, the dialogue and the choric comments of the author are perfectly credible and even convincing if one accepts the underlying philosophy. If one believes with Jeffers that humanity with its feverish lusts and degraded ambitions is fundamentally ridiculous, that it is better not to be born than to live, and that once born it is better to die than to go on living, then every part of the narrative becomes invested with a profound symbolic meaning. For he is bent on announcing the good tidings that darkness has not died, that it will come again and save mankind from the intolerable misery of living. If, on the contrary, one believes that whatever time in its relentless course holds in store for humanity, be it ultimate extinction in a night that has no glow-worm, life as it exists now must be endured and as wisely and fruitfully as possible; that death is no solution; that one cannot in the allotted span be fed on the mouldy bread and poisoned wine of a metaphysical creed which calls for salvation—then his poetry, however rich in tragic splendour, loses its prophetic significance and, one is afraid, a great deal of its æsthetic appeal.

His latest work, *Solstice and Other Poems*, is also devoted chiefly to the expression of Jeffers' characteristic philosophy. The first poem, "At the Birth of an Age," deals ostensibly with episodes taken from the Niebelung Saga, but the tale is used only as a peg on which to hang

philosophic conclusions, prophetic commentaries on the decadence of our epoch. In the introduction to this poem, Jeffers tells us quite openly that our civilization "is the greatest, but also the most bewildered and self-contradictory, the least integrated, in some phases the most ignoble, that has ever existed." The tension, the contradiction, present in contemporary civilization is due to the struggle between Western blood and Oriental religion. The tension is evident too in the theories of modern science "and the brittle utopias of economic theory." Should this tension cease, however, the age would die, because the tension is its very being. Christianity at present is losing ground ; it is being sublimated by humanitarianism, liberalism, and radicalism. All this testifies to a slackening of the tension which indicates, he believes, the beginning of decline. In the poem, "Rearmament," Jeffers speaks out passionately on a modern theme. Men in the mass are rushing precipitately down the slope to meet death. To pity them is folly and to admire their tragedy of destruction is monstrous. Though he would sacrifice much to avert this catastrophe, it would avail nought. The grandeur of modern mechanical civilization will pass and become a memory like Nineveh and Tyre, but if all men perceived this ultimate wisdom, the earth would be spared "many beautiful agonies." America, he sees as a land of confusion, gregarious and sentimental, that will soon long for a Cæsar to rule it. If we wish to be truly civilized, we must, he tells us, "Turn outward, love things, not men, turn right away from humanity."

III

At whatever conclusion one arrives, it is clear that Jeffers, in his contempt for humanity, in his nihilism and negation of life, falls into a dangerous fallacy. Jeffers knows that human thought cannot escape the anthropomorphic net. Man cannot rise above the inherent limitations of humanity. Everything he perceives, all his reflections, his philosophic convictions, his observations of the physical universe—everything is based on essentially human analogies. Hence Jeffers can adduce no more reason for praising the steadfastness and permanence of Nature than for condemning the insignificance of the human race. For man is also an integral part of Nature. There need be no dualism. To exalt one at the expense of the other is to introduce the human bias which the poet is vainly seeking to transcend.

For literature, whatever its form or *genre*, there are but two possible themes: Nature and Man. These are the twin poles of human consciousness. They can be set in contrapuntal opposition or else welded and reconciled. Humanism, for example, separates them in a sharply focused dualism. Some forms of religion attempt to combine them in organic unity, where man is one with his creator. Mystics like William Blake possessed this pantheistic vision. Science, too, by affirming the common animal or protoplasmic origin of man, has helped to establish a functional synthesis. The point is simply that any philosophy, as is the case with Jeffers', which artificially deepens this conflict, is bound to end in contradiction, unless the conflict is postulated for some higher end. Without some spiritual end-purpose, with some teleological assumption, some pervasive principle of faith, the pejorative contrast between Nature and Man culminates not only in absolute pessimism but in a nihilism so complete that all value, and hence all meaning, is destroyed.

This is the vortex of confusion in which the energetic lines of Robinson Jeffers swirl in splendid futility. He is, there can be little question of that, a genius of the first rank, perhaps the most powerful and original voice America has so far produced. But it is genius unhinged, power run to waste, originality that masochistically turns upon itself and rends its own body. For Jeffers has cut himself off from the prime source of communicative efficacy by reiterating with wearisome insistence that life is meaningless, stupid, sordid, but also tragic. To harmonize this contradiction—since even poetry must contain a semblance of logical consistency—Jeffers resorts to the romantic expedient of investing civilization with all the vices in the catalogue of degeneration. Humanity is painted in black colours; Nature by contrast is represented as grand, pure, solitary, incorruptible, enduring. There is nothing particularly new in such a conception. It is the heritage of Rousseauism engrafted on a scientific trunk. A confirmed sceptic, Jeffers portrays man as divorced from Nature, feverish, fretful, fractious, composed of an inferior substance. Compared with the towering magnificence of mountains, the elemental surge of the sea, the forked fury of the lightning, the unleashed violence of the wind, man is but a pathological impertinence in the scheme of things—pathological because his brain rules him and betrays him.

There is no board of censorship in the kingdom of art. The writer is free to choose any subject under the sun, on the one condition that he convince us that his truth is indeed truth or that he enchant us with his presentation of beauty. Stark pessimism cannot be brushed aside on moral grounds as aesthetically taboo. It may not console us, it may not lay a flattering unction to the oppressed and bewildered soul, but it does express one aspect of a universal truth, and the expression may achieve a poignant beauty. What we seek in a poet, however, is not truth alone but a comprehensive vision of life, particularly as it affects the fate of man, in all its infinite variety. Jeffers has told us that life is meaningless. Many in the past have suspected that it was so. But what of it? Life, whatever its ultimate lack of significance, is here to be lived, and even to declare that it is meaningless is to impose upon it a negative meaning. Jeffers has declared that death is inevitable, that it is better to escape the inversion of western civilization by taking the plunge into the sea of non-being. He has added a Buddhistic *Nirvana* to the Greek shudder of terror. Beyond that he has little to say. He has shot his bolt, he has emptied his chamber of horrors, he has uttered the last word. The rest is a morbid silence. To enforce his gloomy vision of existence he has written a number of narratives and lyrics, all symbolically stressing the madness and decadence of our world. His favourite themes are incest, murder, suicide, the glory of death. It is no condemnation of Jeffers' poetry to say that what he has given us is not enough.

What he has done is excellent within its scope, but the scope is too restricted. It represents a negation of life: to negate life and to write heroically proportioned poetry affirming that negation is a contradiction that art abhors. Jeffers' vision omits a vast and important section of human experience, the beauty of the commonplace, the vicissitudes of daily life, the serenely normal. Sunlight and love and friendship, the convictions which sustain men in their daily round, the sting and joy of immediate experience, however humble in nature, the momentary griefs and gladness of life—these things which make up the pattern of life for average humanity he spurns and ignores. There is only the violence of dying at the immobility of death.

Death is liberation and peace, a return to Nature, to non-being. This craving for peace is in the nature of a wish-fulfilment: Jeffers

desires to subdue desire. He is at odds with the ideology of western civilization, but he cannot sever the umbilical cord that ties him to that civilization. He employs science to destroy the human pride and pretensions which a pseudo-science has spawned. Jeffers is obviously confused in his thinking. His philosophy is a skein of painful contradictions. His very activity as a poet points to an inner conflict born of inner confusion. If his aim is annihilation, why does he trouble to write poetry? Why does he waste his energy in pouring sulphurous contempt on the heads of the pitiful sheep who still cling to a Marx or a Christ, who still believe in a future that will redeem them from despair, who dream of a society and a civilization which will stamp out injustice, who yearn for a life more beautiful and perfect but who will cling to life at all costs because that is their fate? If the people, as he declares, will neither understand nor believe him, if they will brand him as a hater of men who annihilates their lives "with a sterile enormous splendour," why then does he persist in his efforts to convert them? Is he still enslaved by the weakness of compassion? But pity without affirmation or hope is futile. There can be no splendour and no salvation in poetry dedicated to the exaltation of death.

BASIC ENGLISH AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

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II •

THE small Basic vocabulary may give rise to an impression that the system is a trifle. But though 850 words are printed on the sheet attached to every book on Basic, many more words may be formed by the addition of suffixes like ‘-er,’ ‘-ing,’ and ‘-ed’ to some of them. Of the 850, 600 are names of ‘Things.’ 200 are names of picturable things, while 400 are general names. These cover solid substances like *blood* and *milk*, fluids like *air* and *steam*, parts or divisions of material objects like *back*, *base*, etc., persons named in relation to their duties, e.g., *cook*, *judge*, *servant*, etc., common acts like *shake*, *bite*, *grip*, *kick*, etc., divisions of time like *minute*, *hour*, *day*, *night* etc., feelings like *pleasure*, *pain*, etc., and the senses like *touch*, *smell*, etc. Of these 600 names, 300 take the suffixes above mentioned. The words thus obtained are in normal English verb-formations with certain verbal uses, but it is to be emphasised that in Basic English they are restricted to their noun and adjective functions (*Pushed*, for example, may only be used adjectivally, in such sentences as “The cart was pushed,” and not as the past tense of the verb “to push”). Of course, all the 300 do not usually take all the suffixes; some take one or two only. Generally the names of acts readily attract the suffixes. “Here the -er- form becomes the name of the person or thing which does the act in question; ‘-ing’ makes the ‘adjective’ used about the door and the name of the act when in process of being done; and the -ed- form gives the ‘adjective’ of the person or thing to which the act is done.” (*The A. B. C. of Basic English.*)

In addition to these, the use of some international words is permitted in Basic. There is a waiting-list of 800 which will not be taken as international till listed by a special Committee of Radio authorities. 50 words, like *alcohol*, *aluminium*, etc., have already been

passed by experts, together with 12 names of sciences like *Algebra*, *Arithmetic*, *Biology*, etc., and 12 special names current in international use, like *college*, *embassy*, *dominion*, etc. Also measuring words, number words and words in the money systems of the different countries are regarded as international, and are permitted in their English forms. The days and months of the year, too, come in. The same word may often be used in different related senses, and this also has the effect of extending the range of the Basic vocabulary. The changes in the meaning of a word are listed as "expansions" or "special uses." "There are two chief ways in which a word may be made to do overtime—by a stretch of the sense to something a little different, or by limiting the sense to some special sort of thing covered by the name." The use of, say, *foot* to mean a *base*, or of *neck* to mean the narrow part of a bottle, is an example of expansion, while *pictures* in the sense of motion-pictures or *business* in the sense of trade is an example of special use. "A special use is different from an expansion because it gives a word a narrower, not a wider, sense."

Basic has retained the use of some of the idioms which in normal English are so frequent. They are called special word-groups and consist mostly of combinations of nouns, "operators" or adjectives with prepositions. *By chance*, *by heart*, *kind of*, *full of*, *give up*, *get in*, etc., are examples. Their number is 250. But it should be noted that no words are used in them outside the scheduled 850. They are very expressive and helpful, though they are not necessary for beginners.

It has already been mentioned that there are no verbs in Basic English other than the 16 "operators," viz., *come-go*, *put-take*, *give-get*, *make*, *keep*, *let*, *do*, *be*, *seem*, *have*, *say*, *see*, and *send*. *May* and *will* are used to indicate possibility and time of action respectively. They are auxiliaries, not verbs proper. It is this almost total elimination of verbs which has rendered possible the astonishing reduction of the vocabulary. About 4,000 verbs are ordinarily used in most languages; the numerous phrases which they form in conjunction with prepositions are an even more terrible burden for the beginner. The absence of verbs is also responsible for the simplicity of Basic, for the complexity introduced by the distinction between strong and weak verbs, whose conjugations differ, are most baffling to learners. The waste of time involved in memorising the different forms is prodigious. The declensions of the pronouns and the inflectional possessive of the nouns have indeed

been retained, but they are, like the verb-forms, relics of the synthetic origin of the language, which Basic has not been able to discard completely.

In spite of extensions, special uses of words, etc., as discussed above, the Basic vocabulary is not large. Basic is not only the youngest, but also the most dwarfish of languages. There is a common belief that excellence of a language depends on the number of words one has available, and that our command of a language is to be gauged by the length of the word-list we have memorized. Doubts have consequently been expressed by responsible teachers as to the value of Basic. But experience shows definitely that to a learner of language it is not the number of words but the nature of his knowledge of them that is of primary importance. A beginner is very likely to be confused if he picks up too many words, without adequately realizing what they mean. Indefinite and vague definitions only obscure their "real uses," which alone determine their correct significations. Teachers who put the extension of their pupils' vocabulary in the forefront of their educational programme, fail to realize the analytic principle of Basic. It has thus been explained by an exponent of the system (Dr. I. A. Richards in *Basic in Teaching: East and West*), "The number of ideas we actually use in explaining or defining any meaning is a surprisingly small one. Their exact number cannot be settled unless we first settle how we are to count them. But the important point is that our *general* ideas are not many, though the rich variety of our vocabulary makes us suppose that they are innumerable. To take an analogy, . . . the chemist is prepared to give in terms of a very small number of elements an exact description of innumerable compounds for which any ordinary language requires an indefinitely large vocabulary. So Basic, with a small apparatus of terms, is prepared to give an account, as exact as our knowledge of them will allow, of innumerable meanings which in Complete English have their separate and usually unconnected symbols." For this reason Basic frequently gives a description of a thing in place of its name as found in ordinary English. "It can give a description of any thing or event because it has in its word-list names for the ingredients which are required in such descriptions as well as an amply adequate apparatus for putting together in any way that is required. A learner of Basic very soon discovers that he has not one, but a number of alternative ways of saying anything he wishes to in Basic. It is thus unnecessarily powerful, from a logical point of view, as

a medium of expression. It gains a suppleness which allows it to take note of factors in the situation which are not being explicitly mentioned ; it sufficiently avoids a monotony which might logically be an advantage but would be fatal to it as a medium of frivolous or polite conversation." This is what has been called the peculiar resolving power of Basic. " It does not so much reproduce any one meaning as offer us a selection of possible ingredients in the meaning."

Ambiguity is another charge that may suggest itself against Basic, the argument being that in proportion as we reduce the number of words in a language, we automatically increase the number of meanings which some of these words must carry. The use of expansions and specialisations seems to support this charge. But the possibility of ambiguity definitely disappears as soon as the reader is forced to consider the context. Basic is concerned only with words in use, not with words in isolation for which equivalents could be suggested. As Dr. Richards says, " Its 850 words are not a haphazard collection. They are those which experiment has shown are most capable, in combination with one another, of taking the place of other words in a fashion which will sensitively and accurately reflect what the other words are doing from context to context."

It has further been suggested that Basic words, having a smaller range of significance than words in normal English, might in use give only a vague sketch of the meaning and thus " blur or confuse the subtle, sometimes inexhaustible distinctions which Complete English, in good hands, can convey." But if Basic words give only a selected aspect of the meaning, they thereby compel the writer to supplement the sense by a fuller statement. The writer of Basic has to proceed by slow stages and has thus the opportunity of making his meaning quite clear in successive sentences. This provides for him a healthy training in perceiving differences and subtleties. Hence Basic is good for plain expository prose where thoughts are slowly unfolded.

These are some of the reasons why Basic English should be helpful to students in foreign countries who try to learn a language so different from their mother-tongue. In this connection mention ought to be made of some of the standard works of English Literature which have been rendered into Basic. The writings of Swift, Poe, Franklin, Lafcadio Hearn, R. L. Stevenson, and Lamb, thus transformed, will be a source of pleasure to learners who would otherwise have never dared approach these masters. But Basic is also useful to

grown-up people who seek contact with the world of to-day and the invigorating modern scientific mind, and also a career for themselves. Basic will suffice for many who are modest in their aspirations and want merely to know what is happening around them. The radio talk and the newspaper of the future will, in all probability, adapt themselves to Basic.

In spite of the advantages of Basic, the question of its introduction in the lower forms of the schools of this country is not quite free from difficulty. Basic had its origin in the desirability of a world language which, as its name implies, was to furnish a closer link between Britain and America and to promote the cause of science, internationalism and commerce. It was obviously meant for adult foreigners desirous of coming in touch with the English-speaking world and its scientific and commercial activities. They would generally be persons with intellectual equipment and experience of modern life and civilization. The Basic vocabulary, designed to meet their requirements and to give expression to their ideas and experiences, cannot be expected to be always suitable for little children who have just joined the lowest forms of primary schools in Indian villages where modern life and the achievements of Western science are hardly known. Indian children generally begin the study of English in their seventh or eighth year when they cannot possibly have any idea of representative government or photography. It is therefore difficult for them to get at the meanings of words like *political*, *representative*, *government*, etc. *Theory*, *experience* and *fiction* would be as obscure to them as *camera*, *acid* and *electric*. These represent a plane of ideas with which children in the cottages of rural India are not at all familiar. This objection might be untenable in the case of children in France, Germany, Italy, etc., taking to the study of English for the first time, but there can be no doubt about its validity in respect of Indian children with the possible exception of a small number in metropolitan areas. It is therefore doubtful whether words of this nature should have been included in the Basic list. Again, many words which Indian children frequently use, because the things they stand for are within the range of their daily experience, find no place in the Basic vocabulary. Such are *temple*, *church*, and *caste*. *God*, at any rate, should not have been banished by the Orthological Institute.

Mr. Ogden believes that "a conscientious foreigner" cannot pick up standard English sufficient for his ordinary purposes without two

to four years' hard work but that Basic reduces his labour to two weeks or, at most, two months. Mr. Ogden must have been thinking only of the grown-up European, and the tremendous saving in time and energy claimed by him as the achievement of his system, is possible only in his case. His estimate does not apply to Indian children. It is impossible for them to get up 10 English words per hour as Mr. Ogden would wish the learner of Basic to do. Beginners, unfamiliar with the English sounds and orthography, should feel proud if they can master 2 to 4 fresh words per day. They would find it difficult to master the whole word-list and the rules of grammar so as to be able to read books in Basic English in less than two to three years.

Indian students in the upper classes of our schools and colleges have to read English Literature—both prose and poetry—of a type against which Basic itself is a strong protest. What has been called "the Literature of power" has not generally, in spite of its æsthetic appeal, that note of modernity, scientific precision, freedom from archaism and from verbosity on which Basic prides itself. In most cases its language is not one of exposition but of emotion and imagination—full of far-fetched suggestions and allusions. Sense is often sacrificed, specially in poetry, to word-magic and rhythm. Even with the present elaborate arrangements for their training in normal, literary or bookish English in the lower forms of schools, students cannot profit by their study of English Literature. If Basic is introduced in the schools, students in the upper classes and in the Colleges, with their vocabulary cut down to 850 words and with a love of the scientific, modern and precise style, will undoubtedly find themselves out of their element.

The introduction of Basic in our schools is desirable, but it should be attempted only after its word-list has been modified in the light of Indian conditions. This reform should soon be followed by an alteration in the syllabuses of studies for the higher classes in the schools and the Intermediate and B.A. Examinations, so as to make English Literature an optional subject, and simple, modern and expository English prose a compulsory one.

PERCEPTION AND REALITY

PROFESSOR PRIYA GOVIND DUTT, M.A., B.L.

PHILOSOPHY has come to a point where it refuses to make any advance. Idealism, pure, mixed, absolute, concrete, Indian and foreign, has been subjected to the sifting criticism of great metaphysicians and has been found to be inadequate in explaining the data of our experience. Great scholars who cannot be accused of soft thinking are oscillating between Idealism and Dualism and showing a great desire to treat matter as an entity existing independently of mind and holding some mysterious relation with spirit manifested in the form of mind. But these are failing to solve the problem how two independent entities can interact on each other. Some are favouring solipsism by denying the reality of matter altogether by strangely claiming that the very fact that matter is perceived makes it unreal. The hopelessness of the confusion in philosophy has led many thinkers to abandon logic and reason and try to approach the problem of Philosophy from the side of feeling, volition, instinct, reflex and automatic tendencies. But though irrationalism is very beautiful and fascinating for the time being, yet like the angelic first bloom of youth it fades away very quickly. The modern psychologists finding philosophical speculation full of confusion worse confounded are now sneering at the metaphysicians, and are engaging themselves more profitably and cheerfully in psycho-analysis and are trying their utmost to give greater reality to the dreamland and the dark unfathomed chambers of our mind than the world of consciousness, feeling and action. The gland-psychology which is about to come to limelight will give the final death blow to mind and rationalism by explaining everything by gland secretion leaving hardly any room for an active mind. The confusion is going to be made more complex by those Doctors who are making an effort to treat authority as an independent source of knowledge and establish Philosophy firmly on the quake-proof solid foundation of testimony.

Science which has been known to be the store house of clear and certain knowledge, instead of simplifying philosophy and removing all doubt therefrom has made it more confused. A few years ago Lord Balfour sadly pointed out that the reliable common sense of the ordinary

man has been abandoned like a tattered garment by the scientists of the day. They tell us that the simple things clearly seen by us consist always and entirely of electric charges, unimaginable in their diminutiveness, something unimaginably numerous, and so widely scattered relatively, even when they are most closely organised in the atom—scattered so widely and so loosely that the use of the word *solid* with regard to them is entirely grotesque. These widely scattered and infinitely minute charges, which are not constituents of *matter* but which are *matter*, spasmodically affect the ether about which many scientists entertain unshakable doubt. The messages they send through the ether at a velocity well understood by the scientists produce waves. Some of these waves ultimately reach another collection of electrical charges which go to make up the body of the observer. This is very broadly the process of perception on its physical side. But when the waves reach those electrical charges which constitute the body, then there occurs something else which neither philosophers nor men of science have yet been able to explain. This physical effect is our perception of an independent object existing in the external world. This view of perception, which is the scientific view, compels us to rest all our ideas of truth about the physical universe upon illusions with regard to that physical universe. Thus the ordinary man who is going to trust his common sense aided by science in order to avoid all troubles, to which metaphysics will unnecessarily expose him, is under a great delusion. Because what common sense tells him about the world in which we live is completely contradicted by what science tells him, and when common sense and science are at variance, it is every one's duty to support science. (Cf. J.P.S., Vol. III, No. 1.)

Due to this great confusion a revival of scepticism has taken place and many, like Pyrrho of Elis, maintain that "speculation brings us trouble and uncertainty and involves us in endless contradictions. It is also useless because it causes disputes without end; impossible because we can in every case prove both the affirmative and the negative side. The essence of things is incomprehensible." We find the modern attitude in Timon, a friend and admirer of Pyrrho, who says that (1) the dogmatic philosophers cannot prove their starting point, which is therefore merely hypothetical; (2) it is impossible to have an objective knowledge of things; we know how they affect us, we shall never know what they are apart from our intelligence and our senses;

(3) hence in order to be happy, we must abandon barren speculations and unreservedly obey the laws of nature." (Weber's History of Philosophy.)

The wonderful dialectical skill exhibited by many modern philosophers can be seen amongst the academic sceptics producing almost the same disastrous result and making certitude in metaphysics and even in morals equally impossible.

In *Aenesidemus* of Crossus, the high priest of sensationalistic scepticism, we find more prominently the attitude and the conclusions of the modern philosophers. David Hume, the forerunner of Kant, reproduced essentially his criticism of the notion of causality. Those who have a craving for originality generally overlook the achievements of these sceptics.

Mr. Joad in explaining Hume's attitude towards causality argues : " Let us suppose that we think of A exerting an influence over B and let us call the influence exerted C. Now clearly A cannot exert C unless there is some relation or connection D between A and C; and clearly C cannot produce any effect upon B unless again there is some relation or connection E between C and B. Therefore in order that the relation C may operate between A and B we are committed to two further links or relations, namely D between A and C, and E between B and C. The interpolation of further links will be necessary to connect A with D and D with E. Hence it is not difficult to see that we are committed to an infinite number of relations before A can ever get at B at all in order to exert an influence over it. Hence it is argued, if A be really distinct from B, A cannot exert any influence over B; therefore there can be no causal relation between A and B."

The *Mādhyamika* conclusion that only momentary things or phenomena have existence leads to the conclusion that perceptible things have no reality, and, as such, matter and the material world which are perceptible have no reality. In other words, the unreality of matter is proved by the very fact that it is perceived by us. Mr. Malkani says, " Something which we perceive is not to be considered as existent, but simply as something which is perceived and having its essential character exhausted in being perceived; in other words, what is perceived is for that reason alone not-spirit. But this argument which proves that something is not spirit also proves that this something is not existent, and that its *esse* consists in *percipi*. But

evidently such an entity which does not exist, but is merely perceived is what we call an illusory appearance. Our argument for the reality of matter turns out to be an argument against its materiality and so against its real existence as matter."

Thus Mr. Malkani's argument amounts to saying that the very fact that matter is perceived makes it unreal.

We find the echo of the Buddhistic way of thinking in Bergson also who reduces matter and ego to change and duration only. For him there are no separate things which change; there is only change. It is also hopeless to penetrate through the continuous changes of our consciousness to something stable that underlies them. It is equally impossible for us to discover in the world around us anything which passes through changes which occur to it. This is undoubtedly bewildering to the common sense standpoint and can hardly be reconciled to our practical life. This however made Bergson fantastically think that life is like a fountain jetting incessantly into air, matter the spent drops that fall back: or again, life is a rocket, matter is stick that falls to earth. In other words, matter is life that is turned back and become dead; it is degenerate spirit." (Cf. J.P. S., Vol. IV No. 13.)

Yet the main trend of Philosophy from Locke down to the present age has been always towards a knowledge of reality as it is, apart from the sensation produced by it on our minds. But inspite of the strenuous efforts of the master minds of the philosophical world from Hegel down to the living thinkers of the present, the fundamental problem of metaphysics has completely foundered on the rock of perception. Failing to bridge the Kantian gulf between phenomena and things-in-themselves many have abandoned the common sense doctrine of perception and have tried to get at reality by a circuitous way instead of giving a direct answer to the Kantian problem; and instead of pointing out any flaw in his analysis of reason and conclusions appertaining thereto, philosophers have suggested other methods for our metaphysical investigation. Yet like the quest of the Holy Grail the quest of reality has always remained more a matter of faith than of realisation.

Even if we postulate reality in order to make possible morality, religion, and all those things which we value so much, the problem of the knowledge of reality remains unsolved. For how can we postulate a thing which is unknown and perhaps unknowable? Hegel's identity of the real with the ideal and the Vedantic identification of

'thou' with 'that' can be accepted only if we have the power of knowing the ideal and the real, that and thou. The great diversity existing between the idealistic conclusions and our practical life led the pragmatists to maintain that whatever can be realised in action or put into practice is to be treated as true and real.

If for light we turn to Psychology which has become a solace of life to many we find ourselves not an inch outside the realm of confusion. Prof. McDougall tells us that "there is at the present time a bewildering variety of schools of Psychology in open rivalry and conflict with one another." A veritable revolution in the science of human nature has taken place in the last decade and the division between the Psychology that was orthodox and predominant at the end of the last century and the modern Psychology of the present century is complete. This sharp division has led Bradley to declare that the use of the term activity in Psychology is a scandal. "The Apollinian view of life has provoked its own Nemesis in the form of radical Behaviourism—it has achieved its own *reductio ad absurdum*."

The upholders of the Dionysian and hormic psychology see the creative urge to activity as the common foundation of animal and human nature. They frankly admit the obscurity of this foundation without seeking to disguise it in a cloud of words which refuses to pretend to the illusory clarity that comes from the acceptance of rationalism and mechanism. They recognise as obscure many problems that are truly obscure and admit that we are very far from an adequate understanding of man and nature. It is rather ideal not to distort and falsify the immediate teaching of experience in the interests of the spurious clarity and symmetry of the Apollinian system. They give the name instinct to the obscure racial foundations of active nature without pretending that in naming them they have made them intelligible.

But what advantage do we get even if we admit that the realm of events is very difficult to grasp and that it is inadequately indicated by such terms as *elan vital*, libido, vital impulse and hormic urge? Does it simply make the Dionysian intuition swallow up the Apollinian reason? Prof. McDougall following Nietzsche has pointed out that throughout the whole course of the history of Psychology we find these two fundamental ways of thinking underlying all forms of Psychology, and chaos reigns supreme in the present-day Psychology on account of the various divisions and sub-divisions of these two principal

psychological outlooks. Yet to this Psychology we must turn to get an accurate idea of perception in which we awake into consciousness and meet spirit and matter face to face.

Perception is the starting point of every form of Psychology, Philosophy, and Science. It is the rationalisation of perceptual truth or experience which has given us Philosophy, Science, and Civilization. So if there be any error in our analysis of perception there must be error or inaccuracy in the conclusions derived from it. In spite of the various kinds of Psychology and Metaphysics we have hardly risen above the Humean interpretation of perception. Let us see whether we have rightly understood the nature of perception.

It is said that in sensation we receive a stimulus from something other than ourselves and owing to this stimulus some change takes place in our mind which we call sensation. By interpreting this sensation we form an idea of the thing which stimulates us and produces the sensation in our mind. Hence we are in direct touch with the sensation and the perceptual ideas which are purely mental phenomena. So it naturally follows that it is impossible for us to know the reality, or the thing-in-itself, there being no channel through which we can go to reality, matter or spirit. The confinement to one's mental phenomena naturally leads to solipsism. By reasoning and inference we can proceed from sensations to other sensations or to possible sensations but not to matter, spirit or reality. Space-time, existence, causality which are ordinarily considered to be the factors of finitization of the material world have all been reduced to mental phenomena leaving no basis for going out to the material world or to the world of things.

Some have tried to justify the knowledge of the knower or spirit as the foundation of all knowledge or consciousness, and existence has been equated to perception. Some have tried in vain to equate matter to spirit and to conceive reality in terms of the idea of the good. But where is the justification for Ontology if the data from which we start be sensations only ?

The way in which the nature of reality has been defined by some philosophers makes the quest after reality a hopeless task. Reality they maintain is something other than its attributes and different from the sensations produced by it on our minds. The primary and the secondary attributes do not exist in things but in our mind, and so to know reality as it is is impossible. The process of

knowing the knower is not a bit less difficult. If one by one all the attributes of things are relegated to the phenomenal world, the noumenon will be reduced to an empty nothing making its knowledge utterly impossible. This leads to sensationalism or mentalism.

This interpretation of perception and reality is entirely erroneous. Reality implies activity or the power of doing something. A reality which does nothing is no reality. This power of doing something is its fundamental quality. If we can know this power we shall know reality. It is idle to draw a line between the powers and the reality itself. But the question arises how we should know these powers of a reality apart from our sensations. A power or activity cannot be isolated from the effect or deed produced by it. To abstract a power from its deeds is to split the two sides of a shield. Thus we have reality + power + effects indissolubly united into one organic whole. The confusion in Psychology and Philosophy is due to the splitting up of these three and a crude belief that a reality can exist apart from its power of doing, and a power of doing can exist apart from its deeds or effects.

Now our sensations are the various effects produced in us by realities, and by knowing these sensations we know the powers of these realities and knowing these powers we know the realities as they are. Similarly our ideas, feelings and volitions are the effects of our mind and by knowing these we know the various powers possessed by mind, and through these powers we know mind as it is.

Now what we ordinarily know as quality is really the effect produced by an object in our mind, *e. g.*, redness is popularly believed to be a quality of a flower but it is in fact the effect produced by the flower in our mind. The power producing this redness really exists in that flower, and by knowing it we know the nature of the flower itself. Thus quality in the correct sense is the power of doing something or producing some effect. In sensation, therefore, we find the manifestation of a quality or power of a thing. We therefore know matter as it is in our sensations.

This view is not identical with the old representationist theory because the popularly known qualities are not identified with the things producing them, nor are they treated as the images of things. They are treated as the effects produced by the powers of realities or objects. The more we know of their effects, the more is our knowledge of them. Thus in sensation we are face to face with the objective world.

It is also different from Hamilton's Natural Realism, for he says, "the ego and the non-ego are given in one original antithesis. We are immediately conscious in perception of an ego and a non-ego known together and known in contrast with each other. I am conscious of both existences in the same indivisible moment of intuition. Consciousness gives us an ultimate fact, a primitive duality—a knowledge of the ego in relation and mutual contrast with a non-ego, and of the non-ego in relation and contrast to the ego."

It is clear from this that though Hamilton pretends to get at reality directly by intuition he really infers it from the contrast of the ego and the non ego in consciousness. Whereas according to my view we come to know reality directly through the effects produced by the various forms of activity exerted by reality. No antithesis between the ego and the non-ego is required for our knowledge of reality. Besides, such an antithesis requires a previous knowledge of the ego and the determination of the non-ego through the medium of this antithesis makes our knowledge of the non-ego rather inferential in character.

Kant also admits that we are as sure of the not-self as of the self. Dr. H. Stephen also admits that the perception of an external object as limiting and resisting self must be an immediate intuition. But according to him the knowledge of the not-self as a material reality, extended in space, involves elements of inference, and construction and has to be acquired gradually. The popular realism on the other hand maintains that we are immediately conscious of the not-self as matter, i.e., we are immediately conscious of matter existing in space and having distance, magnitude, solidity, direction, and the like. My view is different from popular realism because according to it extension, solidity, etc., are not in matter but in our minds and they are produced in us by the powers possessed by matter. It also differs from Dr. Stephen's view because it maintains that all these effects are known directly and not constructed by any inferential process. The knowledge of matter as not-self is negative in character and can be had only by inference. Hence it is inconsistent to maintain that we know immediately matter as not-self. But according to my view our knowledge of matter is entirely positive in character as we directly know the various effects produced by matter in us, and later on by comparison and inference we come to distinguish matter from self because their respective effects and so their powers are different.

When several coins are placed on the table we never confuse the sensations produced by one coin with those of others. Similarly when a homeopath opens his box of medicines he does not confuse the sensation produced by one phial with that of another. Had there been any process like localisation of sensations mistakes would have been the usual practice. But the very fact that we correctly get at the different objects of the world and do not grope in the dark like blind men shows that the theory of localisation involving inference is entirely wrong. In sensation we are in direct communion with the world outside us. Similarly in thinking and volition we are in direct communion with the mental entity. This view alone can reconcile our practical outlook with philosophical speculation. The function of science is to ascertain the various effects produced by the objects of our world and to know the nature of these objects through these effects. Hence solipsism has no *locus standi*, and matter and spirit are not fictitious. Common sense makes the mistake in identifying the effects with the realities producing them, otherwise it is right to maintain that we know the objective world. Let us build our philosophy on this interpretation of sensation and reality.

PHILOSOPHY IN LORD BYRON

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A., B.E.S.

II *

THERE are many evils in the life of a man that ultimately work out his good. There is a Providence that shapes human destiny and in spite of the rough strokes of the chisel, the figure, in the end, assumes beauty and perfection. Such was the case with Byron. His unrequited love, the failure of his marriage, the shafts of calumny flung at him by his countrymen, more out of malice and jealousy than righteous indignation, made him go into voluntary exile with ineffective rage and deep sorrow that "gnawed at his spirit like the vulture at the heart of his long-loved Prometheus." Byron's journey to Geneva was for the most part uneventful from our point of view. It was only after his settlement there that he met Shelley for the first time and began an interesting literary friendship which was ended by the drowning of Shelley. It was a period of great achievements for Byron, when his genius took a deeper note, and his poetry displayed much grace and beauty, loftiness of inspiration and maturity of reflection. Shelley schooled him in the poems of Wordsworth, forced him to listen to the message of that sage, and raised and cheered his drooping spirit. The result was the Swiss poems, the concluding cantos of "*Childe Harold*," "*The Prisoner of Chillon*," "*The Dream*," and "*Manfred*," which comprise most of his nature poems composed in the spirit of Wordsworth. There is a definite growth in the poet's view of man and Nature. A new intellectual vision, imperfectly manifested in the earlier poems, now emerges as the full-fledged expression of his genius. Side by side with the poet of the dark realities of human life, we have the idealist who gives to his works the leaven of high mystic musings, through his reflections of life and eternity. If between 1819 and 1824 he wrote the sixteen cantos of "*Don Juan*," the great epic of life as he found it lived by people around him, he also wrote such highly philosophical dramas as "*Manfred*," "*Cain*," "*Heaven and Earth*," "*The Deformed Transformed*," and poems like "*The Prophecy of Dante*," "*The Lament of Tasso*," and "*The Island*."

The last cantos of "*Childe Harold*," written under the inspiring influence of English transcendental poets, form the high-water mark of Byron's philosophical achievement. Hounded by misfortunes and sorrows in his own life, and finding nothing but shattered hopes and disillusionment following in the life of nations that had expected so much from the French Revolution, Byron, like his fellow bards, fell into a mood of deep gloom and despondency. He sought a refuge and cure in Nature, as Wordsworth had sought and found before him. The transitoriness of human greatness and glory, pomp and splendour, conquests and empires, as he beheld them in the ruins of Spain and Greece, could not but impress upon him the inevitable lesson that all is vanity on earth. The lesson is unfolded to us in the pages of history which record the rise and fall of nations in a cyclic order, and so Byron exclaims:

"There is the moral of all human tales;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
 First Freedom, and then Glory—when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption,—barbarism at last,
 And History, with all her volumes vast,
 Hath but *one* page."¹

The poet conceives the various passions that direct the career of man and goad him to activity as flashes that are quenched in the darkness of death—all vain, though alluring phantoms:

"Love, fame, ambition, avarice—'tis the same,
 Each idle, and all ill, and none the worst—
 For all are meteors with a different name,
 And Death the sable smoke where vanishes the flame."²

We must, however, note that by Love, in this passage, Byron does not mean that celestial fire within man which bespeaks his divine nature and casts a glow on things around. Here he obviously refers to carnal passions "whence arise but weeds of dark luxuriance" yielding nothing but agony and regret. Otherwise, Love to him is the one universal

¹ "*Childe Harold*," IV, cviii.

² *Ibid.*, IV, cxxiii.

principle in Nature, and every object grows and thrives under its undying sway." It casts a halo of brightness and glory over everything that it looks upon, makes idols of all the objects of Nature, and enables one to feel the bliss of paradise even in the midst of wild and lonely scenes. He shares Shelley's spiritual conception of Love, which he too regards as the pervading Divinity whose presence it manifested in every physical phenomenon. It is an eternal transcendental power, that is imperfectly manifested in this world. We feel it and believe in it, though we cannot behold its proper form. It can, Byron claims, "impart

"The purity of heaven to earthly joys,

And root from out the soul the deadly weed which cloy." ¹

In moments of rapture it annihilates itself. The lover loses his identity in the object of his love, physical existence ceases, and there is achieved a complete fusion of the souls, as Byron puts in the mouth of Tasso:

"I lost my being, all to be
Absorb'd in thine; the world was past away;
Thou didst annihilate the earth to me!" ²

This is not passion but an idealisation of love which lifts man far above the murky atmosphere of individual passion to something glorious and divine in which he loses his individuality and is unified in the beauty of the whole. The highest spiritual flight of the poet, with reference to the theme of Love, is, however, reached in "*The Island*," where it is celebrated as a truly mystic ecstasy. It makes the devotee forget his immediate surroundings, and lifts him, through a process of refinement by linking him "to all we know of the heaven below," ³ ultimately to a complete union with God, the fountain-head of all Love and Beauty:

"the devotee
Lives not in earth, but in his ecstasy;
Around him days and worlds are heedless driven,

¹ "*Childe Harold*," IV, cxix.

² "*The Lament of Tasso*," VI.

³ "*The Island*," XVI.

His soul is gone before his dust to heaven.
Is love less potent ? No—his path is trod,
Alike uplifted gloriously to God.”¹

It is a purely transcendental view of Love which goes beyond all sense of experience, surpasses the limitations of time and space, and secures a complete fusion with Reality. It is a conception that is, certainly, as exalted and ecstatic as any entertained by the great mystics, and gives Byron the claim to rank high among the great idealistic thinkers of his time.

The conception of Nature that Byron expresses at this period shows the personal influence of Shelley, and the literary influence of Wordsworth. The picturesque scenery of Switzerland exercised a great power over his mind. With his “wounded and distempered spirit” he turns to Nature for solace, and finds in her a welcome sympathiser. “She was my early friend,” says the poet, “and now shall be my sister.” The Alpine landscapes give him food for contemplation and make him, for a moment, forget his desolation in the thought that he still beholds around him “some living things to love.” He makes

“ . . . friends of mountains : with the stars
And the quick spirit of the Universe
He held his dialogues ; and they did teach
To him the magic of their mysteries ;
To him the book of Night was open’d wide,
And voices from the deep abyss revealed
A marvel and a secret.”²

Thus initiated into the mysteries of Nature, not as an interpreter of her secrets, but as one full of deep feeling in her presence, the poet has his moments of happiness. She is a companion, a sympathiser, and a divinity, with a pervasive spirit that is co-eternal and transcendental. This Spirit embraces all existences within itself, and unifies them within its own being. Most of the passages are echoes of the utterances of Wordsworth. In “*Childe Harold*” the hero, like Wordsworth, feels a close link of sympathy and love with the objects of Nature. The mountains are his friends and the seashore his

¹ “The Islands,” XVI.
² “The Dream,” VIII.

home. He has the passion to roam under the canopy of blue sky and in glowing climes, for

"The desert, forest, cavern, breaker's foam,
Were unto his companionship ; they spake
A mutual language." ¹

Nature yields to him a charm and an attractiveness that enable him to experience the ecstatic feeling of loving friendship. For him

"There is a pleasure in the pathless wood,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is a society, where none intrudes,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar." ²

The peace and quiet around, the early song of the jocund birds, and the variegated hue of nature's bloom infuse into the tranquil, stern spirit of Harold a feeling of joy, though "with transient trace," while the "clear, placid Leman," like a loving sister, warns him, "with its stillness, to forsake Earth's troubled waters for a purer spring." ³ There is a Genius in the place which cannot be passed by unblest if one yields himself to its influence. Then will

"On the heart the freshness of the scene
Sprinkle its coolness, and from the dry dust
Of weary life a moment lave it clean
With Nature's baptism." ⁴

The elements of Nature have been thus conceived by Byron to possess an educative power, chastening and purifying the passions and desires of the devotee, a power which Wordsworth has celebrated in most of his nature poems.

This attitude leads the poet to hold Nature in high veneration, while his contemplative mood brooded over the nothingness of man who passes away, like a shadow, leaving only ruins as the signs of his ephemeral glory and greatness. These, too, in their turn, are doomed to decay and destruction. In sharp contrast to man, there is, he finds, an element of permanence in Nature. "States fall, arts fade—but

¹ "Childe Harold," III, xiii.

² *Ibid.*, IV, cxxxviii.

³ *Ibid.*, III, lxxxv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, lxxviii.

nature doth not die," "even though it be the scene of many conflicts and battles, carnage and bloodshed, in which men glory While "their very graves are gone," Nature again assumes its old, stainless aspect, and the streams, with their "dancing light," glass "the sunny ray" again without bearing any trace of man's ravages and evil deeds. The ocean and the mountain are the special phases which reveal the immutability of Nature and the littleness of man.

The spiritualisation of Nature is the natural sequence of such meditateness. But Byron's attitude is not animistic. Nor is it mystical nor pantheistic, but truly transcendental. Nature reveals to him no Godhead, nor does he identify any aspect of her with the Creator. He beholds "a work divine, a blending of all beauties," that excite a pure passion of love and reverence in the heart of the beholder and make him "contemn" all mundane objects as insignificant when compared with the sublime physical phenomena. The shore and the flowers yield to him "a living fragrance," he hears a floating whisper on the hill," witnesses "the starlight dews all silently their tears of love instil, weeping themselves away," and beholds the stars "which are the poetry of heaven," inspiring and inexplicable in their beauty and mystery."² The profound stillness prevailing from the "high host of stars" to the lulled lake and mountain coast seem to the poet to breathe

" a life intense
Where not a beam, nor air, nor leaf is lost,
But hath a part of being, and a sense
Of that which is of all Creator and defence."³

The conception is that of a transcendentalist who beholds the reality partly manifested through Nature. She suggests to him the existence of the Creator, and is "the image of eternity," "the throne of the Invisible." This Reality is a Personal God to Byron. His work is spread around us in all that exists in the universe. The consciousness of His presence stirs the soul of the poet with "the feeling infinite," purifies his inner self, and makes him acquainted with the Eternal harmony of the universe. It enables him to perceive everything in Nature as encircled with the girdle of beauty, and to feel a spirit interpenetrating all. His soul, meditating on a part, puts

¹ "Childe Harold," IV, 111.
² *Ibid.*, III, lxxx-lxxxviii.
³ *Ibid.*, III, lxxxix.

itself in direct touch with that spirit, and feels so dilated as to embrace the whole and be completely identified with it. It is such an ecstatic moment which the poet records in the following lines :

" I live not in myself, but I become
 A portion of that around me : and to me
 High mountains are a feeling, but the hum
 Of human cities torture : I can see
 Nothing to loathe in Nature, save to be
 A link reluctant in a fleshly chain
 Class'd among creatures, when the soul can flee,
 And with the sky, the peak, the heaving plain
 Of ocean, or the stars, mingle, and not in vain.
 And thus I am absorbed, and this is life." ¹

In "*The Island*" we have a still deeper reflection upon Nature. The poet says :

" How often we forget all time, when lone,
 Admiring Nature's universal throne.
 Her woods, her wilds, her waters, the intense
 Reply of hers to our intelligence !
 Live not the stars and mountains ? Are the waves
 Without a spirit ? Are the drooping caves
 Without a feeling in their silent tears ?
 No, no :—They woo and clasp us to their spheres,
 Dissolve this clog and clod of clay before
 Its hour, and merge our soul in the great shore,
 Strip off this fond and false identity !" ²

In such moods of rapture feeling transcends experience and reality is spiritually perceived through the establishment of "unity in the duality of the perceiving spirit and the spiritual world perceived." ³ The "clay-cold bonds" which cling round the celestial spark seem to sleep, and the free spirit enjoys a bright moment of divine glory when it seems to rejoin the universe and form again a portion of Eternity. The presence of an Infinite Spirit impresses itself most powerfully upon the soul in which the latter feels it has its motion and its being. The visitations, nevertheless, are few and far between

¹ "Childe Harold," III, lxxii.

² "The Island," XVI.

³ Dean Inge : "The Religious Philosophy of Plotinus," p. 30.

and leave the poet sad and dejected on account of his weakness. Hence in "*Childe Harold*" he cries out, like Shelley, to be made one with the tempest and the night so that he too may participate in their eternal might and glory:

" Most glorious night !
Thou wert not sent for a slumber ! let me be
A sharer in thy fiercer and far delight,—
A portion of the tempest and of thee !"¹

Although a transcendental view of the Divinity, a conception of Reality existing beyond the phenomena, takes away from Nature that mantle with which a pantheist invests her, yet it attributes to her a sanctity and holiness by regarding her as the most clear manifestation of the works and power of God. Her majesty and grandeur, charm and grace, strength and omnipotence, and the element of immortality above all, find an echo in the human heart and make her appear to him as the most fitting place to worship the Maker:

" In whose honour shrines are weak,
Uprear'd of human hand."²

In her uncircumscribed realms of worship man's soul is filled with sublime inspiration, and feels exalted and immortal, as the poet declares in the following lines:

" Majesty,
Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.
Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not ;
And why ? It is not lessen'd ; but thy mind,
Expanded by the genius of the spot,
Has grown colossal, and can only find
A fit abode wherein appear enshrined
Thy hopes of immortality."³

The high note of philosophy struck by Byron in the passages quoted above, is however only a temporary absorption of the self in "something afar from the sphere of our sorrow." It was a reverent faith in Wordsworth, and a burning passion in Shelley, but with Byron

¹ "*Childe Harold*," III, xciii.

² *Ibid.*, xci.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, cliv-clv.

it is a fitful spark that glows only at times. After it is consumed, "the blacken'd memory's blighting dream" asserts itself again and throws him into the depth of despondency and gloom, chasing him like "a wild animal pursued by hunters."¹ The shocks are administered by Nature herself, who, instead of healing, re-opens the wound. Her sound or music, a summer's eve or spring, a flower, the wind or the ocean, by reminding him of the happy moments of the past,

" Calls up to view
The spectres whom no exorcism can bind,—
The cold, the changed, perchance the dead.—" ²

"I am a lover of Nature," he declared in the journal of the mountain excursion, "and an admirer of Beauty But in all this—the recollection of bitterness, and more especially of recent and more home desolation, which must accompany me through life, have preyed upon me here; and neither the music of the shepherd, the crashing of the avalanche, nor the torrent, the mountain, the glacier, the forest, nor the cloud, have for one moment lightened the weight upon my heart, nor enabled me to lose my wretched identity in the majesty and the power and the glory, around, above, and beneath me." The same idea is expressed in "*The Prophecy of Dante*." One exiled from home, though shut out from a tiny spot and free to roam in the wide world, feels as much agony in his vast prison-house as a prisoner in his cell, for the whole world to him is a dungeon, and the seas, mountains, and the horizon's verge are the bars. Nature instead of mitigating his sorrows intensifies them by force of contrast. It is thus in our own mind that we can receive pleasure or pain and not in Nature:

. . . 'twas not in them, but in thy power
To double even the sweetness of a flower."

(To be continued.)

¹ Karl Elze: "Lord Byron: A Biography," p. 399.

² "Childe Harold," IV, xxiv.

³ "Don Juan," I, ccxiv.

SURENDRANATH BANERJEA •

KAMALA DEVI

SURENDRANATH entered the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta as an elected member in 1876 and continued as such until 1899, when he resigned his seat on the Corporation Council with twenty-seven other Commissioners as a protest against the Bill that was passed into law restricting the powers of the Corporation. His services in the Corporation were highly appreciated by the citizens by returning him again and again to the Corporation as their representative. Sir Henry Harrison, who was the Chairman of the Corporation during the eighties, held him in high regard for his valuable help in the work of the Corporation. In 1893, he was elected a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council as the representative of the Corporation and on one occasion he said in the course of a speech in the Council: "I have spent the best part of my life-time in the service of the Corporation. I entered it when young. I have grown grey in its service. The work of the Corporation has been the pleasure and the pride of my life." And the present Calcutta Municipal Act, subsequently partly amended for the worse, which gave to Calcutta its new "Charter of Freedom," was a gift of Surendranath to the city of his birth. The concluding words of his speech as the first Minister for Local Self-Government, in moving the Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1921, may be quoted here with ample justification as an illustration of his robust optimism and his unflinching faith in constitutionalism: "To me, Sir, the Bill affords a matter for personal solace and gratification. To me, it means the fulfilment of one of the dreams of my life. Ever since 1899, I have lived in the hope of witnessing the re-birth of my native city, robed in the mantle of freedom. I thank God that it has been vouchsafed to me to have had some share in achieving this consummation. I have endeavoured to embody in this Bill the principles which I preached and for which I lived and worked. . . ."

The reformed and expanded Legislative Councils met for the first time in 1893, and there being no legal bar in his way, he was returned

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to the Bengal Council. After his first term of office, the Corporation again elected him as their representative to the Council. For his third and fourth terms of office as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, he was returned first by the Municipalities and then by the District Boards of the Presidency Division. So, he was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council for eight consecutive years from 1893 to 1901, a period which for the quality and quantity of service is unique in the records of the reformed Council. His speeches on the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill showed his wide and detailed knowledge of the municipal affairs. He rendered invaluable services when new laws and regulations were framed. His debates on the Budgets of those years would ever remain as brilliant State documents. His conspicuous ability as a legislator was acknowledged on all hands.

He became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council in February, 1913, and in March he moved a Resolution recommending the separation of the judicial and executive functions in the administration of Criminal justice, a subject for which the Congress had been agitating from its beginning. It was, however, negatived by the vote of the official majority. Amongst other important resolutions that he moved, modification of the Press Act was one; but there was again the official majority, and the motion was defeated.

The other most important resolutions moved by Surendranath in the Imperial Legislative Council were Education, recommendation of the Decentralisation Commission relating to the expansion of Local Self-Government, the appointment of an Advisory Committee to deal with internees and the Reform proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The piece of legislation commonly known as 'Rowlatt Act,' was most vehemently opposed by him and he warned the Government about its grave consequences, and it is common knowledge that this 'Cobra Act,' was pre-eminently and primarily responsible for the Non-Co-Operation movement.

In the election of 1916 he lost his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council and reverted once again to the normal public life outside the Council.

Surendranath's connection with the Indian National Congress began from its second sitting in 1886 at Calcutta. The causes which prevented him from joining the first session of the Congress at Bombay in 1885 have been mentioned before. With the exception of this sitting and one at Karachi, he was present at all the sittings of the Con-

gress until 1918 when he, along with other old Congress stalwarts, seceded from the Congress, as the difference between them and the people who captured the machinery of the Congress was fundamental. To quote Surendranath himself on this: "The Congress, however great an organisation, was after all a means to an end. That end was self-government. We decided to sacrifice the means for the end." "It was a heavy price to pay, but it had to be paid." To him, as to many of them, separation from the Congress was a painful wrench—men who had built up the great national institution with their life-blood.

Now, to go back to the earlier years of his Congress activities. Surendranath threw himself heart and soul into the Congress movement. He was already working in this direction through the Indian Association and two sittings of the Indian National Conference, organised by him, with identical objects, were already held in 1883 and 1885. Now, with the spirit of accommodation, characteristic of the man, he placed himself completely at the service of the Congress. At the Calcutta Congress and in all subsequent sittings of the Congress he always moved the Resolution on the Reform and Enlargement of the Councils, which was a subject of absorbing interest to him. "In the kaleidoscopic display of subjects and resolutions that came up before the Congress, in successive years, there was hardly any he was not feeling himself equal to." He left for England on a Congress Deputation in March, 1890.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress organised their meetings. Surendranath addressed many of these meetings. The British Committee recorded his splendid work in England in these words: "Particularly does it desire to recognise Mr. Surendranath Banerjee's prolonged and able services; he attended all the meetings and succeeded by his powerful oratory in exciting an unusual degree of interest among his audiences." An English eye-witness wrote thus: ". . . Experienced speakers in and out of Parliament found in him a deal which recalled the sonorous thunders of a William Pitt, the dialectical skill of a Fox, the rich freshness of illustration of a Burke and the keen wit of a Sheridan. Throughout the powerful speech, he entirely drops himself and makes the Indian natives' cause his own." He returned to India in July, 1890.

In 1895 he was for the first time elected President of the Indian National Congress held at Poona—the highest honour that his country

men could bestow upon a servant of the Nation. The ovation that he received at Poona and elsewhere was unprecedented in those days. He delivered the whole of his Presidential (written) Address without referring to the copy or any notes, and for over four hours which he took, kept up the attention of an assembly of over five thousand people 'undiminished and without flagging.' When he finished his speech, he 'found that the atmosphere had become electric, seething with an exuberance of feeling' for which even he was not prepared. He was elected President of the Congress for the second time in 1902 at Ahmedabad. His unbounded popularity, and the great demand for him at the sessions of the Congress would be evident from the fact that on his declining at first the signal honour and suggesting the name of another patriotic Bengalee—Mr. Kali Churn Banurji—his friend Sir Dinshaw Wacha wrote back to say, 'that there was the great Delhi Durbar in 1902 (in connection with the Coronation of King-Emperor Edward VII); a counter attraction, and a counter-influence had to be set up; and Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta and the Reception Committee were of opinion that he should preside. . . .'

On July 20, 1905, the announcement was made that Bengal was to be partitioned. The announcement fell like a bomb-shell upon the public. They felt that they had been 'insulted, humiliated and tricked.' They also felt that it was a deliberate blow aimed at the growing solidarity and self-consciousness of the Bengalee-speaking population. And the leaders of public opinion in Bengal, headed by Surendranath, made up their minds to do all that lay in their power constitutionally to reverse or to modify the partition. A public meeting was held at the Town Hall on August 7, when a temporary boycott of British goods was resolved upon to call the attention of the British public to the great grievance of the Bengalee people.

The Swadeshi movement had its beginnings in this boycott movement. Surendranath guided the Swadeshi movement and anti-partition agitation with consummate skill and ability. He travelled widely all over the province, preaching the gospel of Swadeshi.

On April 14, 1906, the Bengal Provincial Conference was to have met at Barisal. When the delegates were proceeding to the pandal they were dispersed by the police and Surendranath was arrested and brought before the District Magistrate, who convicted him for disobeying the orders of the Magistrate and also for contempt of Court and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 200 for each offence. On an

appeal to the High Court, the conviction was set aside and the amount of fine refunded. To quote Surendranath: "I returned home from Barisal full of indignation, with my unshakable optimism sensibly impaired; and one of the first things that I did was to sever what remained of my connexion with the Government. For the moment, I became a Non-co-operator, one of the earliest apostles of that cult. . . ."

If that was the temper of a tried and seasoned politician like Surendranath, the attitude of the younger generation might well be imagined. It was a time of intense excitement. The agitation that followed was unique and unparalleled in the annals of Bengal. The Bomb conspiracy at Maniktala was discovered in 1908. The bureaucracy was alarmed at this development. The liberty of the Press and of public meetings was curtailed.

In December, 1908, Aswinikumar Dutt, Krishnaskumar Mitra, Syamsundar Chakrabarti and six other gentlemen, prominently connected with the Swadeshi Movement, were deported. It was said that the order for Surendranath's deportation was also ready but that it was cancelled at the last moment through the intervention of Sir Edward Baker, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who knew him well.

About the middle of May 1909, Surendranath went to England to attend the Imperial Press Conference, and on the speech he made at a challenge from Lord Cromer, the house came down with uproarious applause, and a member of the Conference remarked that 'Mr. Banerjea wiped the floor with Lord Cromer.' The 'Manchester Courier,' a conservative organ, said of a speech delivered by him at Manchester thus: '... the effect of the speech was almost electrical. To find themselves addressed in their own language by a native of India with a fluency that must have been the envy of all present, and with the impassioned utterance that only a born orator can attain, was an experience that happens only once in a lifetime.' During his stay in England he utilised every opportunity for the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.

As soon as his work as a member of the Press Conference was over he busied himself in an agitation against the Partition. Sir Henry Cotton, who followed him after he had made a speech, said that 'if the growth of national feeling in India and of the sense of patriotism and enthusiasm for the motherland was due to any man, that

man was Babu Surendranath Banerjea.' Mr. Keir Hardie, leader of then nascent Labour Party, and one of the best friends of India, said: ' Mr. Banerjea was one of the few, very few, whose personality was greater than his reputation.'

In his addresses in England in 1909, the two questions to which he devoted the largest measure of attention were the modification of the Partition of Bengal, and the introduction of Self-Government in India. At a gathering at Mr. William Stead's house, Mr. Stead, the famous publicist and philanthropist, put the following question to Surendranath:

' If you were under sentence of death, Mr. Banerjea, and the headsman's axe was to fall in two minutes, what is the message which you would wish to address to the British Public as the last words you were able to utter on behalf of your motherland ? '

And Surendranath's prompt reply was: ' I would say this: (1) Modify the partition of Bengal; (2) Release the deported patriots and repeal the Act which annuls Habeas Corpus in Bengal; (3) Amnesty all the political prisoners; (4) Give the people of India control of their own taxes; and (5) Grant India a constitution on the Canadian model. That is what I would say, and, having said that, I would go to my doom.'

Mr. Stead in his ' Review of Reviews ' wrote a note on Surendranath in which, among other things, he said: ' . . . He was the only representative of the Native Indian Press at the Conference, and none of the editors of the Empire excelled him in eloquence, energy, geniality, and personal charm.'

He left England in August, 1909, with the conviction that if they continued the agitation for some time longer, the Partition was bound to go. He was given reception on return home, at Howrah station, ' on a scale rivalling that accorded to Dadabhai Naoroji when he came to Calcutta to preside over the Congress of 1906.'

Then came the Morley-Minto reforms, and the new Councils came into existence in 1910. These measures were welcomed as a small advance as no one in the land was under the delusion that they meant very much. The deported gentlemen were released as a first measure of the Reformed Government.

Surendranath, as a dismissed servant of the Government, was not eligible for election to the Legislative Councils brought into being by the Parliamentary Statute of 1909. Sir Edward Baker, the

Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, of his own motion, removed this disqualification. But as he would not enter the Councils unless and until the Partition was modified, Surendranath informed Sir Edward Baker that he could not avail himself of the opportunity of standing as a candidate for election to the Reformed Council.

Surendranath drew up a memorial, had it signed by all representative and influential men of Bengal and submitted it to Lord Hardinge, who came out to India as Viceroy in 1910, about the end of June, 1911. The Partition was modified on December 12, 1911, by the announcement made by His late Majesty King George V at Delhi.

The most stirring event since then was the announcement made in 1917 by Mr. Montagu in British Parliament promising the grant of responsible government to India. Mr. Montagu came out to India with his deputation, visited many parts of the country, examined witnesses, had long discussions with prominent men all over the country, and returned to England.

In July, 1918, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published, over which there was an angry outcry from the extremist section of the Press. A special session of the Congress was called to consider the Report. The Congress had become more extremist than ever and Surendranath and his Moderate friends decided to abstain. They held a conference of the moderate party in Bombay in November, 1918, over which Surendranath presided.

In course of his presidential address he urged for a deputation of the Moderate Party to England. When, the Report of the Franchise Committee was published, the deputation was organised, of which he was the head.

When Surendranath was in England on deputation, the unforgettable atrocities at Jallianwallabagh and the horrors of the martial law kindled a conflagration throughout the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent.

In September, 1919, Surendranath returned to India, having spent over four months in England, when he spared no pains to serve the best interests of his country according to his light. The period was a crowded season of strenuous work.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were launched into operation under the shadow of the Non-Co-operation movement. The forces of Non-Co-operation appealed to the electors not to vote and to the candidates not to stand. In such a state of affairs, Surendranath

entered the reformed Bengal Legislative Council as an elected member. He was returned unopposed. He was offered the post of a Minister and the choice of any portfolio that he preferred. He accepted the offer and suggested that he should like to have Education and Local Self-Government. But as such a combination was impossible in view of the arrangement of work in the Secretariat, he finally decided to accept Local Self-Government.

Surendranath, along with two other Ministers, was installed in office on January 4, 1921. The Press of Bengal was saturated with the spirit of Non-Co-operation, and was extremist in its views and utterances. He started work in a rather hostile atmosphere. He appealed to the Press to help him in his work for the promotion of public health, and invited a conference of the members of the Press. In order to secure the co-operation of the people and to create an atmosphere that would stimulate the discussion of local sanitary problems and their ultimate solution he visited several towns of East, West and North Bengal. He started the Indianisation of the Medical Department in Bengal by recommending to the Secretary of State for reducing the number of appointments reserved for the Indian Medical Service from forty to twenty-four, including the withdrawal of certain appointments in the Calcutta Medical College from the reserved list. He introduced the association of independent eminent medical practitioners, who were in the forefront of the profession, in hospital work. The most important work of Surendranath as Minister was the Calcutta Municipal Act. The constitution of the Corporation was democratised by the broadening of the franchise, the abolition of plural voting, the admission of women into the electorate and four-fifths of the numbers to be elected by the rate-payers. Ere this, his appointment of Mr. S. N. Mallik as the first non-official Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation evoked praise for him even from the extremist Press.

On the expiry of the first term, Surendranath stood again as a candidate for election to the Bengal Legislative Council from the same constituency—the municipalities in the Barrackpore Sub-division. (It may be mentioned in passing that he was the Chairman of the North Barrackpore Municipality for over four decades.) The Congress by that time lifted the ban against Council entry. The Swarajist party, the right wing of the Congress, contested the election and set up its candidate against Surendranath, who had been twice President of the

Congress, and who stood head and shoulders above any other public man in the province in respect of political service to the country. Surendranath was defeated by the Swarajist candidate. Strange irony of fate ! He retired from public life. He was then about seventy-six years old. He did not long survive this defeat. On August 6, 1925, after a brief illness he passed away at his restful retreat overlooking the calm waters of the Bhagirathi at Barrackpore, where he used to retire for quiet rest every evening after the day's strenuous toil at Calcutta.

Thus closed the long, chequered and glorious career of Sir Surendranath Banerjea, one of the greatest sons and truest servants of mother India.

CONCLUSION

In a letter (which was his last letter) to Surendranath, Romesh Chunder Dutt, a prince among his peers, observed : " What a wonderful revolution we have seen within the lifetime of a generation ! What progress in the thoughts and ideas of a nation and what a noble part you have played in leading that change ! Our fellow-workers are dropping one by one round us . . . we too shall be passing away soon,—but the History of India of the Nineteenth Century and early Twentieth Century will cherish the names of a band of patriotic workers,—none greater, truer, more persistent and more patriotic than yourself."

Revolution indeed—but a bloodless revolution, in which Surendranath's contribution in the domain of politics was perhaps the greatest. He was a firm believer in the progressive evolution of society, and throughout his long life he pursued a course that ever avoided violence in thought, speech and action.

He entered public life, while yet a youngman (27), with neither wealth nor rank, and as a dismissed member of the Indian Civil Service, he had no credit with the Government or the Anglo-Indian (old-style) community, but in a short time he carved out for himself a high and honoured position in the love and esteem of his educated countrymen. His leonine courage and indomitable will, and his invincible faith in the mission of his life, never allowed him to take things lying down and surrender to the decrees of Fate.

The unique position which he occupied in the leadership of his countrymen was no doubt due to his unrivalled powers of eloquence, his vast wealth of words and imageries 'whose volume and cadence carried immense audiences like a mighty torrent in a high flood,' but his fighting qualities, and his tenacity of purpose—a peculiar trait of the Teutonic race—were also no less responsible for this. He was gifted with a prodigious memory, as was evident during the delivery of his presidential addresses at Poona and Ahmedabad—which was still more sharpened by careful cultivation. 'He had that personal magnetism, which is a universal endowment of all powerful leaders of men.'

His burning love for his country and his steadfast devotion to duty, his undying faith in constitutionalism and in Englishman's love of freedom, his political sagacity and his grasp of realities of situation as also his far-sightedness kept him firm in his ground. One who was openly anointed and crowned by his fellow countrymen during the Swadeshi movement when his popularity reached its high-water mark, whom a man like Rashbehary Ghose called "my liege lord," was, in the evening of his life, almost hounded out of public life and shouted down as a 'traitor,' an 'impostor,' and so on, only because he could not see eye to eye with the leaders of the Non-Co operation movement, but, on the contrary, could see nearly two decades ago the futility of non-co-operation and boldly made up his mind to work the Constitution, in which he found the partial fruition of his and his fallen comrades' labours extending over nearly half a century.

"Non-co-operation may help us to stand on our own legs by making us wholly dependent upon our own resources and activities. But at the same time, it cuts off from the perennial and ever-sustaining sap afforded by the culture and civilization of the world, and the wide outlook which is a stimulus to progress. We cannot stand alone, isolated and detached from the rest of mankind"—thus wrote Surendranath in the concluding chapter of his autobiography. 'And to-day we find that the Congress, after a long but avoidable struggle, has at last seen its way to accept office and work the Constitution granted to India by Britain !

As a Minister of the Government, at an age when people in our country completely retire from all activities—public and private—he worked with the ardour of youth and spared himself no pains, and

displayed rare civic courage, disinterested patriotism and inflexible integrity.

In private life, he was a man of extremely regular habits and sobriety—he was a teetotaler—very particular about his health, taking regular exercise almost up to the end of his days. He was a devoted son, a loving husband, an affectionate father, a warm friend and a genial neighbour.

For over fifty years Surendranath was not only a political force in the land but something more, and it may be rightly said of him :

“ Statesman, yet friend to truth ! of soul sincere,
In action faithful and in honour clear ;
Who broke no promise, served no private end,
Who gained no little, and who lost no friend.”

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO HARDY'S *DYNASTS*

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I

Introductory

SOME critics plainly confess that Hardy should not have attempted the theme of the *Dynasts* in the form of a drama; he could have created another *War and Peace* out of it in the form of a novel. They refuse to appreciate Hardy in the unfamiliar rôle of a dramatist. They even think that he is a failure. A drama in three parts, nineteen Acts, and one hundred and thirty scenes is a Herculean endeavour no doubt: but it cannot be a drama in the accepted sense of the term to-day. It is too vast to be effective. To stage it is impossible; to read it through at one sitting requires the patience of a Job; to visualise it as a *succinct whole* is a prospect of regret even to the seasoned Hardy-worshipper. How then *can* it be read, how best appreciated? It is hopelessly immense inside and out! "The action is laid in Europe during the Napoleonic wars, and in its pages we see Kings, Queens, Emperors, Statesmen, Diplomats, Courtiers, Cardinals, Generals, Cabinets, Parliaments, State ball-rooms, soldiers, armies, battle-fields, pass and repass before the mental horizon as the great game and tragedy of life is played, with rulers, armies and peoples as tools and counters." It is Epic in conception and Dramatic in form, but as an Epic Drama it is a contradiction in terms. Background scenes, vast and grand in design—the mighty Alps, the roaring Atlantic, the frozen limitlessness of the Russian plain—create the atmosphere, but before the full dramatic effect could be produced by their interaction with the thoughts and deeds of persons, the episode changes and something fresh is introduced. The confusion of artistic effect is further confounded by the Supernatural Agencies looking down upon the dwellers of the Earth "as mere manikins, running hither and thither"—as if we were not the free makers of our destiny, as if we were really pawns in the hands of a mighty Fate!

Others, again, there are who refuse to regard seriously this modernistic criticism of the drama as a mere drama; they detect in it, on the other hand, a super-ethical import and insist on proper regard being paid to the *intrinsic* value of the matter as a whole. After Goethe's *Faust* and Shelley's *Prometheus*, European literature, up to the end of the 19th Century, cannot boast of a more robust and spiritually-compact effort in the same direction than Hardy's *Dynasts*. For this reason alone, if for none other, these critics aver that the book should be properly approached and reverently studied. We at any rate shall try to do so in this paper.

II

The Main Thesis

Swinburne's *Atalanta*, now, is another ambitious drama. It is frankly classical in form, while romantic in spirit. *The Dynasts*, on the other hand, is Gothic in spirit and semi-romantic in form. But it is also something more. Swinburne's *Atalanta* is the inspired creation of an anti-spiritual agnostic; Hardy, on the other hand, stands before the baffling problems of life, a believer who is compelled by circumstances to suspend his belief in the *active* benevolence of Destiny. *The Dynasts* therefore, reflects this inner conflict in the author's soul which, in its turn, unites the innumerable parts of the drama into a complex synthesis. The eternal Problem of Evil, however, remains unsolved as ever and the recovery of ethical balance in the system of things is ultimately left in the hands of a Power who is greater than Man. Swinburne the Anglo-Greek would demur at this and exclaim in answer, "The supreme Evil, God!" Hardy, however, neither exclaims nor weeps: he simply accepts the Inevitable and bows down his head. The utter futility of Man chastens him by sorrow:

" . . . men . . . who wade across the world
To make an epoch, bless, confuse, appal,
Are in the elemental ages' chart
Like meanest insects on obscurest leaves
But incidents and grooves of Earth's unfolding;
Or as the brazen rod that stirs the fire
Because it must."

Hardy's *Dynasts*, therefore, is the last comment on the indubitable and ultimate insignificance of man as man ; though, sometimes,

" a stirring thrills the air
Like to sounds of joyance there
That the rages
Of the ages
Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered "—

not by any human initiative, but by

" Consciousness the Will informing, till
It fashion all things fair."

Half-hearted accents of hope, after all, at their very best ! Swinburne, however, posing as the avenging opposite of Abdiel in *Atalanta*, would refuse to be consoled even by this.

III

The Title and the Preface

The prescriptive title of the book is supplemented by a descriptive one—*The Dynasts: an Epic Drama of the War with Napoleon*.

Now, Hardy opens the Preface with a very significant sentence: "The Spectacle here presented in the likeness of a Drama is concerned with the Great, Historical Calamity, or clash of Peoples, artificially brought about some hundred years ago." Further on, again: "*The slight regard paid to English influence and action throughout the struggle by those Continental writers who had dealt imaginatively with Napoleon's career, seemed always to leave room for a new handling of the theme which should re-embody the features of this influence in their true proportion.*" These sentences clearly define Hardy's point of view. Two facts stand out quite clearly: (1) the great historical calamity or clash of peoples was *artificially* brought about ; that is, Napoleon's tyrannical dictatorship and aggressiveness had done it, and so the rest of Europe had to take up arms to bring him down on his knees ; and (2) due regard not having been paid so far to the value of England's co-operation in this affair, Hardy means to handle the theme anew so that it might be done. And how does Hardy do it ? By blackening Napoleon with a tarred brush ? No. By fixing Nelson, Pitt and Wellington in their deserving positions in the economy of that epic story and symbolically proving thereby that

England was the God-ordained agent to bring the European political situation to its normal equilibrium.

Intoxicated with power, Napoleon thought himself to be another *Cæsar* or Alexander and demanded that the whole world should kiss the dust of his feet. But who was he, after all? Rough and noisy, fond of theatrical poses, full of the first personal imperative, disrespectful and impertinent, a mere Corsican adventurer, a *parvenu*, an upstart! Was he not all this, according to the 'throned powers' of the day? How could, therefore, the Czar of all the Russias, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Spain—the 'dynasts' by divine right and lineal tradition—accept *him* as their equal? But they had to do it: and what is more, had also to bow down before him more than once, on the most humiliating terms. England could have looked on all this with philosophical indifference: it was not *her* business to interfere. But Napoleon never spared *her* as well. He attempted to invade India and force England to the position of an economic outcast and thus seriously interfered with her colonial trade and commerce. So the God-ordained Nemesis at length rose and punished the Evil-doer, according to Hardy.

But, unfortunately, Continental writers, like Stendhal, Tolstoy and others, in their imaginative treatment of Napoleon as another contending 'dynast,' have not sufficiently recognised the rôle of England as the Avenging Angel; in other words, Pitt, Wellington and Nelson have not received their due meed of praise and appreciation in the hands of these. The bad odour of the notorious Napoleonic phrase "a nation of shop-keepers" has clung even to them. Hardy, naturally, cannot tolerate this and reshuffles the whole situation by making martyrs and Catos of the whole lot. But still, Napoleon leaves behind him the impression of a meteor that consumes itself to light the earth and in its dazzling refulgence even Nelsons and Wellingtons pale into insignificance!

IV

The Design of the Drama

And, indeed, the bewildering details of Napoleon's meteoric career force Hardy to meditate very deeply and search for an *ultimate* explanation. He finds it by discovering the print of that moving finger of Fate on the sands of Time which, after having written, moves on unperturbed and inexorable! Before the entranced gaze of the poet, a

series of 'maelstroms' passes down the fateful ten years of Napoleon's reign—Admirals and Generals, Emperors and Kings, peasants and Politicians, burghers and the proletariat bob up and down in the boiling surge and Napoleon appears as the ruler of the flood for the time being, until he too is swamped and swept away by an irresistible force which he cannot withstand. An implacable Will sways the current—the Will in Man, the Will behind the universe that courses through its million veins of Thought and Action; and Napoleon himself is compelled to confess :

" Yet 'tis true, I have ever known
That such a Will I passively obeyed."

Man fights on questions of Good, Evil, Justice, Injustice. The gods, meanwhile, loftily laugh and silently proceed by turning over the leaves of Life. Kingdoms rise and kingdoms fall in their wake!

The Dynasts is inspired with this train of reflections and this is why it is a drama without a hero and still full of heroic deeds; profoundly dynamic, it still surges between rigidly static situations that have their counterparts in the life of man down the countless aeons of historic time. Hence "the Spectacle" presented before us is simply "in the likeness of a drama"; it is a "panoramic show," "a series of historical ordinates"; a "historical presentment on an intermittent plan."

But in this general design a special place is occupied by the Higher Powers of the Overworld presided over by the invisible Highest.

Hardy conceives of a "First or Fundamental Energy in Its abstract essence" and makes this Primal *It* the most significant, though entirely invisible, spectator of this great drama which, through its action, seems to unfold, again, nothing but *Its own Immanent Will* which still remains inscrutable as ever. Mysteriously, behind the veil of the Visible, *It* works also; and *It* works so

" That the far-off consequence appears
Prompt at the heel of foregone cause."

" It works unconsciously, as heretofore,
Eternal artistries in circumstance,
Whose patterns, wrought by rapt æsthetic rôle
Seem in themselves *Its* single listless aim,
And not *their* consequence."

Thus Hardy makes us feel that this drama (that is, the allotted portion of general European life in action during the Napoleonic period) rises and falls, because an unseen Power behind it controls its rhythms, but allows in the wake of conflicting character and circumstances, the stringing together of certain episodes, that are merely irregular though inevitable. The whole drama is, thus, brooded over by an atmosphere of determinism. But a regularity of clock-like laws also gradually evolves behind the irregular pattern of developing circumstances, and in the end we discover that Man, with his infinite capacity for work and suffering, feels befogged and is compelled to commit, knowingly and unknowingly, many a bad and mad "act of severance" from his Creator for which, however, he is caught in the cleft of a stick and forced to expiate.

Next to note are certain impersonated Abstractions or Intelligences called "Spirits," who, next to the invisible omniscient *It*, act as supernatural spectators of the main action. Hardy divides them into *three* groups: (1) The first is that of the Pities who approximate to "the universal sympathy of Human nature—the spectator idealised." (2) The second is that of the spirit of the years, approximating "the passionless insight of the Ages." (3) The rest include the spirits Sinister and Ironic and the Spirit of Rumour as also the Shade of the Earth—"all eclectically chosen auxiliaries" who form into groups of 'contrasted choruses' and are thus different from what we find in the old classical dramas of Greece.

Hence, these "Spirits" seem to have *three* functions separately: the "Pities" are swayed by emotions, and feeling with the party that suffers, they are *now* for Napoleon, and *next* for his enemies—as the action determines. "The Spirit of the Years," on the other hand, is without any sympathy or antipathy: it is indifferent to whatever happens to either party; its main function seems to record simply that which has already happened in the past and bring it on a line with what is happening *now* and what will happen *in the future*.

As such it renders considerable help to the advancing action in so far as it keeps the episodes each in its own place, and thus it still weaves the plain texture of a Principle that underlies the whole design. It may therefore be regarded as the unmoved recorder of that conflict between the Divine Will and the Will of Man which, translated into action, defines the dynamic force of human life and purpose. The "Spirits Sinister and Ironic" are not mere spectators: occasionally

these Puck-like Ariels whisper ticklish promptings into the ears of the main protagonists and thus influencing their action of the moment, precipitate crisis after crisis. The " Spirit Sinister " is, again, full of Mephistophelian guile, while the " Spirit Ironic " is a pessimist and a sceptic, and as such, profoundly exasperating. These spirits, therefore, appear in the drama as so many effective forces of determinism—now sympathetic, now otherwise—that thwart the free will of Man.

A fateful choice of these agencies of this Invisible Will is that *petit Corporal* who, after achieving his full height, dares to challenge the whole of " Official Europe " to fight *him*—the champion of Revolutionary liberalism in the purple. The fun becomes furious as the rest of Europe takes up the challenge. Europe is convulsed and that mighty demiurge born of the First Revolution brings about a stupendous political catharsis perhaps unequalled in the history of modern Europe: mediæval feudalism is seared up to the core at last.

But is all this a mere political *accident*?—a detached passage in the history of Man? Hardy says—No. For the rebirth of a New Europe this convulsion was necessary. And yet—Napoleon falls, Nelson is killed, Pitt dies heart-broken!—Under the controlling guidance of the Supreme Universal Will Man serves as the pawn in the game of life and his history is made *for* him by linking up his Past with his Present and Future, by agencies unknown to him. He may be totally wiped out as an individual after his work is over. They do not care to know whether he lives still or is dead! This is why the Emperor of France mopes as the hopeless prisoner in St. Helena; a West Indian half-caste woman reigns as an Empress, and when her own need is sorest just then she is flung aside like a pair of old shoes. These paradoxes *are*; they cannot be explained away. Man can only ask, without any response:

" Why the All-mover,

Why the All-prover

Ever urges on and measures out the chordless Chime of Things 't

V

Ethics in Hardy's Art: Conclusion

Hardy's reading of the history of the period has thus been deeply coloured by his sense of Ethics and of Art. This, again, has

characterised his treatment of Napoleon and the part played by England in that great European conflict.

But Art and Ethics go hand in hand in almost all the works of Hardy and each is a set-off to the other to the advantage of both.

Out of the triangular conflict between Evangelism, Tractarianism and Scientific Agnosticism of the mid-Victorian period there arose a spirit of intellectual unrest seeking relief in introspection. Thus were abjured by the best minds of the day those conventional standards of religion and morality which were the sheet-anchor of the typically Victorian philistine. Hardy, the Æschylus of his Age, was of necessity a *sui-generis*; and he also rejected with determination those conventional standards; but neither did he accept those frothy, sentimental pseudo-Gallic but popular canons of Art and Criticism which were the Gospel of the Decadents. The earth, the sea, the sky of his beloved "Wessex," the treacherous smile of the landscapes, the sombre depth of the atmosphere, the procession of seasons over the undulating Downs, the primitive life of the people with whom he lived—all coloured his thoughts and feelings in their own elemental and *simple* way. They helped him unconsciously to build up that high seriousness of intellectual nature which he acquired by directly communing with Nature and her mysteries in his characteristic Celto-Gothic way. So to Hardy the culture of Art meant the culture of his soul, a much deeper fact than mere life and living. Hence *his* response to the intellectual reaction of his times was peculiarly individualistic.

This individualism is apparent in the *elemental* character of his art. He wields, as an artist, not the Greek lyre, but the Indian *Tan-pura*: the timbre of his utterances is worthily solid and simple, their significance eminently *suggestive*. No emotion, however complex, no passion, however multi-coloured, no thought, however far-reaching in all the works of Hardy, but can be explained and understood by referring to the few, distinct, *running* tones that tune the whole. Nature, Man and God—strung together in an invisible line of mutual reactions—build up a conceptual correlation—the mystery of which puzzles him no less than it fascinates. His enraptured mind tracks down the complex problems of life and character to their simplest components, and the more he contemplates, the easier becomes the meaning of the universals as seen through the narrow media of the particulars. This is why the "Wessex" region alone is the microcosm of the universe to him. He is not really "insular." Out of this realisation

arises that other conviction about the essential unity of Things and Thoughts in continuous bonds of Harmony that bind the Past with the future of Life and Soul, the slightest break in which, in Hardy's *Æsthetics*, would mean Tragedy. But these breaks are not unusual: hence cataclysmic changes in the life of Man and Polity also are not unusual. When even a Napoleon is the instrument of such a breach, he *has* to suffer and with him also suffer countless millions of men and women who, perforce, live in the shadow of this perpetual fear! This is that view-point of Hardy where his Art meets his Ethics and each completes the other.

Meanwhile

"What of the Immanent Will and its designs?"

No man has ever given a satisfactory reply to this up till now. So the only consolation in life is prayer, even in tune with that which the Pities peal out in the end:

"To Thee whose eye all Nature owns,
 Who hurlest Dynasts from their thrones,
 And liftest those of low estate
 We sing, with Her men consecrate!
 Yea, Great and Good, Thee, Thee we hail
 Who shak'st the strong, Who shield'st the frail!

... ..

"Exultant adoration give
 The Alone, through Whom all living live,
 The Alone, in Whom all dying die
 Whose means the End shall justify."

PROSE POEM

" BIAL "

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Pride of the East, delicate blossom of India, thou, the very soul of the
Motherland !
Paragon of honour and chastity, purveyor of the country's fame by thy
hand ;
Ideal life thine is verily a book of model pride for the world entire ;
Every deed and word a veritable commentary upon thy fidelity and
the heart's desire ;
The shining galaxy of stars studding like gems the firmament on high,
Ere they face thy sparkling beauty on the horizon of the East, bow
down their heads well-nigh,
Lo ! as the arrow of the heavens' tyranny smites man from above in
twain,
And the lightning darts of sorrow alight on the parched stalk of his
heart amain ;
Aye, as the hapless fellow has to bear in silence the buffetings of
fortune dire,
And stumbles, a victim to the knocks of vicissitudes bearing him down
the mire ;
Even so, doth a single coy glance of thine charm away his troubles,
in fine ;
Thy loving kiss a potion sweet for all his ills, turns the home into a
garden of Eden, wherein dost thou shine ;
Thou needest not the vain trick of artificial array ;
The redolent glow of thy natural beauty doth all art dismay.
The diadem of thy proverbial virtue and modesty doth exact homage
from the world around,
Chaste thoughts thine, e'er so sublime, do always to the credit of the
Lady of the Realm redound,
Canst thou alone metamorphose the lurid form of the Nation abject,
Only if thou hadst not strayed behind in the race of knowledge
circumspect.

Where is thy erstwhile high-souled ambition and courage gone to-day ?
The present Age of Decadence is, indeed, wistfully longing in trepidation for the redoubtable hand of Chand Bibi in foray,
Make only the service of God's creation thy sole aim and ambition ;
Unravel yet the tangles of the Nation worsted, with thy foresight, and
fire aglow its hoary complexion.
Hark ! the shrieking gale of fitful circumstances howls to turn thee
astray ;
Beware ! Tread the rugged path of the eventful future with caution
and thus the final destination confidently survey.

STALIN AS THE MANAGER OF LENINISM No. II

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Docteur en Géographie honoris causa

THE TWO LENINS

THE Bolshevik revolution was consummated in Russia (November 1917) according to the 100% communistic ideology of Lenin's *Imperialism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917). This pure communism or Leninistic Marxism was in actual operation in Soviet Russia for nearly four years (1918-1921). But by 1922 Lenin was convinced that the pure communism of his theory would not work and so he established the state-capitalism of the New Economic Policy (N. E. P.).¹ It was after the introduction of this N. E. P. that the Genoa Conference was held in 1922 at which Russia's spokesman was Chicherin and international recognition in commerce and diplomacy was conferred on the Bolshevik state. Lenin saw the N. E. P. in practice for nearly two years and died in 1924.

But since 1922 whatever has happened in Bolshevik Russia has followed not the Lenin of 1917-21 but the Lenin of 1922. There are two Lenins. The first Lenin is the theorist, the philosopher, the idealist. As theorist and philosopher he was the uncompromising prophet of ruthless and radical or extremist communism, involving as it does class-struggle on an international scale. But the second Lenin is the statesman, the *Realpolitiker*, the seasoned worker in the field of patriotism and social service for his Russian people. As such he commenced virtually on a clean state, with hardly any memories of his past, so to say—more with an eye to the realities of the Russian sociography than to the ideals of a Utopian communistic state of all nations and classes.

Those who are in a position to visualize the two Lenins of flesh and blood with two human physiognomies and to understand that Lenin

¹ B. K. Sarkar : *Economic Development*, Vol. I (Madras, 2nd ed., 1933), pp. 114-21 ; *Politics of Boundaries*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1936), pp. 73-79.

No. I is hardly to be found in Lenin No. II, except in very general features, are likely to grasp the evolution of communism or Bolshevism as proceeding in Soviet Russia during the last two decades. But in the world at large the most impressive figure is that of Lenin No. I., i.e., of Lenin the prophet and the metaphysician of the communistic Utopia. That Lenin has grown into a myth, the *avatar* of what anybody and everybody chooses to describe as the highest perfection in social justice or the worst embodiment of human misery. It is the propagation of that myth, the persistence of an alleged architect of Utopian world-order, good or bad, in the imagination of men and women that prevents the lay world from properly understanding and evaluating the ideals, methods and activities of the Russian Bolsheviks.

LENINISM No. II (1922-38)

Bolshevism or communism as prevalent in Russia since 1922 is to be sharply distinguished from that glorious or inglorious myth. Lenin No. I had been dead and gone two years before Lenin the man of flesh and blood died. Under Bolshevism or communism of the N. E. P., i.e., Leninism No. II, Soviet Russia introduced nationalization in the transport and communication services as well as electric light and water plants. Export and import trade became likewise a state function, and state control was placed over banks. State capitalism was making progress. But in the course of six or seven years, for instance, by 1929, the first year of the first five-year plan, not more than 1.5 per cent. of the total seeded acreage belonged to the state farms.²

In any case, the technique and methodology of administration in the Bolshevik state in regard to economic interests did not look radically different from those in the non-Bolshevik states which likewise had long been used to municipal socialism and *étatisme* of one denomination or other. One fact is undisputed. Russia was already on the way to modernism in technocracy and industrial organization and a more or less constitutional-democratic government. Communism of the Marxian theory, i.e., of Leninism No. I was conspicuous by its absence except perhaps in the ideologies of radicals

² H. Barnes : *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), p. 1008.

like Trotzky who were discontented with the Stalin regime as too moderate and bourgeois.

The expulsion of Trotzky from Russia (February, 1928) implies the addition of another nail to the coffin of Leninism No. I. The entire decade from the commencement of the first five-year plan has been a period of smooth sailing for Leninism No. II, which it has been the lot of Stalin to inherit and manage. Stalin's purges of 1936 and 1937 consummated in a ruthless manner, as they were, indicate once in a while that Leninism No. I is trying still to get re-born and raise its head against Leninism No. II. But it should appear that Leninism No. II has met the social and cultural conditions of the Russian people somewhat adequately and that the mood for re-embarking on an experiment with Leninism No. I, is not widespread or powerful in Russia at the present moment (1938), as Dimitrov's *United Front: The Struggle against Fascism and War* is likely to confirm.

TECHNOCRACY AND NATIONAL AUTARCHY IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS (1928-38)

The *Gosplan* (state-planning) was initiated by Lenin himself in 1922 along with the N. E. P. It was in October, 1928 that the first planning for five years was instituted by Stalin. The plan did not, however, take full five years but was completed in December, 1933 in four years and three months. It was followed by the second five-year plan and this again in 1938 by the third.

These five-year plans are essentially economic measures corresponding to the economic development or *Swadeshi* (national industry) movement schemes in non-Bolshevistic, i.e., the so-called bourgeois and capitalistic countries. In the first place, these five-year plans under Stalin are but continuations of Lenin's N. E. P. and constitute Soviet Russia's renewed and steady attempts at the modernization of the economic and social structure of the Russian people in town and country along the entire front, agricultural, industrial and commercial.³ In other words, technocracy and industrialization of the West-European or American standard have been sought to be introduced in the shortest possible time. For all practical purposes the

³ B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928), pp. 172-176, 248-260 ; H. E. Barnes : *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), pp. 997-999.

Russian people is trying to accomplish under the Soviets of the twentieth century some of those industrial-capitalistic transformations which ought to have been undertaken by the Czars in the nineteenth. The economic and social backwardness of Russia in *Swadeshi* is being made up to a certain extent and the Russian people is trying to catch up to the modernisms of western Eur-America.

The whole process is being consummated in the *milieu* of the post-War world-economic inflation and depression. Naturally, therefore, the latest world-devices in rationalization, autarchy or nationalistic economic self-sufficiency and so forth are also to be encountered in Soviet Russia along with her measures calculated to promote some of the policies which were adopted in Germany, England, France, etc., in the nineteenth century. Socio-economically, then, Russia has been exhibiting—although under the Bolshevik regime—virtually the same methods and tactics of *Swadeshim* as all other primitive or industrially semi-developed countries of the East and West.

In the second place, the five-year plan activities since 1928 enable us to watch in a concrete manner the application of some of the political ideologies associated with the Bolshevik complex. For instance, during the first year of the first five-year plan the well-to-do classes are said to have been "liquidated," to use a common Bolshevik category. Equalizing and levelling were consummated. The *kulaks*, i.e., larger peasants, are said to have been liquidated during 1929-30. The collectivization of agriculture got a great fillip thereby—affecting nearly 30% (75 million acres) of total cultivated area. Seven million acres were also statalized at that time. The success was extraordinary enough to be appraised by Stalin as leading almost to "dizziness" among the officials and the people.

It is necessary to pause here a moment. One has to observe that neither collectivization nor statalization is an exclusively Bolshevistic patent. Collectivization in Soviet Russia is to all intents and purposes identical with or similar to the co-operative movement in other lands. And statalization, which in any case does not appear to have affected more than 3 per cent. of the cultivated acreage, has belonged to the economic methodology of Germany, France and other countries. Scientifically speaking, collectivization and statalization ought to be taken more as universal techniques of agricultural economy than as items of specifically communistic, Sovietic or Bolshevistic ideology in political philosophy.

STALIN ON WAGES, DEMOCRACY AND
EQUALITARIANISM (1931-32)

In the meantime it is possible to touch upon certain ideological landmarks in Bolshevik thought. One can feel that the first five-year plan (1928-32) was dominated by and indeed served to continue the political philosophy of the New Economic Policy (the N.E.P.) of Lenin (1922), which has conveniently been described as Leninism No. II, as contrasted with Leninism No. I, which was "pure communism." Stalin⁴ as the formal and spiritual heir of Lenin was giving shape to and developing the ideals implied in Leninism No. II. In June 1931, for instance, the rewarding of skill, initiative and ability was declared by him to be an article of economic creed. The principle of equality of wages was abandoned and replaced by that of payment of wages according to results. This carried along with it the system of piece-work payments as well as unequal payments for unequal work. It is self-evident that in Stalinism as thus formulated and practised is to be found the entire gospel of traditional, classical and conventional bourgeois economics. It was likewise declared by Stalin that workers would be promoted irrespective of party membership. Stalin was talking the language not of politicians and demagogues but of economists and businessmen. Nothing could be treated as more reactionary than this brand of Stalinism within the communistic fold. But, like Lenin, his *guru*, Stalin was serving his fatherland.

It is in keeping with this realistic transformation of Bolshevik ideology in order to serve the needs of modern economy that Stalin was prepared in his interview with Emil Ludwig in 1932 to appreciate the democracy and social equality of the American people. In his philosophy of this time the Americans were no longer much too bourgeois or capitalistic to be condemned in the propagandistic manner of communistic neophytes. American efficiency in industry, technique, literature and life elicited admiration from him and he was prepared to concede that American methods of production were "somewhat democratic." Stalin was not in a mood in 1932 to jumble up the entire world outside Russia—Europe, America, and what not—as one colossal mass of undemocratic, reactionary, inhuman primitives. He could make out distinctions between the American economy and the European economy. "In Europe," said he, "there are traces of

⁴ Joseph Stalin and Others: *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan* (New York 1934).

feudalism in life and habits. But in American factories it is difficult to distinguish outwardly the engineer from the worker." This appreciation on the part of Stalin of at least a section of the so-called bourgeois world as something different from the other sections and recognition by him of certain desirable social achievements as already manifest in this section are of great value as indicating that Bolshevism has been casting off its monistic absolutist ideologies in regard to itself as well as to its neighbouring political creeds. It takes the philosophy of Soviet Russia farther away from Leninism No. I. We find embodied in such conceptions of Stalin the steady progress of communistic thought along the lines of Leninism No. II.

Another characteristic expression of Stalin during this period is to be found in the interpretation of Marxism. According to Stalin at this stage Marxism does not believe in equalitarianism—which was the gospel of the German anarchist, Stirner. Indeed, according to him, the Marxists condemn equalitarianism as primitive, peasant communism. Genuine Marxism, said he, would replace equalitarianism by inequality such as is embodied in the dictum, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Stalin's rejection of the cult of equality and establishment of that of inequality is a powerful element in the dissolution of the pure communism of propagandists. It has served to render communistic philosophy assimilable to a considerable extent to the non-communistic or capitalistic and property ideologies.

NEO-SOCIALISM AS A WORLD-PHENOMENON

We understand once more that like all other categories of political thought the categories socialism communism, Marxism, Bolshevism, etc., have been endowed with the most varied contents, many of which happen to be at poles asunder to each other. In the communism as interpreted and embodied in the Stalinism of the first five-year plan the bourgeois world can discover the foundations of a strong bridge furnishing a connecting link and *rapprochement* with the capitalism as actually embodied in the socio-economic institutions of the twentieth century. For, it is to be remarked that contemporary capitalism is through and through socialistic, i.e., moderated, dominated and multiplied by the demands of the working classes. Socialised capitalism as prevalent in the economic *Realpolitik* of today can somewhat easily

offer *camaraderie* to the capitalistic communism or Leninistic socialism No. II, as propounded by Stalin in 1931. More or less each is to be described as representing aspects of what may be indifferently called neo-capitalism or neo-socialism.⁵ Orthodox capitalism may condemn the situation as too radical while it is to be condemned as too reactionary by orthodox communism. But, objectively speaking, neo-socialism or neo-capitalism is the dominant world-phenomenon of today. Everywhere we encounter a new socio-economic position in which the exponents of class-struggle and equality are appreciating and accepting as a compromise the viewpoint of the champions of class-co-operation and inequality, and *vice-versa*. Such compromises may be described as tactical necessities, but in any case they point to the ideological *status quo* of the hour.

During the period of the *Gosplan* II (1933-37) communism marched steadily along the lines of neo-capitalism or neo-socialism as thus defined. Differences in the standard of living as due to state-service—the paraphernalia of Lenin's state-capitalism—were not only tolerated but actually promoted. Unequal earnings constituted the norm of the labour market. Stores, restaurants and apartment houses were virtually classified or graded according to the social, *i.e.*, income status of the officials. While Stalinism tolerated and even fostered the inequalities of all sorts, be it observed that the capitalistic *milieu* that he sought to re-establish was not absolute. The level of equalization was sought to be maintained quite high by the principle that a single man could not pile up a great private fortune. Besides, hoarding wealth at home as well as exporting wealth abroad was treated as criminal. An equitable "distribution" of wealth was never lost sight of.

It is worth while to note at once that in the alleged bourgeois countries finance ministers are likewise to be credited with the attempts to promote "an equitable distribution of wealth." Bourgeois finance and communistic finance have thus been trying to meet each other half-way. It is under these conditions of communism shaking hands with capitalism—not only on the common platform of industrialization, technocracy, collectivization, trustification, rationalization, planned economy, and autarchy, but on that of social justice, equitable distribution, abolition or mitigation of poverty as well—that extrem-

⁵ B. K. Sarkar : *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936), 76-79.

ists, radicals, etc., could find fault with Stalin's philosophy and policy as much too conservative, moderate, reactionary, indeed as "betrayal" of socialism or communism. In the *Segodnya* of Vienna, for instance, a newspaper conducted by the exiles from Soviet Russia, Nicolaus Bassachess was in a position in 1937 to describe Bolshevik state as anti-Soviet. Ideologically, perhaps, we may find an analogy in the position such as would arise if Leninism II were to be condemned by Leninism I as anti-Leninist.

CLASS-SOLIDARITY AND NATIONALISM IN THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT (1938)

In February, 1938 met, along with the introduction of the third five-year plan, the first parliament of Bolshevik Russia at Moscow. It is interesting that the constitution has provided for a bicameral legislature. The Congress (600 members) is elected by direct, universal and secret suffrage. There is one deputy for every 300,000 inhabitants. The House of Nationalities (300 members) is chosen by the provincial councils. There are 10 members for each federated republic, 5 for each autonomous republic and 2 for each autonomous region. The two Houses jointly elect the council of commissars, the praesidium of 31 members, the president, four assistants and the secretary.

Among the general principles of the Bolshevism as now rendered into the positive law of the constitution may be noted that the suffrage is universal enough to comprise the formerly disfranchized "class enemies." In other words, there can be no equation between the Bolshevism of 1938 and the previous Bolshevisms since 1918. We have to-day a Bolshevism that has abolished class-struggle and constitutionally believes in national unity and class-solidarity. Another item of considerable importance is embodied in the principle that no distinction is to be made between the peasant and the industrial worker in regard to the exercise of suffrage. The Bolshevisms of yesterday and day before yesterday considered this distinction to be the life-blood of communism. Last but not least, non-communists can be admitted to both the Houses. The logic of the present Bolshevist constitution evidently is thoroughly nationalistic.

In the course of twenty years (1918-38) the face of Bolshevism as an economic creed and a political philosophy has then undergone a revolutionary metabolism. In Soviet Russia today one should perhaps come across among the people—mostly agricultural, rural and illiterate or

semi-literate—a more or less democratic, republican and constitutional polity of the modern Eur-American types. This polity is adapted, however, to the conditions of infant capitalism attempting by strenuous efforts to rise up to maturity. It is, besides, spiritualized with large doses of sanitary, cultural and economic welfare for the poorer classes. Pervading all are two ideologies. One—although not perhaps officially very loud—is the ideology of national greatness, Russian patriotism, military strength and war-preparedness,⁶ Russia's place in the sun, in one word, nationalism. Those who consider nationalism to be identical with imperialism would find the present phase of Bolshevism or communism to be imperialistic. The other ideology—officially the most prominent and propagated from house-tops—is that of economic equality, equalitarian reconstitution of society, war against and annihilation of poverty, in one word, the ideology of socialism or communism, no matter of what brand.

THE ANTI-COMMUNISTIC TENDENCIES OF TODAY

We may now proceed to compare the morphology of the three *isms* of today which have served profoundly to enrich the current political thought of the world. These are Bolshevism, fascism and national-socialism. These types are generally known to be forms of modern despotism. An examination of the contents of these systems would indicate that the identities or similarities are really profound and vital.

It is to be observed that there are differences in the formal ideology of the three systems. The differences in the degree of industrial and technocratic development between the three countries are well marked. The levels of culture among the three peoples are likewise varied. Finally, there are extraordinary differences in the recent political-military history of the three regions. In spite of all these diversities it should appear that Bolshevik Russia, Fascist Italy and National-Socialist Germany have been following virtually the same path. There is a very remarkable analogy, nay, identity in the fortunes of Bolshevism, fascism and national-socialism.

The post-War years, especially 1919-21, were years of communism or radical socialism triumphant in Eur-America, and one may even say, in the entire world. During that period the voice of Lenin was the

⁶ G. Dobbert, editor : *Red Economics* (Boston, 1932), p. 14.

ruling voice for all mankind. The ideologies of his *Imperialism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917) constituted the life-blood of suffering humanity from one end of the world to the other. The men and women of the subject races, dependencies, mandated areas, spheres of influence, etc., were as much energized by the gospel of Lenin as the submerged humanities among the colonial powers, great and small, as well as the non-colonial powers. It was the epoch *par excellence* of Lenin and Lenin alone. The most seriously affected were, as is well known, Russia, Italy and Germany. Humanly speaking, however, the dose administered by Lenin to the oppressed races and classes in the two Hemispheres comprising the *Grossmächte* as well as the states *jenseits der Grossmächte* turned out to be too strong.

It became clear to Lenin himself that his panacea had defeated its purpose. Hence his abrupt and almost cataclysmic transformation and prescription of the milder and relatively more moderate doses of the N.E.P. (1922). The Lenin of *Imperialism* and *The State and Revolution* had to be buried, temporarily perhaps as he might believe, in order that the New Lenin—the New Economic Policy—might emerge. And since 1922 it is the New Lenin—the man of moderate and mild methods—that has been ruling the Bolshevik state. Since 1924 Stalin⁷ has been functioning as the successor, representative and manager of this moderate and mild Lenin, the Lenin whose last will and testament to his countrymen was the virtual annihilation of communism, euphemistically described by himself, however, as “strategic retreat” from communism. It is as anti-communist as thus defined that Lenin died, and it is anti-communistic philosophy that has been identified with Bolshevik thought and practice ever since.

The origins of fascism are to be sought in similar and somewhat identical conditions. The state ceased to function and disappeared in 1920, as says Rocco in *La Crisi dello Stato e i Sindacati*. Italy became the theatre of communism run wild, as apparent to a certain extent in the seizure of the factories by workingmen in revolt, especially in Northern Italy. And the march of Mussolini upon Rome in October, 1922 was but a symbol of the annihilation of communism or radical socialism. And yet Mussolini himself, the man who came to save Italy, had been a hundred per cent. radical of pre-War Eur-America, a syndicalist (e.g. 1901-05). Fascism came to combat communism, perhaps to crush it. But it did not come as the enemy

⁷ Joseph Stalin : *The Political and Social Doctrine of Communism* (New York, 1934).

of the submerged humanities, the peasants and the working classes. It is the masses whose welfare constituted the chief plank in the fascist programme of 1919-22. It is anti-communistic socialism that has made strange bed-fellows of Lenin No. II (and Stalin) and Mussolini.

The Hitler-state arose under parallel socio-political conditions. The post-War years constituted in Germany a period of class-struggle in office. It was in the communistic *milieu* that Hitler got his initiation and it was to "break the slave-chains of interest" that he established the national-socialist cult (1919-21). The socialism of his national-socialism is a genuine commodity and makes him a kin as much of Mussolini the syndicalist as of Lenin No. I the Marxist. The common Marxist origins and foundations of these three systems lie on the surface and in the very biographies of the founders. But each of the three founders of new states renounced his radicalism or extremism at a certain point of his life. Hitler was anti-Marx already in his programme of 1920. The systems known to the world as the results of their handiwork began to take shape after they officially renounced their original radicalism. He that runs may read the category "nationalist" (*i.e.*, solidarist) in both fascism and national-socialism. The New Economic Policy of Lenin No. II or, as we should say for all practical purposes, of Stalin, does not happen to exhibit this category on its forehead. But nationalism (*i.e.* solidarism, class-co-operation, etc.) is the very foundation of this N.E.P. and the first Bolshevik parliament, as we have seen above. *

Negatively, then, the efforts of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler are all directed against Marxism, communism, class-struggle or radical socialism of Leninism No. I. It is Leninism No. I. that each is combating in his own way and according to the needs of his own people. So far as positive functions are concerned, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler are all nationalists. Each one is an upholder of class-solidarity, national unity and prestige, the glory of the fatherland. Neither Stalin nor Mussolini nor Hitler pretends to talk of international solidarity, world-peace, justice for the submerged races, and freedom of the enslaved nations. Stalin is militarizing the Russian people against Japan to wreak vengeance on the event of 1905 as well as against those powers that have brow-beaten her in other parts of

* H. Kohn : *Nationalism in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1933).

Asia. Mussolini has already won his empire in Africa. And Hitler cannot have rest until he has the colonies. These are legitimate and natural aspirations of the three *isms* and their apostles. The international alphabet of Leninism No. I is unknown to all of them. Each is oiling his own wheel, *i.e.*, the machinery of his own country's material and moral expansion. And the common cult of all the three is not class-struggle but class-co-operation. Altogether, then, no matter what be the differences in race, culture, economic development, military history and so forth, Bolshevism (since 1932), fascism and national-socialism should have to be described as three different phases of neo-socialism or neo-capitalism.

NEO-DEMOCRACY

There is another touch of Nature that has made these three systems kin. This is to be seen in the political field. It is evident that Bolshevik Russia, Fascist Italy and National-Socialist Germany are one-party states. They are totalitarian countries governed by dictators or despots. But these dictators are not equivalent to the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt, the Emperors of Rome, the *Padshahs* of Asia or the enlightened despots of Europe—all of whom ruled by "divine right." The alphabet that is constantly on the lips of the dictators or despots of today is not that of the gods or the anointed of the gods. It is derived from the language of "government of the people, for the people and by the people." It is the people—the folk, the *Volksgemeinschaft*—to whom they address themselves in season and out of season.

It is the people's sovereignty that these dictators have assured by daily contacts with the people's men mostly organized into thousand and one associations. The meanest and the poorest have got the chance of perpetually coming into direct or indirect contact and having their interests discussed with the functionaries of the state. The peoples have been enabled to see, touch and feel, nay, make and modify the state to a certain extent. If under such conditions the totalitarian one-party states have still to be described as despotic, the proper term should be neo-despotic. In these countries the despots are incessantly being kept alive to the interests of the masses and dominated by their demands at every step. Actually these dictators are oftener and more regularly at the service and under the eye of the peasants, workingmen and middle classes than the presidents, premiers or even

labour ministers of the republics or constitutional monarchies. Obversely speaking, these should be called neo-democratic states too. For, in these regions the masses, although creative, are to be seen as formally appreciating the initiative and directions of their leaders and the mass interests are being promoted in a formally despotic manner.

There was no such interpenetration of dictator or despot and the masses in any previous epoch of absolutism, rule without parliament, "new monarchy," enlightened despotism, etc., in East or West. Thousands of men and women in the villages and towns of Russia, Italy and Germany have been functioning as leaders, sub-leaders and so forth in the most diverse sanitary, cultural, economic and other social institutions, large, medium and small. They have got the state brought home to them in their daily routine on account of regular participation in the manifold concerns of public life. These dictatorial states are then to be appraised as political complexes, to the making and development of which the millions among the masses contribute a conscious mind and an active hand.

DEGREES OF NEO-SOCIALISM AND NEO-DEMOCRACY

The equation that is being established here between Stalinism, fascism and national-socialism on the score of neo-socialism (and neo-capitalism) as well as neo-democracy (and neo-despotism) goes against the orthodox ideological position of fascism and national-socialism *vis à vis* Stalinism. It rejects likewise the conventional theoretical attitude of Stalinism regarding the other two *isms* even after the interpretations offered by Dimitrov in *The United Front: The Struggle against Fascism and War*, which seeks to exhibit the "strategic retreat" involved in Leninism II (1922-38) as nothing but "flexibility of tactics" adapted to the diverse political circumstances, national and regional, but combined with "unwavering devotion to the principles and objectives" of Leninism I.

It should not be reasonable, however, to treat the equation as absolute. There were and there are differences in capitalism and differences in socialism, as noticed above, on account of the differences in the socio-economic structure of the regions and the races of the world. Similarly, all through the ages there have been different degrees of democracy and different degrees of despotism varying according to the levels of individuality in action and thought as well as the effectiveness of positive legal and constitutional institutions in

the different parts of the world. The socio-economic and socio-political relativities have not disappeared. The degrees of democracy and the degrees of socialism are to be encountered today also in Asia and Africa as in Eur-America.

The epoch of neo-democracy (and neo-capitalism) is likewise to be understood in terms of the eternal relativities. Not all neo-socialistic states exhibit the same degree of neo-socialism. The degrees of neo-democracy among the neo-democratic states also are diverse. It is the evolution of neo-democracy and neo-socialism that the world has been witnessing since the social insurance legislation (1883-89) of Bismarck and the Third Reform Act of England (1886), and in much larger doses since the moderatist reforms of communism, say, about 1922.

Whatever be the categories employed, there is no doubt in any case that so far as the contents of the categories, *i.e.*, the factual values of life are concerned, the world has been steadily although very slowly progressing towards the freedom of man both as a political animal and as an economic agent—even in Russia, Italy and Germany. The diversities in the external forms should not blind one to the realities of solid spiritual advance, no matter where it is consummated, and to the victories, however small, in the eternal struggle of man for more freedom and perfection and greater and greater enfranchisement from the thralldom of birth and bullion.

BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE

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COMMERCIAL CROPS

ONE serious disadvantage from which agriculture suffers in Bengal as well as in India generally is the absence of educated leadership. The allurements of urban occupations exercises such a strong influence on the more educated, the enterprising and the ambitious, that agriculture has, to all intents and purposes, to go without that intelligent direction which can be expected only from people of this class. The rewards of agriculture are so meagre that it cannot permanently keep people of this type in the countryside. It may, however, be expected that the keen competition in towns and the failure which must inevitably fall to the lot of many will, in future, have the effect of compelling the more sensible among such people to make their home permanently in rural areas. The migration of uneducated people to towns where their services can be utilised in industry is desirable for this would have the effect of diminishing the acuteness of competition for land. But the openings in our province in this direction are few and what openings there are, have, in the past, been filled up by non-Bengali labour imported chiefly from U.P., Behar, Orissa and latterly from North Madras. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to make agriculture more attractive economically to induce educated men to take it up. It is here that the work of the Agriculture Department is truly valuable specially in pioneering work in the direction of popularising the cultivation of economically profitable crops.

It appears from the latest report of the Port Commissioners of the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong that in the year ending 31st March, 1937, Bengal imported several million tons of rice from Burma. It is possible that part of the rice imported through the port of Chittagong is consumed in Assam. There is, however, little doubt that by far the largest amount is consumed in Bengal. From one

point of view, this is very discouraging for if it proves anything, it undoubtedly shows that this province is far from being industrialised. This state of affairs is justifiable only when industrialism has made great progress. Yet though mainly agricultural, we are compelled to import our principal food stuff because we are either unable or unwilling to grow it.

However unpalatable and, according to some, undesirable this state of things, we have to recognise the fact that agricultural economics in Bengal, as also in India, are gradually approximating those in the Western countries. Bengal is tending to limit the area under its principal food crop rice and putting the land thus set free under money crops. Rowntree in his well-known book *Land and Labour: Lessons from Belgium* states that in advanced Western countries the growing of vegetables and fruits, the cultivation of fodder for feeding cattle whose milk and meat can be easily and profitably marketed, as well as of valuable industrial crops such as sugar-beet, flax, etc., are replacing the cultivation of food crops such as wheat. According to him in Denmark only 1 per cent., in Great Britain and Germany 5 per cent. and in Belgium 9 per cent. of the total cultivated area was under wheat, the principal cereal crop, in the year his book was published. The aim of the intelligent and enterprising cultivator of Bengal is no longer to produce everything he needs for his subsistence. He has been drawn into the world market for agricultural produce and has come to realise that it is more profitable for him to grow money crops and, if necessary, to purchase part of his requirements in the shape of grains with the money obtained from the sale of his commercial crops.

There was a time when cotton of very superior quality was grown in East Bengal specially in the districts of Dacca and Tipperah but by the time of the Revenue Settlement of 1863, its cultivation had been replaced by that of jute. The cultivation of the latter was found to be so profitable that at one time the cultivators actually employed labourers recruited from the United Provinces, Behar and Orissa to do all the hard work. The immense profits the cultivators made were wasted in extravagance and in litigation, so that when the slump, due to overproduction coupled with a falling off in the world demand came, they were practically ruined. Government, as is well known, had to undertake an intensive campaign for jute restriction as a result of which the average price of jute which was Rs. 3-9-0 per maund in

1934 rose to Rs. 5-5-6 in 1935. Vigorous propaganda was carried on in 1935-37. About 50 Demonstrators were appointed for the purpose for a period of 4 months and helped in the distribution of Rs. 20,000 worth of substitute crops in spite of which there was an increase of 13.73 per cent. in the area under jute. It is held that the acreage would have increased much more but for the intensive jute restriction campaign carried out by Government. Even then the Agricultural Department has done very valuable work in the evolving of heavy yielding varieties the best of which is that known as D.154 which yields on the average about 19 maunds of jute per acre.

The imposition of a duty on imported sugar in 1932, the unsatisfactory price of jute, the starting of vacuum pan factories and last, but not least, the propaganda of the Agriculture Department are responsible for the growing popularity of sugar cane. The cultivators are at last being convinced of the superiority of the improved Co. 213 cane over other varieties in regard to better yield of *gur* both in quality and quantity.

It is stated that in the Eastern Circle the price of cane cuttings has dropped from Rs. 2-8-0 to Re. 1 per thousand and that Co. 213 has replaced almost all the local canes. Inquiries are being constantly made by the public about improved methods of crushing cane, making *gur* and manufacturing sugar. Some rather small sugar factories have been started at Faridpur. All this goes to show the gradual increase in the popularity of the cultivation of sugar cane which must inevitably lead to extensive local manufacture of *gur*, sugar, etc.

In the Western Circle, the Berhampore farm has done very useful work for the cultivators of the Murshidabad district have taken up the cultivation of sugar cane by reason of the success achieved by the officers of this farm. This has grown so popular that capitalists finding that sugar cane is plentiful in this locality established the Beldanga White Sugar Factory in this district. Sugar cane is also growing in popularity in the districts of Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum. In the last two districts, the cultivators have come to know that, under proper conditions, sugar cane can be grown profitably on high land of the worst type. The demand for cuttings of Co. 213 is very keen and is being met partly by the Government district farms and partly by private farms. The district of Nadia is leading the way in West Bengal. So popular has sugar cane grown within the last few years that there has appeared a tendency to start white sugar mills all over Bengal.

The use of the MacGlashan furnace for the preparation of gur is becoming very popular.

In the Northern Circle, the cultivation of Co. 213 is spreading very rapidly. This is due to the starting of about a dozen sugar factories, large and small, in five out of its seven districts. The area under jute is tending to diminish automatically.

No review of the progress made in the cultivation of sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar can be complete without some reference to the excellent work done by the present Agricultural Engineer of the Government of Bengal. He is constantly engaged in designing more and more efficient machinery for the profitable manufacture of sugar by small capitalists. For the poor agriculturist who is content with making gur, he has designed the improved molasses furnace. It is a great pity that the department does not provide him with sufficient funds with which to conduct experiments preliminary to the designing of other types of agricultural machinery.

Owing to the efforts of the Agriculture Department, the substitution of sugar cane for jute as a money crop is proceeding so rapidly that in the year 1933-34 the area under sugar cane in this province increased to 232,000 acres, in 1934-35 to 276,000 acres, in 1935-36 to 325,000 acres of which 244,000 acres were under Co. 213, and in 1936-37 to 354,000 acres. According to Government, the total output in stripped cane for our province in 1935-36 was 55,96,000 tons and in 1936-37 it was 70,96,000 tons. In some of the Government farms, the yield of the stripped cane was as much as 1,000 maunds per acre which shows what the cultivation of Co. 213 under proper conditions can yield. It is anticipated that the area planted with this crop will show an increase from year to year. The results of the propaganda may, to a certain extent, be gauged by the fact that in 1933-34 no less than forty lacs of cuttings were distributed under departmental supervision. No figures are available for the cuttings sold by the cultivators among themselves in districts like Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda and Rangpur in the Northern, Murshidabad and Nadia in the Western and Dacca and Tipperah in the Eastern Circle. In 1934-35, the Agriculture Department distributed more than 22 million cuttings free while more than 96 million cuttings were supplied under departmental supervision. The total number of cuttings distributed through the Agriculture Department was more than one crore in addition to several crores sold by the cultivators among themselves. Similarly, in 1935-36

19,072,000 and in 1936-37, 17,55,800 Co. 213 cuttings were distributed under departmental supervision.

There has not been any slackening in the propaganda work. Co. 213 sugar cane demonstration was conducted in practically every district of Bengal. It was felt that special efforts should be made for popularising the cultivation of sugar cane in East Bengal so that it might take the place of jute, its only money crop. Accordingly, free distribution of cuttings was made in the district of Chittagong, the Manikganj sub-division of Dacca district and the Tangail sub-division of Mymensingh district. Free distribution was also made at the Economic Enquiry centres of Rajshahi, Bogra and Birbhum districts where an attempt is being made to ascertain accurately the actual cost of production of sugar cane. It was demonstrated that Co. 213 grows both on high and char lands subject to flooding during the monsoon. In some places, the land with sugar cane was under water for six weeks at a stretch, in spite of which it yielded about 120 maunds of *gur* per acre. It is now being grown successfully in the Sunderbun area.

With the increase in the area under sugar cane, the public have been convinced about the profitable nature of the manufacture of sugar. By 1934-35, three white sugar factories each with a capacity of 500 tons of cane per day have been started at Beldanga in the district of Murshidabad, Gopalpur in the district of Rajshahi and Setabganj in the district of Dinajpur. There were also during this period two 100-ton mills besides 48 open pan factories. By the end of 1936-37, there were 8 vacuum and 48 open pan factories actually working while 3 more vacuum pan factories were under construction. In order to demonstrate the utility of the open pan system, the Agriculture Department has started a demonstration of this method at Rajshahi with machinery designed by the Agricultural Engineer, Bengal. It has been proved that this system can be worked at a profit so long as sugar cane is procurable at 4 annas per maund. Centrifuging from *gur* for producing white sugar was not the success it had been anticipated on account of a rise in the price of *gur* synchronising with a fall in the price of white sugar. This, however, is not likely to be permanent when centrifuging may again prove profitable. Instruction in the manufacture of sugar was given in this model factory to a number of *bhadralok* youths nearly all of whom have obtained employment in small factories in the district. The

poorer but enterprising class of people have readily adopted the improved furnaces designed or recommended by the Department in order to convert the juice into *gur* mainly for local consumption.

Though some of the factories are making an attempt to grow at least part of the sugar cane they need, the majority usually guarantee the price per maund they will pay to the growers. In the past, this varied from annas four to annas six according to the season. Complaints have been heard at Rajshahi and Beldanga in the district of Murshidabad that the cultivators are not always treated fairly. Once the cane has been brought to the mill, the grower is at the mercy of the officers of the factory. The writer cannot say whether these charges are well-founded. It is, however, a fact that in certain parts of this province, there has been a fall in the price due to increased production. For instance, the Collector of Malda in anticipation of a slump in the price of sugar cane moved Government in 1935-36 to fix a minimum price under the Sugarcane Act as reported in the "Report on the Land Revenue Administration of Bengal" for that year. One reason for this may be that larger sugar factories are not distributed evenly all over our province.

So far as the sugar industry is concerned Behar stands next to the U. P., producing as it does 29 per cent. of the total output of white sugar in India. Finding that owing to causes the enumeration of which need not detain us here, the price of sugar cane tended to come down to such an extent that the cultivator could hardly cover the actual cost of production, the Behar Government recently passed the Sugar Factories Control Act. Among other things, provision has been made in this Act for the purchase of cane in an area technically called a Zone, "reserved" for a factory, in an area "assigned" to a factory and in areas which are neither "reserved" nor "assigned." In "reserved" and "assigned" areas the factory is required to enter into agreements with Cane-growers' Co-operative Societies for the purchase of a specified quantity of cane. Middlemen are not allowed in "reserved" areas but licensed middlemen may act as agents in areas other than "reserved" areas. The aim is better organisation of cane supply and relief of growers from anxiety regarding the disposal of thin cane at a reasonable price. Regarding the fixation of the minimum price for sugarcane intended for use in factories, the Provincial Government has been given wide latitude to vary it as well as to prescribe rules to determine how the minimum price shall be

calculated. In the last session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, it was suggested that legislation should be resorted to in this province for fixing a minimum price for sugar and also that Government should be empowered to step in if it is found necessary to alter it under exceptional circumstances. Government, however, turned down the proposal on the plea that it was not required at the present moment. It was also suggested that such a step would mean interference with a growing and prosperous industry which should be permitted to develop itself without outside hindrance.

A noteworthy departure in the production of improved sugar cane and its utilisation in factories was made in the U.P. towards the end of 1935. This scheme envisaged the establishment of more efficient co-operative farming and marketing societies in areas adjacent to the different sugar factories. It is reported that before this plan was adopted the farmers had to wait for days at the factory gates and lost half to one anna per maund on account of diminution of weight due to drying in addition to the loss of time thus involved. In the first instance, 22 Zones were established for factories which agreed to co-operate with Government. About 2,000 to 2,500 acres in the vicinity of each factory was taken up for the production and supply of sugar cane on the co-operative basis. It was estimated that the cost per factory would amount to Rs. 9,000 per year of which Government paid Rs. 6,000 and the factory Rs. 3,000. It is understood that as an experimental measure, the scheme would be in operation for a term of five years. It is not possible to give detailed information about the improvements in the production, distribution and sale of sugar cane here. The reader who is interested may get information on these points from the Development Section of the Agriculture Department of the U.P. Government. Only one thing need be referred to and that is that up to the present this represents the largest as well as the most important and successful attempt in co-operative farming and marketing of agricultural products in India. It further proves that given the right type of Government support and enthusiastic officers, it is not so difficult to introduce agricultural co-operation in our country as people have thought in the past.

Another equally encouraging experiment though on a smaller scale which has met with unusual success has been conducted in the native state of Mysore. In the current year Government has fixed the minimum price of sugar cane at Rs. 9 per ton. It appears that in

previous years, the factory paid higher prices but at that time higher prices had been obtained for the sugar manufactured. In fixing the minimum price, the Mysore Government has laid down the principle that the price paid by the factory should bear a reasonable proportion to the price obtained for the manufactured product. Accepting this principle, the company agreed to pay for the crop planted in 1937 at Rs. 9-4 and Rs. 10-4 per ton in the first and second half years respectively. In addition, they also agreed to bear half the transport charges. The economic condition of our peasantry would improve materially if this principle is introduced even in a modified form, so far as sugar cane and jute are concerned. The question is whether our Government possesses sufficient imagination and courage to initiate the experiment.

There was a time when shortage of sugar cane was felt by all the white sugar factories but things have changed. During the period 1935-37 there was no scarcity of sugar cane. In several areas the officers of the Agriculture Department who had conducted intensive propaganda to encourage the cultivation of Co. 213 by the agriculturists were taken to task as the mills could not consume all the cane offered to them. The low price of *gur* was also responsible for the unwillingness of the cultivators to utilise their sugar cane in this particular way, the more so because the resources of crushing at economical rates are extremely limited in particular areas. One way of meeting this difficulty would be to encourage the starting of more small power crushers and *gur* boiling plants in those centres of sugar cane growing where they are not available at present and where sugar cane is grown abundantly. It, however, appears that large quantities of *gur* are being imported from upcountry, and that this is being distributed through many parts of Bengal and sold at remunerative prices. The writer therefore holds that the method suggested for utilising sugar cane not required by the large scale factories is one way out of the difficulty which is facing the grower at present. Though some of the larger factories are aiming at growing sufficient sugar cane for their own consumption, it is fortunate for the agriculturists that, up to the present, the difficulties which stand in the way have been such as to prevent them from producing more than a small part of their requirements. It is, however, only a question of time as to when their organisation for the production of sugar cane would be improved to such an extent as to enable them to fully meet their needs in this particular direction. The result of

this would be that a certain number of landless labourers would find seasonal employment but that the actual cultivators who had been supplying sugar cane to the mills would have to find out some other money crop for their land.

Businessmen have come to realise that there is a great future before Bengal so far as the large scale manufacture of white sugar is concerned but the tendency is to establish the mills in areas where others are already at work. The North Bengal Sugar Factory at Gopalpur which had a daily capacity of 400 tons of sugar cane was recently enlarged so as to deal with 1,000 tons daily. It now appears that there is a proposal to erect a 500-ton sugar mill in its close vicinity. At Charsindhu, Dacca, there are two 200-ton capacity sugar mills and there is a proposal to erect a third mill with a capacity of 500 tons. In the meantime other districts where sugar cane is grown extensively are without mills. To help the producers it seems desirable that large scale sugar factories should be more evenly distributed over the cane areas.

Bengal consumes about 13 per cent. of the sugar manufactured and imported into India but produces only 2·8 per cent. of India's total output. It appears that in 1935-36 Bengal imported 20,79,404 maunds of *gur* and 29,43,311 maunds of white sugar. In 1936-37 Bengal produced 23,000 tons but she consumed 1,30,000 tons of white sugar. It therefore follows that Bengal produced less than one-fifth of her requirements. There are large tracts in Bengal well adapted to the cultivation of the type of cane evolved by the Agriculture Department. It would be economical if a carefully thought-out scheme for the expansion of this industry is framed and capitalists are persuaded to locate factories in future in these areas. The agriculturists could be persuaded to grow sugar cane if they were assured of a fairly remunerative price and regular demand. The difficulties which stand in the way are dearth of road and transport facilities to carry cane grown in rural areas to the factory and the high incidence of railway freight. The growers of sugar cane as well as mill owners all over Bengal would be greatly benefited by an early solution of these problems. The imposition of the new excise duty and the institution of an enquiry by the Tariff Board on the question of protection after the expiry of the existing protection tariff may, to a certain extent, be responsible for delay in the matter of establishing large sugar factories.

Since the falling off in the price of jute which is the principal money crop in this province, the Agriculture Department has

been trying to find satisfactory substitutes for it. One such substitute is ground nut, many varieties of which have been tested in the different district Government farms in order to find out those which would suit the different areas. As the result of using the variety adapted to the soil of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, high yields of 30 maunds per acre have been obtained. Another variety planted at Kishoreganj Subdivision, Mymensingh, yielded 36 maunds per acre. Here special propaganda was carried on through the Union Boards, 50 maunds of seeds being distributed free among the *khas mahal* tenants. It cannot be said that the same success which has been obtained with sugar cane has been achieved here but our agriculturists, specially in the jute districts of Bengal, are taking gradually to the cultivation of ground nuts and it is anticipated that in time it will grow popular. In certain parts of the Dacca district, where sugar cane is being cultivated for meeting the requirements of recently started sugar mills, the agriculturists are putting down ground nut in between the furrows of sugar cane thus utilising the land to a fuller extent. The demand for good seeds is on the increase and ground nuts are now sold in many village *hats* where formerly they were never found. The discovery of heavy yielding improved varieties of this crop is only a question of time and their extensive cultivation one of intensive propaganda. An officer of the Agriculture Department has assured the writer that the wholesale demand for ground nuts is always keen and that it can be grown profitably in almost every district of Bengal. In the report for 1935-36 it has been stated that ground nut is now grown in different parts of this province as a monsoon and a winter crop depending on the situation of the land and the nature of the soil. As a revenue crop, there is little doubt that it has a bright future.

The Agriculture Department has also undertaken work on linseed as a substitute for jute. The seeds of a heavy yielding selected variety with large oil content have been distributed widely. While the average price for linseed obtained by cultivators ranges from Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-4 per maund in the mofussil, the prices paid in Calcutta are nearly always higher than Rs. 5 per maund. These figures show that, with proper marketing facilities, the agriculturist will find its cultivation profitable. The difficulty is that linseed is not cultivated more extensively, for, up to the present, it is grown in comparatively small and scattered plots and the wholesale buyers do not find it

profitable to collect it from widely scattered patches of land. The comparatively high cost of collection has had the effect of increasing its price materially. It is suggested that the cultivation of linseed should be made popular so that it might be available in thousands of musnds in adjoining localities for wholesale buyers. Only intensive propaganda work carried on continuously among the peasantry can bring about this desirable state of things. It is satisfactory to note that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research is financing a scheme for experimenting with various selected types of linseed in order to find out those best suited to Bengal. The experiment in question is being carried out at the Dacca Farm and already encouraging results have been obtained. When the experiment has been concluded, it may be possible to popularise the selected type with the same success which has been achieved with Co. 213.

It is well known that *Deshi* tobacco of a good type has been grown all along in Northern Bengal where it has been regarded as a satisfactory money crop. The efforts of the Agriculture Department have resulted in encouraging its cultivation in both Eastern and Western Bengal though, it has to be confessed, that the peasantry of West Bengal have taken to it more readily than that of East Bengal. The East Bengal peasant still relies on jute as his main stay for earning cash—a state of things to which he has been accustomed for generations. It has, however, to be remembered that even in the jute districts of East Bengal, the cultivator is now being compelled to grow tobacco for his own use to which he has been more or less driven on account of shortage of funds caused by the low price of jute.

The Agriculture Department has deputed an officer for special work on tobacco with his headquarters at Dacca. In 1934-35 he visited 10 out of the 27 districts of Bengal doing extensive propaganda work in all of them. He is also carrying on experimental work at the Dacca Farm where, among other things, he did the following :— Supplying improved strains of tobacco seeds, demonstration of the Motihari variety of tobacco, curing of tobacco, finding out better markets for high grade tobacco and cigar making.

As the result of propaganda, the demand for improved seeds has already increased to such an extent that the different Government farms are unable to meet it and have to rely partly on private growers. In the year 1933-34, the officers distributed about 1,700 tolas of

departmental seeds sufficient for sowing 2,000 acres. Assam also required these seeds but could not be supplied in adequate quantities. In 1934-35 the demand for seeds increased and about 3,000 tolas sufficient for 3,500 acres were distributed in 24 Parganas, Midnapur and Nadia in West Bengal, in Pabna, Malda and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal and in Barisal and Noakhali in East Bengal. Thus the seeds were well distributed in different parts of the province though only 8 out of 27 districts could be covered. In 1935-36, 4,911 tolas and in 1936-37 about 4,000 tolas of improved seeds were distributed departmentally. According to a recent Bengal Government Press Note the area under tobacco has increased to over 25,000 acres. Tobacco is now grown in 307,100 acres, of which about 70,000 acres, that is about 25 per cent., are under departmental types. It seems that the time has come when the cultivation of tobacco should be started in all the districts and propaganda work carried on so that the local need might be met fully. Experiments should also be made in each of them in order to ascertain the type suited to the prevalent local conditions.

It cannot be said that the Agriculture Department is sleeping over the matter for in the year 1934-35 thirty-three different varieties of tobacco were grown at the Dacca Farm and twenty-one varieties at the Government Tobacco farm at Burirhat, Rangpur. Experiments are being made constantly to evolve new strains of which the best all round is the *Deshi* variety of Motihari. Special attention is being given to *Bidi* tobacco which, at present, is being imported from outside Bengal by a few traders who have come to monopolise the business at prices ranging between Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per maund. The *Bidi* tobacco grown and cured at the Dacca Farm was supplied to local dealers who are now stocking the Bengal grown variety. The area under *Bidi* tobacco is increasing rather slowly. In some districts the price paid for the Bengal variety is Rs. 12-8 per maund. Efforts should be made to improve its quality till it reaches the standard of the imported variety as well as to encourage its cultivation in the Northern and Eastern parts of Bengal. The growers should be taught the technique of its cultivation. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the *bhadralok* youths trained in manufacturing cigars at Dacca and Rangpur will settle in different parts of Bengal and buy the *Bidi* tobacco from the agriculturists and, after curing it properly, use it for *Bidi* making. It also seems desirable that the offices of the Agriculture

Department should put forth their best efforts to introduce the cultivation of *Hooka* tobacco in new areas. *Hooka* smoking is still the most popular form of smoking and good *Hooka* tobacco would command immediate sale in every nook and corner of our province.

So far as demonstration of Motihari tobacco is concerned, it appears that about 650 plots were utilised for this purpose. These are scattered all over the province. It seems therefore that the popularising of the cultivation of tobacco is only a question of time, money and an adequate staff. Enquiries showed that the area under tobacco is very small in certain districts of West Bengal like Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum and Midnapur. Here special efforts were made to extend its cultivation through the agency of Agricultural Associations and Union Boards. It is a matter of congratulation that persistent efforts which in many cases are crowned with success are being made in this particular direction.

Experiments in curing different varieties of tobacco at the Dacca Farm were conducted and a method of curing within the means and the intelligence of the ordinary cultivator has been evolved. It now only remains to give wide publicity to this system as well as to improve it further.

The attempts to find better markets for tobacco grown in Bengal have not as yet met with any marked success. It is, however, hoped that the demand will increase with an improvement in its quality. In the opinion of the writer, the Department would be justified in feeling satisfaction if it can popularise the cultivation of tobacco to such an extent that we can fully meet the needs of our province from our own fields.

It also appears that the students of the Dacca Agricultural School, Demonstrators, Overseers and the District Agricultural officers of the Northern and Western circles attended classes in which the cultivation and curing of different varieties of tobacco were demonstrated. Good work leading to satisfactory results may be expected from them hereafter.

From the immediately practical point of view, the most praiseworthy step taken is that unemployed youths of the *bhadralok* class are being trained under the supervision of the Department at the Dacca Farm in the making of different varieties of cigars at popular prices. Owing to lack of accommodation and similar other disadvantages, many applications have to be rejected. The market for good cheroots at

cheap prices is an extensive one. In spite of the fact that the cigars manufactured at the Dacca Farm are never advertised their sale is increasing from year to year. This is evident from the fact that the amount realised from this source was Rs. 702 in 1934-35, Rs. 1,268 in 1935-36 and Rs. 1,291 in 1936-37.

The Training given in cigar-making and its possibilities as a profitable cottage industry have drawn the attention of the public. It is well-known that North Bengal and specially Rangpur have always been the centre of a large trade in tobacco and that up to the present merchants of Burma visit the different tobacco centres where they always pay what has all along been considered low prices for tobacco leaves. In April, 1936, at the suggestion of and with the help of a donation from Mr. S. K. Ghosh, District Magistrate, Rangpur, a cigar-manufacturing society was started at Gajaghanta near the Government Tobacco Farm, Rangpur. The aim of the society is to get a better price for the tobacco leaves by utilising them for making cigars. In spite of certain difficulties, its cigars are already becoming popular. A cigar-training class similar to the one which has been in existence at the Dacca Farm has also been started. It would indeed be a matter of congratulation if the men trained at Dacca and Rangpur developed sufficient business ability to start cigar factories in large towns like Calcutta, Howrah and Dacca and supplied cheroots at reasonable prices to the public. The writer was greatly struck by one variety of small cigars which he was assured could be sold with profit at the same price as the ordinary *Bidi* though it consists of nothing but properly cured, pure and selected tobacco. This side of the work needs further experiments by the officers of the Department and encouragement by the cigar-smoking public.

IMPORTANCE OF LIVING

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The College of the City of New York

I

The present Sino-Japanese conflict has roused intense interest in China, struggling for her national existence. If this interest is not to be something like sentimental curiosity, one should understand the forces that sustain the Chinese people. Where is the source of vitality of the Chinese people which has enabled them to survive, inspite of many external assaults and periodical internal chaos caused by civil wars? It is not in its military power, either in its material grandeur, but in the philosophy of life which has moulded individual as well as national outlook of the Chinese. This is the foundation of China's present-day national awakening as well as its power of resistance against so-called westernization, which presents a new standard of values opposed to Chinese ideal which rejects unbridled individualism.

Lin Yuantang, in his new excellent work "*The Importance of Living*,"¹ has given us not only a brilliant exposition of Chinese philosophy as practised in the daily life of the people, but a comparative study of Chinese and western civilisations without pedantic scholarship. The book should be read by all who are interested in bringing about a better understanding between the East and the West.

In this era when "State" is being held up as the supreme object of worship and absolute authority, Mr. Lin's book will be a corrective. It advocates that if our common heritages of civilizations are to be saved then greater stress should be laid on the work of development of less selfish individual life, based upon rational and humanised thinking, and exercise of common sense in the intercourse among states as well as individuals. The author decries all forms of extremism, such as Communism and Fascism, in the spirit expressed in the following passage:—

"In the sphere of politics, there is something terribly inhuman in the logic of the minds of men and conduct of affairs in certain states of Europe. And I am less terrified by the theories of Fascism and Communism than by the fanatical spirit which infuses them and the method by which men push their theories doggedly to logical absurdities. The result is a confusion of values, a weird mixing-up of politics and anthropology, art with propaganda, patriotism with science, government with religion and above all an entire upset of the proper relationship between the claims of the individual. Only the insane type of mind can erect the state into a God and make of it a fetish to swallow up the individual's right of thinking, feeling and the pursuit of happiness." (Page 425.)

The spirit of intolerance (which is an expression of deepest form of selfishness) is the root of various forms of violence—strife and destruction;

¹ Lin Yuantang: *The Importance of Living*. New York. John Day & Co. Pages 459. Price \$3.00.

and in spirit of appreciation of the good lies the road to harmony, co-operation and creation of sublime values which makes life worth-living. Peace of the world rests with the latter.

II

During the first decade of the twentieth century, when Japan was fighting Russian expansion in the Far East and checking German Imperialism and thus aiding the political and economic programmes of the Anglo-Saxon Powers—Great Britain and the United States—we heard much praise of the Japanese people and their leaders from the pens of American and British writers. Now-a-days we rarely hear in America of Bushido, the spirit of Samurai and characterisation of the Japanese as the Anglo-Saxons of the East. To be sure the present Sino-Japanese War has created an adverse atmosphere against the Japanese people. We are pleased to note that "*Children of the Rising Sun*"² is not a biased and anti-Japanese book. It is not a profound study of modern Japan in her economic and political transformations; but it gives a popular, useful, clear and concise version of "*what the Japanese people are, and why they are so.*" In this work Japan's internal economy, pressure of population, search for raw materials and markets, as result of her industrialisation, her fear of isolation in world politics, Japan's expansion in the Asiatic continent, her attitude towards China, Korea, Manchuria, the Philippines, Siam, the British Empire, Soviet Russia and other Great Powers, have been discussed in the independent chapters, in a journalistic style.

The Japanese people have, like all other peoples, their hopes and fears: the present aspect of Japanese expansion is not very different in spirit from those of British expansion in India or the "manifest destiny" of the United States or Russian expansion in the continent of Asia. Japan has proven herself to be a very apt pupil of the Western Powers. But the author thinks that Japan's future is not so hopeless. Under a new condition, Japan may even be an important factor in the new social order.

"In a very peculiar and extraordinary sense, Japan has proved the mental meeting place of all civilizations. If out of this synthesis there does not come some widely pervasive effect it will be strange indeed. Tagore saw in Japanese civilisation the element of the universal. The world can use a little universality to advantage; and if time modifies the Nipponese crusade, making it less militant and more cultural, less the elevation of a world-Emperor and more the spread of a world accord, she can do a real service in helping to wipe out the petty nationalism that is to-day plaguing most nations, including Japan." (Page 602.)

III

Japanese Expansion in the Asiatic Continent³ is receiving considerable interest among the American scholars of international relations. It is most gratifying that *The North Eastern Asia Seminar of the University of California*, under the leadership of Professor J. Kerner, has undertaken to make a thorough study of the vital question. Prof. Yoshi S. Kuno,

² Willard Price: *Children of the Rising Sun*. New York. John Day, 1938. Pages 315. : \$3.00.

³ Yoshi S. Kuno: *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, Vol. I. Berkeley (Cal.). University of California Press, 1938. Pages 978. Price \$4.00.

a Japanese scholar, sometime Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California, has given us the first of the three volumes on the subject. This is a scholarly essay on Japanese history from the earliest time to the founding of the Tokugawa Shogunate under the military leadership of Iyeyashu, with special emphasis on Japanese expansion in the Asiatic continent. The work is based upon original, Japanese, Chinese, Korean and other documents. The value of the work is considerably enhanced by the incorporation of the English translation of some 41 documents covering some 150 pages, notes, index and bibliography. Thus the work may be classed as a unique reference book on the subject.

While discussing Japan's relations with her Asiatic neighbours—Korea and China—particularly various efforts of Japanese expansion in the Asiatic continent, the author has supplied her with information regarding internal condition as well as foreign policy of China and Korea in respect to themselves and towards Japan.

At the very outset let us recognise the fact that the condition of Eastern Asia a few centuries before and after the Christian era was fundamentally the same as it was with the other parts of the world. Vast and periodical migration of peoples from one region to the other caused wars, subjection of the original inhabitants of a country and an inter-mixture of peoples and development of a new people with small independent states having suzerain power over them. In fact, the Japanese people were the invaders of the islands now known as Japan; the Chinese and the Korean peoples were invaded by Huns, Tartars, Mongols and others. In all cases, internal weakness caused by civil wars helped the foreign invaders to subjugate the peoples. Japan can be proud of the record that her island shores have never been conquered by any other Power; while China and Korea have repeatedly been victims of foreign aggressions.

During the period of the early fifth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Japan made repeated attacks on Korean independence. However, China was also in no way backward in extending her sway over Korea through conquest. From the study of Japanese, Chinese and Korean records, one comes to the conclusion that "either in the latter part of the fourth or in the early part of the fifth century, Japan established her suzerainty over Shinra and Kudara, extended her military sway over Korai, and finally established her government-general in Mimana for the purpose of supervising affairs in Korean peninsula." Because of Chinese expansion "most of the small kingdoms in Korea maintained their national existence by pledging loyalty to both China and Japan. The chaotic condition of Eastern Asia (after the fall of the Han dynasty in the third century and until the rise of Sui dynasty) made it possible for Japan to establish and maintain her authority in Southern Korea for nearly three hundred years, beginning in the fourth century A.D. and ending in the middle of the seventh century" (pp. 10-14) with the advent of the Tang dynasty and unification of China, Korea was repeatedly invaded by China. At times some of the Korean provinces allied with China while others supported Japan; and ultimately Sino-Japanese wars broke out on the issue of establishing supremacy over Korea. In these wars on the several occasions the combined Chinese and Korean armies and navies defeated those of Japan. During the latter part of the seventh century the whole of Korean peninsula, united into a single kingdom, came under the suzerainty of the Tang emperor of China. Therefore the establishment of Chinese dominance over Korea was effected through

the same process of invasion as was the case with the Japanese expansion in that region of the world.

While discussing the rise of feudalism in Japan, Prof. Kuno makes the following significant remarks :—

" Feudalism brought about the second fundamental national transformation of Japan. The feudal government of Japan is unique in the world's history. It was called the Dual Form of government because both the imperial government and the feudal-military government, or shogunate, co-existed throughout the Feudal Period. It may be more properly spoken as the *military representative form of the government*, because the emperor always requested the military men, who controlled both the military situation in Japan and the military families, to rule the empire in his stead." (Page 89.)

One may be tempted to assert that the present-day preponderance of militarist influence in the Japanese government has its foundation in the national tradition—the spirit of Japanese feudalism—as described above. To-day Japan is one of the great industrial and capitalist countries of the world; and as such in the field of Japanese imperialist expansion her activities are directed by a capitalist-military oligarchy. This is also a fact in all imperialist lands of to-day.

During the thirteenth century, the spirit of Chinese militarism and imperialism was not different from those of other eastern or western nations of that era. China under the Mongols not only ruled over Korea, but Kubla Khan made several attempts during the period of thirty-three years (1268-1299) to conquer Japan, which resulted in failures. Prof. Kuno speaks of periodic chaos in China, but he has graphically described the period of 150 years' Civil War in Japan—the Dark Age of Japan—which was followed by a new era of Japanese transformation under military rulers. It is not very different from the revival of Europe after its Dark Age.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, after the national unification of Japan, Hideyoshi planned for the establishment of an Asiatic empire extending from Korea to India and fought against Korea and China. After Seven Years' War, Japan had to drop this programme of expansion, because Hideyoshi died and there were internal difficulties which made it impossible for Japan to pursue the ambitious scheme. One must not be horrified with the thought of Japanese expansion of the sixteenth century; but should try to see in it the same historical phenomenon as was the case with the expansion of Europe in extra-European world. The only difference between these two adventures is that the Japanese programme failed while European world conquest and domination is still progressing, although it is checked to a certain extent in the Far East, by the rise of the recent Japanese imperial might and aggressive force.

Prof. Kuno thinks that Hideyoshi's exploits of the sixteenth century still serve as sources of inspiration to the young Japanese favouring the conquest of Korea and China.

" During the Seven Years' War, Japanese military men had fully convinced the Chinese and the Koreans that the Japanese were militarily superior and Japan was invincible. This reputation spread among the Asiatic nations and assured the safety of Japan from invasion by continental nations. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when a reopened Japan emerged from her peaceful seclusion of more than two hundred years, she encountered an outside world at the very time when the leading nations in Europe and America were engaging in extensive national expansion. Russia was carrying on a successful expansion in north-eastern Asia. Germany had just completed her unification. The kingdom of Italy had risen by

extending her rule over all the minor states in the peninsula. The United States had forced Mexico to surrender a vast territory. Japan therefore naturally asked herself if there was any possibility of her national expansion. Hideyoshi's seven years' campaign on the continent became a source of great inspiration to the young Japanese. Because of the brilliant victories of Hideyoshi, the Japanese concluded that battles with either Chinese or Koreans meant victory. Imbued with this conviction, Japan entered upon a new period of national expansion. The Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), which was a one-sided struggle ending in complete victory for Japan without the loss of a single battle either on land or on the sea, encouraged the young Japanese to believe that they were destined to finish the uncompleted work of Hideyoshi. The Seven Years' War of the sixteenth century has therefore been of great significance in the formation of national ideals of New Japan. It may even be said that the Seven Years' War was the first chapter in the national expansion of Japan that began towards the close of the nineteenth century."

By no means Prof. Kuno is a protagonist of Japanese expansion in Asia. As a historian he has stated facts which have great significance in studying Japanese programme of expansion to-day. One may further ask the question: Is it possible that the famous Tanaka Memorial and Japan's positive policy in China have been influenced by the programme of Hideyoshi?

Japan's ability in assimilating western civilization has been regarded as a strange phenomenon; but it has its past parallel. Just as the Western Powers during the Crusades came in contact with the superior civilization of the Arabs and thus became benefited culturally and industrially, similarly Japan during her Seven Years' War learned a great deal from Korea.

"As for Japan, the Seven Years' War on the other hand not only failed to bring her any territorial or financial gain but it also engendered towards her the everlasting hatred of the Koreans. On the other hand, by reason of this war, Japan profited both intellectually and industrially. At the time of Hideyoshi's invasion, the civilization of Korea had reached its peak. She had metallic moveable type of her own invention; in fact, Korea had moveable type several years before its invention in the Occident. The Japanese gathered up most of this type and took it to Japan; it was only after her invasion of Korea that Japan learned to print books with any facility. From Korea Japan also learned the art of weaving various kinds of goods. The most noteworthy industrial knowledge that Japan gained from Korea was the manufacture of porcelain ware. Such famous wares as those of Satsuma, Hirado, Rakuzan, Agano, Takatori and Hagi, which are famous to-day as special products of Japan, were originated by skilled labourers in Korea whom various Japanese feudal lords took prisoners and settled permanently in the various provinces. It is said that the process is now a lost art in Korea. World History contains no parallel to this wholesale uprooting of the civilization of one nation and its transplantation in another." (Page 176.)

Western scholars of the Orient will be benefited by Prof. Kuno's work. The work would have been more valuable and effective if the author had made comparisons with the expansionist programmes of other nations. Ordinary students might be misled, by reading the work, that Japan was the only Power which cherished expansionist dreams and waged wars to realise them.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Outside.]

Training College at Allahabad

Regarding the training college for boys at Allahabad about 1,200 applications have been received for 30 stipendary seats, wherein each candidate will get a stipend of Rs. 15 per month for eight months. Besides these stipendary candidates a number of non-stipendary candidates can be admitted. The final selection has not yet been made. The college is expected to start soon. Its opening ceremony will be performed by the Hon. Mr. Sampurnanand, Minister for Education, U. P. Government.

The selection of the principal is still under consideration. In the meanwhile Dr. Ibadur Rahiman Khan, an inspector of schools, who is at present on special duty as secretary of the pre-university stage enquiry committee, will carry on the duties of the principal of the training college.

All the lecturers appointed, as also the acting principal, have been to Europe or America and have qualified themselves in the Western methods of education.

Indian History Congress

A meeting of the working committee of the forthcoming session of the Indian History Congress, to be held at Allahabad this year, was held at the residence of Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, general secretary.

It is understood that the committee resolved to hold the session in the Vizianagram Hall in October. It is believed that His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces will be requested to inaugurate the session.

Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor, having taken leave, he may be leaving the station shortly and may probably go to Kashmir. Accordingly the working committee elected Sir Digby Drake-Brockman (President of the Public Service Commission) chairman of the reception committee in place of Mr. Gurtu.

Bombay University

The annual Convocation of the University of Bombay was held on August 16, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, the Chancellor, presiding.

His Excellency conferred degrees on successful candidates in various examinations held this year and distributed prizes to the successful candidates with honours.

Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered the Convocation address.

Training Indian Mountaineers

The main object of the expedition which left Simla on August 12, for the region of Lahaul, is to train young Indians in mountain-craft, particularly snow and ice craft, in order to prepare them for attacks on the higher peaks of the Himalayas and probably Everest at some later date.

The expedition has been organized under the auspices of the Punjab Mountaineering Club and is being led by Professor Abdul Hamid Beg, professor at the Islamia College, Lahore, who is also president of the Punjab Mountaineering Club.

The range to be explored is near the border of Kulu and Lahaul, opposite the Roterang Pass. This is regarded as an excellent training ground for young mountaineers, as the peaks can be attempted at any time from June to September, as it is believed that the monsoon conditions do not penetrate so far.

In an interview, Professor Beg stated that, in addition to the training in mountain-craft, there would be a certain scientific value in the enterprise. Mr. Nazir Ahmad and Mr. Nazir Ali Beg would make collections of zoological specimens and of flora and the results of their work would be placed before a forthcoming session of the All-India Science Congress.

From Simla the party, numbering five, will make a 150-mile foot journey, following the Hindustan-Tibet road to Narkanda, and then on to Banjor. At Oot the party will take a bus to Manali where porters will be engaged. The base camp will be established at an elevation of 13,000 feet and the first as-sault will be on Snowy Cone, the 20,000 ft. peak of Gepang Gob mountain. Between the base camp and the peak two camps will be established, the latter being within a day's march of the summit.

As trained coolies are not available in Kulu, the climbers will have to carry all their own provisions from the base to the second camp.

The other members of the expedition are Mr. Hiralal Hiteshi, well known in Punjab boy scout circles, and Mr. Anand Sarup Thapar, a student at the Veterinary College, Lahore. (*The Statesman.*)

Training College for Women at Benares

It is reliably learnt that the training college for women will start from September 1, 1938 and that the exact date on which women candidates are required to report themselves at Benares has not yet been fixed up. The date when finally decided will be announced later.

The women's training college will be attached to the Theosophical school, Benares, and Mr. Sanjiva Rao, who is organising the college, has been given full authority regarding the appointment of the staff. It is probable that most of the teachers will be from the Theosophical school as it has already got a sufficient staff. However, if it is thought necessary to have more staff Mr. Sanjiva Rao will make the appointments and the Government will give a grant for the purpose.

Benares Sanskrit College

There has been a public demand in the past that the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, which is really the nucleus of a Sanskrit University and which has a valuable library (Sarawati Bhawan) as its appendage should be overhauled. The matter was also recently discussed

in the U. P. Legislative Assembly. In view of this the Government have decided to appoint the following committee to look into the matter:—

1. Pandit Yagna Narain Upadhyaya, M.L.A.; (Chairman)
2. Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi Shastri, M.A.;
3. Dr. Mangal Deo Shastri, M.A., Registrar, Sanskrit College Examinations, U. P.; and,
4. Pandit Sri Krishna Joshi, Hindu University, Benares.

Dr. Mangaldeo Shastri will also act as the secretary of the committee.

The terms of reference to the above committee will be to look into the system of administration of the college, its connection with the education department, its relation with the library, the methods of recruitment of its staff, its hours of work and similar allied questions. The committee will hold its meetings in Benares.

Gift from Czechoslovakia

Dr. J. J. Leek, consul-general of Czechoslovakia, met Poet Tagore and presented him, on behalf of Dr. V. Lesny, a beautiful glass vase as a gift from the Education Minister of Czechoslovakia.

Primary Education in C. P.

At a meeting of the C. P. Cabinet held recently it was decided to introduce compulsory primary education in 39 villages of Mandla district.

The Cabinet also approved of the scheme of reorganization of the Education Department prepared by the Hon'ble Pandit Ravisankar Shukla as Minister for Education. This will give immediate saving of Rs. 15,000 annually and ultimate saving of Rs. 40,000 per year. According to this scheme the posts of Inspectors of Schools will be abolished and in place of the four inspectors of schools there will be three deputy directors with headquarters at Nagpur. The post of the Deputy Director of Public Instruction so far held by Mr. I. E. Shah has been abolished. Every district will have a district inspector and there will be no assistant inspectors of schools.

Indian Philosophical Congress

The next session of the Indian Philosophical Congress will be held at Allahabad in December next.

It is believed that Dr. M. R. Jayakar, a judge of the Federal Court, has expressed his inability to accept the presidentship on account of other engagements. The other names suggested for presidentship are believed to be of Sir Radhakrishnan, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Bapna, Prime Minister of Indore, and Mr. C. F. Andrews.

The session is proposed to be held some time in the third week of December. In case Sir S. Radhakrishnan accepts the office, it may be held earlier as he will be returning to England by December 17.

Unemployment Relief

In furtherance of the scheme for the relief of unemployment among middle class youths of Bengal, the Department of Industries, Bengal, have decided to enlist a fresh batch of students for giving them free practical training in the manufacture of bar and moulded washing soaps. The full course will cover a period of six months.

The training class will be held at the Industrial Research Laboratory, Canal South Road, Entally, and it will be open only to unemployed youths of the province who are keen on following the industry as a means of livelihood after completion of their training. To secure admission to this class candidates will have to apply to the Director of Industries, Bengal, at 7, Council House Street, Calcutta, not later than September 7.

Training of Aviation Pilots in U. P.

A scheme for subsidizing the training of air pilots has been sanctioned. The United Provinces Flying Club, Cawnpore, will train ten persons.

A board will select the candidates. Women will also be trained. Ordinarily half the cost of training will be borne by the Government and the other half by the candidate. In exceptional cases the entire cost may be borne by the Government but no candidate who can afford to pay will be trained at Government expense.

A sum of Rs. 5,000 will be given this year to the U. P. Flying Club in pursuance of this scheme.

Miscellany

MINING AND METALLURGY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By far the pleasantest journeys are those by the river steamers on the Volga and other rivers during the summer when the vast Russian plain, from central Germany to the Urals, is as sun-baked as is Bihar in April. The inland navigation of the Russian rivers is appreciated by the Soviet administration as their most important means of transportation, and is being developed almost regardless of expense. Already it is possible for oil-tankers from Baku to go by the Volga to the Baltic or the Arctic and, in summer, into the Siberian rivers as far almost as the Mongolian border. Moscow, which is now under complete reconstruction, is already the central port of Russia and only lacks communication with the Black Sea, but this waterway will shortly be available. I am not sufficient of an engineer to tell you all the details of the newly opened Moscow-Volga Canal, but qualified engineers at the opening ceremony told me it was a piece of work, of so large a size and also expeditiously carried out, that they would be proud of it in any country.

According to the Soviet constitution every citizen is entitled to work and is paid according to ability, skill and responsibility. They have rest a day after every five days' work when they work roughly 8 hours a day. They are entitled to full pay leave, to free medical attendance, to free education for their children, and to old age pension besides other allowances. In the Hammer and Sickle Steel Works near Moscow where an annual output of 250,000 tons of steel products—sheets, bars, rods and wire—is maintained, the unskilled workmen get 200 to 400 roubles a month, the furnace foremen may earn 1,000 roubles a month, the metallurgical chemist as much as 3,000 roubles a month, and the general manager has a salary of 2,000 roubles plus a bonus on output. Women have equal rights with the men, which means of course that they have more. We saw women at work on rail-road ballasting and track work, as workers underground in coal mines, as tram conductors and drivers, operating machines in various types of workers and invariably as clerks and accountants. All hotel and railway booking and enquiry offices are staffed with women, and almost without exception the guides and interpreters on sight-seeing tours are neatly dressed young ladies. When a particularly well-dressed lady was introduced to us we knew instinctively that we were about to be asked for our impression and opinions by the journalist of some important Soviet newspaper. Women of course take an active part in educational work and as investigators in scientific research, but we were surprised to find several women on the Russian Geological Survey who carried out the arduous duties of field work and welcomed our scrutiny of their maps and deductions. Home life as we know it is fast disappearing as the tendency is to live in rooms or suites and have meals in restaurants and hotels.

From a metallurgical point of view the new steel works at Magnitogorsk in the South Urals, and Kuznetsk in Siberia have pride of place. They are over 1,000 miles apart and each is said to be more than twice as big as the Tata Works at Jamshedpur and to have been erected in a shorter period in wild and useless country. Instead of each works being a centre for the assembly of raw material, iron ore, coal and limestone necessitating

the return of empty wagons to the mines and quarries, these two great works are linked. Magnitogorsk has been erected near the iron ore mines while Kuznetsk is the coalfield so that the wagons taking coking coal to Magnitogorsk return to Kuznetsk with iron and thus haulage of empty wagons is avoided. Shortage of railway wagons and the extent of the Russian railway have made it essential for the Soviet Government to devise means of avoiding unnecessary rail haul. With this object in view it is becoming the practice in some colliery centres to convert large quantities of coal into gas and to pipe this gas to power stations which previously used coal. Thus gas producers have been erected at Tula for the supply of gas for boiler firing and other purposes in Moscow nearly 100 miles away. There is thus not only a saving in the haulage of coal but in the avoidance of smoke in the city and the absence of any ash to handle in the power stations. Elsewhere as in the West Urals, collieries have been opened at Kizel to work a coal not exceeding 12 feet thick, in strata tilted at a steep angle (30° to 40°), and averaging 21 per cent. ash with 5 per cent. sulphur. We would forget about such a coal almost anywhere in India, and yet it is being raised at 4,000 tons a day in a colliery which is equipped in a manner superior to anything seen in India. The coal is coked and the surplus gases used for boiler firing in a great central electrical station which supplies electricity to the colliery and the villages round and for the electrification of the railway for 400 miles. The high sulphur coke, which is useless for iron ore smelting, is utilized in an adjacent area for copper ore smelting.

The Soviet claim that reserves of copper ore estimated to contain 17 million tons of metallic copper, roughly 16 per cent. of the world total, have been established in Russia, is still considered as 'not proven.' I was not able to visit the Kounrad deposits in Kazakhstan, but it is certain that the large copper smelting works on Balkash are to be supplied with the Kounrad ores and the production of metallic copper at these smelters is estimated at 100,000 tons a year at full capacity. On looking into details, however, I was astonished to discover that the Kounrad ores averaged under 1.5 per cent. of copper which is appreciably below the famous low grade copper ores of Chuquibambilla in Chili which average over 2.0 per cent. copper and have the finest smelting works in South America. Our Indian copper ores of Singhbhum normally contain over 3.0 per cent. of copper although somewhat inferior ores are treated by the skill of the present management. I was given to understand that the Soviet metallurgist aimed at treating sulphide copper ores with as low as 3.75 per cent. copper. A Russian claim which I am pleased to confirm was that of producing commercial quantities of oil from strata of palaeozoic age, a subject somewhat painful to those engaged in the search for oil in England. At the Sterlitamak-Ishimbayev oil field in Bashkiria the annual production of oil from numerous deep wells was of the order of a million tons, and there was no doubt at all that the oil was coming from rocks not younger than the Lower Permian. Further, the geology of the trans-Volga region showed that the same rocks were present further north, and the exploratory borings had proved two areas, east and west of Perm, in the Kama basin, which were potential oilfields. The potash salt deposits, estimated at 15,000 million tons of potash in the Solikamsk area was to my mind the best example of Soviet geological and mining enterprise. The Russians claimed deposits of potash salt greater than those of Stassfurt in Germany and, backed by the Soviet Government, were producing over 1,500,000 tons of potash a year. The equipment of these mines, which we descended, is absolutely up-to-date and includes an underground workshop for all repairs. The shaft is equipped with two winding

engines, one for hoisting skips and the other operating double-decked cages from a depth of 750 feet and raising 5,000 tons of potash salts daily.

There is to my mind no finer example of scientific skill, supported by State funds, than the development of the Russian aluminium industry. Aluminium ore had been found at Tikhvin in 1883 and re-discovered in 1916 but when carefully examined in 1925 this bauxite was considered unattractive for aluminium production. However, when the Volkhov hydro-electric station was opened in 1926 the Soviet chemists set to work to discover a means of utilizing the Tikhvin bauxite and devised a commercial process by 1929. Meanwhile the Soviet geologists had found rich alumite deposits in Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, and immense quantities of phonolite in the Khibin of the Kola Peninsula. Means were also devised for preparing alumina from these raw materials, and special success attended the recovery of alumina from the phonolite. The Soviet Government sanctioned an aluminium works at Volkhov in 1929; when this was completed and produced 800 tons of aluminium in 1932, another large aluminium works was begun at Dnepropetrovsk near the huge hydro-electric station. Those who know the complicated details of bauxite purification and the metallurgy of aluminium will know what I mean when I say the Russian aluminium industry was based on abnormal lines and was consequently economically unsound. However, the production of aluminium had risen to 4,000 tons in 1933 and the Soviet chemists had secured an enormous experience in establishing a domestic aluminium industry. Then suddenly in 1933 good bauxite was discovered in the Urals in sufficient quantities to be workable on a large scale. A new reduction works was immediately begun at Kamensk near Sverdlovsk and was to have been operating at the close of 1937. The production of aluminium from the two older works had meanwhile risen as follows: 14,000 tons in 1934, 24,000 tons in 1935 and 36,000 tons in 1936. It is estimated that 72,000 tons will be produced in 1938 when the Kamensk plant is working. A fourth plant is now under construction in the north and there is little doubt that the Russian aluminium industry will shortly lead the world.

As a result of the insistence of the Soviet Government in demanding mineral raw materials of all kinds, at an almost unreasonable rate of increase, the development of the mineral industry has been astonishing during the past few years compared with the mineral production in 1913. It has been estimated that during 1938 the output of coal will exceed 182 million tons, the production of coke 22 million tons, petroleum 30 million tons, iron ore 32 million tons, pig iron over 15 million tons, steel nearly 15 million tons and cement over 6 million tons. We were unable to secure information regarding the Soviet gold output, but this statistical data is available in England and the U.S.A. and from such figures it would appear that the Russian gold production, which was under 2 million fine ounces in 1932, had risen to over 7 million ounces in 1936. We were told that the Soviet gold production would shortly exceed that of the Transvaal which has remained constant at about 11 million ounces since 1932. We also learned that the Soviet Government encouraged private prospecting and working for gold by assisting with loans, provided that all gold was sold to the state at agreed prices. So far as I know this private enterprise has not been extended to the ordinary economic minerals though it is the principle on which collective farms are managed.—Dr. Cyril S. Fox at the Rotary Club, Calcutta.

THE THEORY OF AUTARCHY AND SWADESHI

In the June number of the *Calcutta Review* was published my paper on new trends in commercial policy, as well as on the commercial policy of Germany. At the present moment the tariff policies of nations are directly or indirectly associated with the economics of autarchy (self-sufficiency) and economic planning. In India there should be no vagueness about these two categories of economic policy. These are to be taken as but the post-War and post-depression counterparts of our generation-old *swadeshi* (indigenous industry) movement. There are differences in detail between the Indian *swadeshi* and the contemporary world movements in autarchy. But the drives and the motives are identical. It is possible likewise to discover differences between Russia, Italy and Germany in regard to their autarchic plans because of the differences in the structure of the agricultural and industrial economies of the three regions. But each one is pursuing in a goalful manner just one policy of making itself as independent as possible of the neighbours in regard to the essential requirements of national life.

It should be observed at the outset that there are economists or rather politicians who find it difficult to understand, appreciate or justify the *swadeshi* movement in theory and practice. Naturally, therefore, one is not surprised to notice once in a while in the economic literature of Eur-America strong objections raised against the autarchy-movements of planned economies. The critics of the *swadeshi* movement may as a rule be described as the exponents of *laissez faire*, liberalism, free trade, international division of labour, and so forth. So far as the critics of the autarchy theory and practice are concerned, it is not at all curious that they should belong to the same group.

Since the War, and especially since 1929, the economic and financial policy of the great powers has often been the subject of criticism of the most varied and contradictory nature. Nor could it be otherwise. In the present world situation, nations are often obliged to manoeuvre their economies in accordance with the necessities which international relations impose or may impose in the near future.

The main item of this criticism may be indicated as follows: Autarchy or self-sufficiency is illogical. It is set up against the alleged sane tendencies to the readjustment and revival of trade. A wider concept of life is said to be prevented by it—namely, the perception that the nations are all parts of one other. Autarchy is condemned as preventing our lives both as individuals and as a nation from affording mutual help to one another. The arguments are naïve and conventional.

The reply can also be equally conventional. We have but to describe the logic of national necessity and then expatiate on some of the facts of the recent economic or political world. After the depression of 1929, every country decided to keep home markets for its own producers. That is, each tried to promote *swadeshi* and develop nationalism. The so-called "liberal" or democratic states were the first to set the example. In 1931 the United States raised the customs tariffs. *Swadeshi* was then started in a country which is supposed to be the land of the free but which in any case is traditionally associated with economic protectionism. It became difficult to place European goods on American markets. Europe was, therefore, hampered in the sale of a part of her production, and this led to a consequent decrease in the purchasing power of European countries.

The situation was aggravated in some countries by the fact that, before the crisis, they had been free to emigrate, while even this outlet was now

almost totally suppressed on account of American immigration legislation. A country like Italy or Germany was faced with a reduction of her possibility of exporting labour as represented by merchandise. Other countries of Europe had to undergo the prohibition of the export of labour in the form of emigration. Then, again, before the crisis (1929) the United States were sustaining the purchasing power of European countries with a system of long term credits. But after the crisis began, this system also failed to come to the rescue. It was natural that the various European nations should seek to save—as they put it—the home market for their own production. It is in this perspective that the *swadeshi* movement of contemporary Europe has to be envisaged.

With the export of products and that of labour both hampered, all that remained was to work for national consumption; and this led to the quota system. Here, again, it was the “liberal” nations that set the example, the quota system being started by France in 1931.

Another “liberal” state started a third tactic. This was England and the tactic was all-round protective tariff plus Imperial Preference. England led the way by substituting the system of customs equality by the preference system. This is tantamount to the *swadeshi* movement for the British Empire.

These three liberal countries are also countries which possessed (and still possess) an almost total monopoly of the world's gold. They also set the pace in international economic policy. It is interesting that just these three countries which are in theory opposed to state intervention economic planning etc. and condemn it as communistic, autocratic and what not, started the *swadeshi* movement of contemporary Eur-America.

From the standpoint of countries like Germany and Italy, although they differ in the socio-economic structure on important points, a return, pure and simple, to the commercial policy in existence before the crisis is not possible in view of the *swadeshi* movements started in the U. S. A., France and the British Empire. They believe that the old system of trade policy has demonstrated its failure, being, in fact, one of the causes of the world economic crisis. It is also a fact that the present crisis has altered, in a manner which would appear to be enduring, the relations between the state and production.

The logic of autarchy is therefore clear. The first requirement, then, is to guarantee purity of access to raw materials to those nations, *e. g.*, Germany and Italy, who have a high demographic potential. In the second place, it is necessary to eliminate another absurdity, namely, currency manœuvres embarked upon for the purposes of an economic (and often a political) offensive. To pretend to maintain a currency system in which gold is said to be the standard and simultaneously to prevent gold from fulfilling its specific function in the equilibrium of prices, as a result of those manœuvres which have ended by sterilizing it is another of those absurdities which have aggravated, and continue to aggravate, the crisis. If the international commodity market is to function, currency must fulfil its natural function of intermediary in barter and must therefore be rendered as neutral as possible, so argue the Italian economists, for instance. It is said that Italy has given proof of greater wisdom in the currency situation, as she has influenced her currency only when compelled to do so by the manœuvres of the powers which give the tone to the international money market.

In the third place, the new trade policy cannot but take account of the new position assumed also in connection with foreign trade by the

modern state. In order that the purchasing power which the nation procures through foreign trade may not decrease, both in the absolute and in the relative sense, it is essential that trade should be maintained in a constant state of equilibrium at a time when it forms almost the whole of the balance of payments, with the result that the clearing system has become inevitable.

When all these circumstances are taken into account, it will be apparent that the *swadeshi* movements of the U. S. A., France and the British Empire, on the one hand, as well as of Germany and Italy, on the other, are not identical with the *swadeshi* movement of India since 1905 except in inspiration and motives. Indian *swadeshi* is oriented to the economic structure of a primitive condition, say, of Russia on the eve of the Great War or of the Bolshevik revolution. The problem in India has been mainly in the nature of industrialization (comprising as it does also the modernization of agriculture in technique and organization) and protective tariff. In the Eur-American *swadeshi* movements of the last decade we watch the self-same incentives, i.e., urges towards the promotion of national interests, safe-guarding of the country's markets, and so forth. The items that demand protection, reconstruction and modification, as well as the circumstances in the competing world that require to be combated or controlled in the Eur-American regions, are however much more complex than those in India, being in many instances but the attendants of hyper-industrialized and rationalized economies of the second industrial revolution.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

ANOTHER WORLD-ECONOMIC DEPRESSION ?

A gloomy view of the world's economic situation is taken by the League's financial experts in a document prepared for the Financial Committee. They conclude that another serious crisis is imminent.

The phrase "imminent crisis" is used deliberately, the document says, "because the decline in commercial activity has assumed such grave proportions—at least in the United States, where the disturbance seems to have begun—that one can no longer consider it as a slight recession holding out the confident hope of an automatic recovery."

The document implies that "the profound and disturbing change" that has overtaken the world's economy during the past twelve months is due to the recession that began in the United States and extended, though less seriously, to the United Kingdom and France. Thus, though this analysis is confined to these three countries, it is pointed out that any crisis beginning in the chief industrial centres risks spreading to other countries. The gravity of the recession in the United States cannot be ignored, and its effects are being felt nearly everywhere.

It is pointed out that—

1. During the first three months of 1938 world industrial production lost all the ground it had regained in the two previous years and was about 15 per cent. below that of 1929.
2. The quantum of world commerce fell to 90 per cent. of the 1929 level.
3. Unemployment is on the increase in most countries.
4. Far from having to concern itself with the dangers of an uncontrolled boom—which was the concern of several of the principal countries twelve months ago—the world finds itself today menaced by a serious crisis."

Turning to the signs of the crisis in the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the analysis points out that in the United States industrial production fell by one-third between December, 1936, and March, 1938, and that since August, 1937, the fall has been almost vertical. From the point of view of intensity and rapidity, it adds, the present recession is one of the worst ever known in the United States—worse even than that during the six months following September, 1929.

In the United Kingdom the position is not nearly so serious, but in spite of the great expenditure on rearmament the document finds a general decrease in industrial and commercial activity and goes on to show that the fall in the general indices for wholesale prices and commercial activity was at least as marked in the eight months following the maximum period of August, 1937, as during the eight months following the peak of August, 1929.

It is pointed out that in addition to a decline in various bases of commercial activity the United Kingdom had nearly 100,000 more insured workers unemployed last April than in April, 1937, and nearly 250,000 more insured workers partly unemployed. Similarly in France, where the recovery was less marked than in the United Kingdom and less important than in the United States, the analysis comments: "It seems there has been a general decline since the end of the last year. The general index of industrial production, which in December, 1936, was 85 per cent. of the 1929 level, had fallen to 71 per cent. in August, 1937, and despite a certain recovery in the ensuing months a substantial part of the ground regained was lost during the first quarter of 1938."

In giving a warning that a continuance of the worsening of the recession registered in these three countries would gravely compromise the recovery movement in all parts of the world, the document reminds its readers that the United States absorbs 40 per cent. of the world's raw material exports. It adds that already in many other countries economic indices have shown a tendency towards stagnation or recession.

The document analyses the effects of the American recession on the rest of the world. It blames the contraction of the American market—due entirely, it says, to the decline of national purchasing power—for the renewed tightening in many countries of exchange control, which until the summer of 1937 has been progressively easing. In proportion as prices fall and the sales of export goods diminish many countries—and notably the Latin American republics—have again to reinforce their exchange restrictions.

Yet, however menacing the situation appears, several reasons are given which make it appear easier to overcome than the crisis of 1929. These are as follow:—

1. There has been no serious credit inflation and the monetary and banking situation in most countries is better than in 1929.

2. Foreign short-term debts are less than in 1929 and the central banks and equalisation funds are in a position to meet all international transfers.

3. The possibilities of credit expansion are better than in 1929 as a consequence of monetary devaluation.

4. The world stocks of raw material were, before the recent increase, much less than in 1929.

The document has not yet been published, nor has the report of the Financial Committee, which used it as the basis of discussion. It is

understood, however, that the general trend of the Committee's discussions was not much more optimistic, and the general conclusion was that little can be done in the economic field while political unrest remains as it is.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FINANCES OF IMPERIAL ITALY

The financial conditions and statistics of Italy since the end of the Great War (1914-18) were discussed in my paper on "Trade Balance and Public Finance: The Experience of Fascist Italy" published in the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1935. The financial problems of present-day Italy are those of the storm and stress of the war in Abyssinia as well as of the renovated or rather expanded Italian Empire. It is interesting to observe that in Eur-America and even in India recent newspaper articles appear often to be sceptical about Italy's financial soundness. The situation is parallel to that during the first years of the Fascist regime (1922-29) when pessimists used to foresee the downfall of the Mussolini-raj every now and then. On the strength of figures available in print one should have to admit that at the present moment, i.e., with war-preparations, direct and indirect, going on in every country on the diverse continents, the finances of Imperial Italy are not more rickety and paralytic than those in other regions. The world is now used to finances for war-preparedness, war-finances, finances for post-War reconstruction on such a large scale that the scare about national bankruptcy does not belong to normal and legitimate economic science. Indeed, humanly speaking, financial scares should now-a-days be treated as primitive, antiquated or unscientific as, say, the scares of over-population.

In regard to the finances of Imperial Italy some of the figures tell their own tale. The most important facts lie on the surface. The tremendous effort made by Fascist finance to meet the extraordinary expenditure incurred during the three financial years 1934-37, and during the first nine months of the current financial year, has meant in round figures about 36 billion lire. But this has not caused any disturbance in the money market. Nor has it occasioned any extraordinary increase in the note circulation of the *Banca d'Italia* (Central Bank). The bank rate has remained unaltered at 4.5% since May 18, 1936. The capitalisation rate on public investments is somewhere around 5%, while in the case of investments in securities with a variable revenue it is about 4.5%.

Savings deposits, which had increased by no less than 3,917 million liras in 1937, remained practically stationary from January 1 to March 31, 1938, the figures being 79,504 million and 79,580 million respectively. The circulation of the *Banca d'Italia*, which was 15,645 million on April 30, 1937, amounted to 16,280 million on April 30, 1938.

This result is due to a series of successful operations. In the first place, there was an issue of 5% consolidated loan connected with the reversion of 3.5% redeemable loan. Secondly, the Government issued a 5% redeemable loan connected with the extraordinary tax on real estate.

The issue of the 5% consolidated loan yielded altogether 6,836 million lire. By March 31, 1938, the redeemable loan had yielded 7,004 million lire, of which 4,450 million is new money, 1,145 million in advances made by the banks out of available cash resources, and 1,408 million found

their counterpart in notes issued by the *Banca d'Italia*. This excess note circulation is to be absorbed by the repayments and engagements entered into by the subscribers.

Other extraordinary revenues have been obtained through 9-year Treasury bonds at 4%, ordinary Treasury bonds, and current accounts with the *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*, from insurance companies and from the Bank of Naples, as well as from the sale of foreign securities and Italian securities issued abroad and also from the issue of ten-lire Treasury notes.

Logically, the current financial year represents a period of transition between the past financial year which bore the brunt of exceptional burdens, and the coming year which is likely to mark a return to "normal" conditions, in case there be no international tension of an appreciable dimension.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The new issue contains, as usual, the most important statistics of the world on population, labour, production, trade, transport and finance.

Notes help the reader to avoid pitfalls in this mass of information on such varied subjects as international trade, public finances, currencies and their increasing complications, capital issues and recent trends of population.

Important new material is given in all sections and especially on age structure, fertility, net rates of reproduction and expectation of life, much of it never before computed or published. Mortality has fallen sharply in this generation, as shown by the general increase in the expectation of life at all ages, but most for the young. Fertility has also fallen sharply in almost all countries, and in many reproduction is no longer sufficient to maintain the population. This fact is masked, because the reproductive middle-age groups happen to be exceptionally large. But the proportion of old-age groups tends to increase. In England, for instance, children under 10 were over one-fifth of the population in 1911, about one-seventh in 1936; whereas people over 50 were less than one-sixth in 1911 and nearly one-quarter in 1936.

There is a new table on alcohol showing its importance for industry as well as for drinking. Another new table shows the production of sulphuric acid, interesting as an indication of industrial activity; it contains the most complete information for a series of years so far published on this subject. Another table contains the world index of stocks made for the League's volume on Production and Prices. The table on currency shows that every country in the world has devaluated or controlled its exchange in recent years.

The following examples, selected at random, illustrate the wide range of information which can be obtained:—

The German birth-rate, which in 1933 fell to 14.7, amounted to 19 in 1936 and 18.8 in 1937. The production of foodstuff and raw materials, according to the League Index, increased by nearly 6 per cent. in 1937, and is 16 per cent. higher than it was ten years ago. State expenditure and public debt have increased. Gold production has doubled in the last ten years, and shows a record, as do silver, several other metals and petrol. The volume of air traffic increased four times between 1931 and 1936, and reached a record in 1937.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The State in Neo-Idealism—*Saggi intorno allo Stato*. By Giorgio del Vecchio. Rome, Istituto di Filosofia del Diritto, 1935. Pages 246. Price 10 lire.

Readers of the *Calcutta Review* are familiar with some of the ideas of Giorgio del Vecchio, professor of the philosophy of law at the University of Rome, on account of quotations by the present reviewer in different contexts. The work, *Saggi intorno allo Stato* (Essays concerning the State), is a collection of essays and lectures published since 1929. Del Vecchio's philosophy, which is political and social no less than legal, is essentially idealistic like that of Croce and Gentile. Like both again he is fundamentally factual, objective and historical. His idealism is rooted in the problems of today and seeks to explain them. He takes a realistic view of *mores*, i.e., morals and manners.

In one of his earliest works, *L'Etica evoluzionista* (Rome, 1902), is to be encountered his conception of morality in evolution. The same idea is to be observed in *Contro il Medievalismo Giuridico* (Against Juridical Medievalism), 1931 and *La Crisi della Scienza del Diritto* (Crisis in the Science of Law), 1932. His idealistic interpretations of the socio-legal phenomena are not therefore monistic or absolutist attempting as they do to take cognisance of the changes in the reality of life from epoch to epoch. He is in short a relativist and a pluralist. Another leading idea of Del Vecchio's is to be found in the publication *Sulla Positività come carattere del Diritto* (On Positivity as the Character of Law), Modena, 1911.

These ideas of relativism and positivism in law and morality have found application in his recent discussions on ethics, the relations between the law and the state, the society of states, bureaucracy, etc., most of which have bearings on the Fascist institutions and ideologies. An important place in the present volume is occupied by the corporations, the new institutions of the totalitarian state. The discussions are throughout to be regarded logically as contributions to neo-idealism in philosophy.

According to Del Vecchio all law is positive. Positivity belongs to the very nature of law as a social or interhuman phenomenon. But *statualità* (statality) is not the characteristic of all laws, because certain laws may arise in non-statal, pre-statal, nay, anti-statal societies. Law is taken by him to be coeval with man. But the state, as he believes along with certain anthropologists, is not as old as mankind. The state is considered to be later than law. The corporations are like the church and other associations spontaneous and natural makers of law which is positive as a matter of course. The diverse organs of such natural and spontaneous positive law, which exist between the individual and the state, ought to be recognized by the state as law-making and indeed sovereign bodies within certain limitations. This is the fundamental ideology of the present work and forms the subject matter of the introductory chapter entitled *Sulla Statualità del Diritto* (On the Statality of Law).

Del Vecchio's neo-idealistic approach to the problems of law and society is apparent in his orientations to the *corporazioni* of the Fascist state. The position accorded to the associations in the Fascist revolution is the exact antipodes of that in the French revolution. The associations

were regarded in France as rivals of and dangerous to the state. It is well-known that during the revolutionary period and its aftermath the associations were legally forbidden and declared to be unlawful and criminal not only in France but in England, Germany and Italy as well.

The place of the associations in the state—of the corporations in the Fascist state—has formed the subject matter of several chapters, e.g., *La Crisi dello Stato, Individuo, Stato e Corporazione*, and *Etica, Diritto e Stato*. In Del Vecchio's analysis the declaration of associations as unlawful and criminal *urta contro la natura medesima delle cose* (dashes rudely against the nature itself of things). He believes that associations sprout spontaneously out of the human spirit and embody themselves in thousand and one forms. The state may limit and regulate but not suppress them just as it cannot suppress the human individuality itself.

It is not enough that the state simply recognizes in a formal manner the so-called "freedom of association." This juridical item has certainly its importance but requires to be kept within proper limits, because otherwise this *giuridicità* or legal recognition of the *libertà di associazione* might become a synonym for anarchy. Del Vecchio wants this recognition to be more extensive and profound. The associations deserve in his judgment to be recognized as furnishing "intrinsic collaboration" to the state as makers of law. The "spontaneous production of law" belongs to the functions of these associations. The process of *statualizzazione* is thereby to be promoted corresponding as it does to the perfection of the positivity of law. Del Vecchio is definitely for the recognition of the activity of the associations, in certain specified spheres, as the activity of the state and *equiparata a quella dello Stato* (equivalent to the activity of the state).

The generic and formal principle of the liberty of association has often been wrongly interpreted, says Del Vecchio. Surrenders of the state were possible under those conditions and more or less passively tolerated. There could also arise associations even specifically directed against the state. But under the new basis of "statualization" a more profound and true conception may attempt to constitute a substantial and organic harmony between the varied social forces in their natural juridical productivity. It is in this manner alone that the state can attain its most perfect unity as the supreme and effective co-ordinator of all the energies and harmonizer of all the laws and duties of the individuals and the groups.

Technically the best method of achieving this object and the index that it has been effectively realized consists in this that certain definite juridical formations are considered equally and indifferently as socially spontaneous and as invested with the authority of the state. According to Del Vecchio this objective has been attained by the Legislative Act of Fascist Italy in April, 1926, by which the economic forces and the corresponding professional organizations were incorporated into the system of the state. This is the Act which for the first time in Italy accorded to syndical associations the juridical power, a species of *sovranità professionale* (professional sovereignty) and used to be described at the time as the most revolutionary law of the Fascist regime. From the same standpoint the *Carta del Lavoro* (Labour Charter) of thirty declarations, issued in April 1927, is appraised by Del Vecchio as having stabilized between all the productive forces of the nation a regime of order and harmony where, as prevailed formerly (c. 1919-20) incoherent forces with danger *spesso gravissimi per ciascuno e per tutti* (often the most grave for each and all).

Del Vecchio's attitude to the corporations in the totalitarian state of Fascism is based essentially on his conception of law and justice. The state, according to him, *è tanto più forte e tanto più sano quanto più è l'espressione della giustizia* (is the stronger and the sanner to the extent that it is the more the expression of justice), because it ought to constitute the harmonious synthesis of all the juridical energies which exist and naturally develop within the elements composing it. It would be erroneous politics to counsel the restraint and suppression of some of these elements, substituting physical force for reason, and oppression for liberty where liberty is established in nature. Liberty is to be utilized and fostered by the state but this "liberty is not to be unlimited, is not to be left outside the state, but is rather to be assumed and rendered powerful as the vital lymph of the state itself." Neither the individual nor the different classes ought to look upon the state as an enemy. The obverse is also to be admitted, namely, that the state should neither treat with hostility nor with *a-priori* diffidence the individuals as such and their natural groups or associations.

The doctrine of the positivism of the spontaneous law-making associations within the state and indeed of their equivalence to the state itself enables us to visualize a social condition in which, as claimed by French legal philosophy (e.g., Duguit), sovereignty is limited and divided as a matter of course. The monistic authority of the state as an absolute organism disappears, and we encounter a state which in normal functioning is a pluralistic, decentralised and perhaps federalised structure of multiple groups. A psychological *liaison* can thus be established to a certain extent between the legal basis of the corporations as established factually in Fascist Italy and the gilds as contemplated by the British gild socialists and other pluralists. Del Vecchio's affiliation to Gierke's *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (1875) should appear to be quite intimate. It should be observed, however, that hardly any contact can be established, except in category or mere name, between the corporations of Fascist Italy and the medieval *corporazioni* (gilds) such as were admired by Rocco, an apostle of Fascism, in *L'Idea Nazionale* (1914). The point requires to be stressed that the gilds of medieval Eur-Asia were association—as craft gilds and gild merchants—exclusively of masters, employers or proprietors. Mussolini's corporations are, on the other hand, synthetic and solidarist organizations of employers, workingmen and state officials.

BENOT KUMAR SARKAR

Rāmācaritaṃ—By Sandhyākara Nandin—Edited with a Bengali introduction, original Sanskrit Text (printed in Bengali character), standard Sanskrit Commentary (printed in Bengali character), and Bengali translation by Pandit Ayodhyānath Vidyavinoda—With a foreword in Bengali by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur—First Edition, 1344 B.S.—Paper bound, Double Crown, 16mo, pp. 16+87—Price Re. 1. Published by Babu Jyotirindranath Das, B.L., from the "Divya-Smṛti-Samiti," 129-1, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

We extend our heartiest congratulations to the authorities of the "Divya-Smṛti-Samiti" for having published this cheap edition of the well known work which had been much in demand for the last few years.

Sandhyākara-Nandin's '*Rāmācarita*' (inaccurately named by Keith as '*Rāmāpācarita*') is not a very bulky work, and yet the interest of this small historical *Kāvya* is out of all proportion to its size. In it the author

intends to give some details of the historical events which took place in Bengal during the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. The work is unique in another respect, *vis.*, that it endeavours (with a copious use of *double entendres*) to refer in each stanza to the story of Sri-Rāmacandra and also to the history of King Rāmapāla who recovered his ancestral throne from Bhīma the reputed Kaiivarta-chief of Bengal.

The work was first published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the late Pandit MM. Haraprasad Shastri about three decades ago. But due to the extreme abstruseness of the style of the work and the numerous corrupt passages occurring in the text of the MSS. secured by MM. Shastri, the former edition was far from satisfactory. Moreover, that edition has long been out of print. At this stage, Pandit Ayodhyanath's edition came as a welcome addition to the already rich library of *Indian Classics*. Pandit Ayodhyanath has given in his edition a running Bengali translation of the standard commentary (which is available only up to the second chapter of the work). He has also endeavoured to emend the readings of the *Bibliotheca Indica Edition* in several places. It would have been more creditable for the learned editor, if he had appended a translation (or at least a detailed summary) of the last two chapters as well.

One flaw, however, remains for us to be pointed out. The edition under review is not free from misprints, and occasionally betrays lack of proper care in the editorial work (*e.g.*, verse 22, Ch. I ; verses 45, 46, Ch. II ; etc.). We hope these minor blemishes will be removed in a future edition.

A. S.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—

OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR



The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. AZIZ-UL-HUQUE, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A.

Ourselves

[I. Senate's Tribute to Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.—II. Syndicate's Tribute to Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.—III. Our New Vice-Chancellor.—IV. A New Fellow of the University.—V. Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1938.—VI. Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for 1938.—VII. Training Course in Music.—VIII. The Indian Economic Association, Twenty-Second Annual Conference.—IX. Subjects for Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science for 1940.—X. The Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1861.—XI. Dr. Amiya Chakrabarti.—XII. Permission to Translate 'Bankim Parichay'.—XIII. Renomination of Fellows.—XIV. Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.—XV. Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize for 1937.—XVI. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1938.—XVII. Changes in University Regulations Approved.—XVIII. A New D Sc.—XIX. Gift of Books by the French Republic.—XX. Sir Devaprasad Saradchikary Medal.—XXI. Degree Course in Architecture.—XXII. A New Endowment : "Ananta Bilas Ghose Scholarship."]

I. SENATE'S TRIBUTE TO MR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

Enthusiastic tribute was paid to Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., at the meeting of the Senate held on the 6th August, 1938, when the various activities of Mr. Mookerjee were recalled and his disinterested devotion to his *Alma Mater*, his programme of nation-building through a well-directed plan of educational improvement, his energy and capacity for work were eulogised in the highest terms.

Sir Nilratan Sircar moved that the Senate do offer their heart-felt congratulation to Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee who is retiring after four years of strenuous and devoted service to the University, which is indebted to him for the initiation of numerous improvements and progressive and remarkable developments in various departments during the period he was Vice-Chancellor.

Sir Nilratan paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Mookerjee's high sense of duty and his great capacity for work and pointed out how he had put away all considerations of personal convenience in the performance of his strenuous duties, working even when he was advised by doctors to take rest. Among the achievements of Mr. Mookerjee the speaker referred to those in the departments of Science and Art, and for the education of women, agricultural education and military training and the general welfare of students as being particularly noteworthy. "For these alone," Sir Nilratan asserted, "if for nothing else, Mr. Mookerjee had established a claim on the gratitude of the country, and if there were Vice-Chancellors like him in other Universities in India,

things would have been very different from what they are." He concluded by saying :

" Though Mr. Mookerjee was retiring from the foremost position in the Calcutta University, he would be indirectly at the helm of affairs and would give his unstinted and devoted service to the cause of education in his motherland."

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, in seconding the motion, referred to the change in spirit of the administration of the University for which Mr. Mookerjee as Vice-Chancellor was responsible. " To-day," said he, " there was no party spirit in the University, while discussions were conducted on purely academical and not on communal, racial and political lines."

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy pointed out that the value of the educational policy followed by Mr. Mookerjee lay in the fact that it had been highly conducive to nation-building.

Mr. Justice Biswas said that the Calcutta University had a distinguished roll of Vice-Chancellors but the record that Mr. Mookerjee was leaving behind would remain one of its greatest and most cherished possessions. If he (the speaker) could claim to speak for the future, he would not be far wrong in saying that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for anyone who came after Mr. Mookerjee to eclipse his record.

Replying Mr. Mookerjee remarked that this was not a farewell. He was not leaving the University and he did not intend to. But at the same time he must not omit to state that whatever work had been achieved during the last four years had been possible only on account of the help, co-operation and affection of everyone connected with the University which he received unstintedly whenever they were needed.

In conclusion Mr. Mookerjee offered his grateful thanks to all connected with the University from whom he had received nothing but affection and kindness. He loved the University from the bottom of his heart not only because he believed that through it they could usher in a new life in Bengal but also because around every corner of these splendid buildings there still haunted the memory of one (meaning his august father) which he could never forget in his life.

II. SYNDICATE'S TRIBUTE TO MR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

The Syndicate placed on record its high appreciation of the achievements of Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., during his tenure of office as Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, in the form of the following resolution which was moved by Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, Kt., and seconded by Major Dabiruddin Ahmad and was unanimously adopted :

"That the Syndicate place on record their cordial appreciation of the eminent services rendered to the University by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee during the tenure of his office as Vice Chancellor. His selfless devotion to the cause of his *Alma Mater* and his great achievements during the short period of his office, of which any Vice-Chancellor of any University may be proud, will be gratefully remembered by the Syndicate and everyone concerned with the welfare of the country. The Syndicate will ever cherish a grateful recollection of the atmosphere of friendly co-operation and mutual goodwill which prevailed throughout his term of office and record their recognition of the sympathetic treatment accorded to the members of and institutions attached to, the University."

* * *

III. OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, C.I.E., Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, assumed the office of the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on the 8th August, 1938, on the retirement of Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.

Educated at the Santipur Municipal High English School and the Presidency College, Calcutta, he began to practise as a lawyer at Krishnagar in 1915. Soon after he published his "History and Problems of Moslem Education in Bengal," a work which elicited high praise from eminent educationists. He was a Fellow of this University for six years and a member of the Court of the Dacca University for nearly the same period of time when he became a Minister in the last Bengal Cabinet.

He helped the cause of education in Bengal by organising the Educational Exhibition in Calcutta. He also did valuable work as a member of the Central Board of Education and as President of the Women's Committee of the Board.

IV. A NEW FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY

Mr. J. W. Chippendale, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., has been appointed an Ordinary Fellow of this University *vice* Mr. H. A. Stark, deceased. Mr. Chippendale has been attached to the Faculties of Arts and Law.

We extend our cordial welcome to the new Fellow.

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V. GURUPRASANNA GHOSH SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1938

Mr. Mahadebgovinda Sarkar, B.Sc., has been appointed Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar for 1938 for a term of three years. He will study the manufacture of velvets and velveteen and leno goods at the Manchester College of Technology during this period.

An additional Scholarship of Rs. 1,500 has been awarded for the period of one year only to Mr. Prodosh Dasgupta, B.A., in order to enable him to complete his study in connection with Sculpture and Bronze-casting in the Royal Academy Schools, London, and in the Central School of Arts and Crafts.

* * *

VI. RADHIKAMOHAN EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1938

The Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for 1938 has been awarded to Mr. Bhabeschandra Bhaduri, who will study Electrical Moulding of Bakelite articles under Messrs. Venditor in Germany.

VII. TRAINING COURSE IN MUSIC

A Conference was held on the 20th July, 1938, with Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, in the chair, to consider the draft syllabus of the Training Course in Music.

The Conference suggested that the Training Course in Instrumental Music might be started at an early date and thought it desirable that the existing Music Institutions which satisfied the conditions laid down in the Syllabus for the Music Course should be recognised as competent to impart training in Music for the Teachership Certificate. The Conference approved of the suggestion of the Sub-Committee which

prepared the draft syllabus that Music might be introduced as an additional subject for girls intending to appear at the Matriculation examination.

The Sub-Committee recommended that, for the Matriculation standard, a training in Vocal Music along with an elementary knowledge of Instrumental Music should be adequate. The syllabus for the Teachers' Training Course, as recommended by the Sub-Committee, would be a three years' course with two examinations, one at the end of the second year and the other at the end of the third year. Those who pass the two examinations would be held competent to teach to the Matriculation standard.

The Teachers' Training Course in Music, which would extend to three years and would be followed by the award of a Diploma or Certificate when all the conditions are satisfied, would require a high standard of knowledge of Vocal as well as of Instrumental Music. For each year the course would be split into two halves, Vocal and Instrumental, and attention would have to be divided almost equally between the claims of both. Hindusthani and Bengali songs in many different *rāgas* are made compulsory in the draft syllabus. The following qualifications have been suggested as essential for those who wish to join the Course:—

- (1) The age of a candidate for the Training Course must be at least 20 years and he must possess a Matriculation Certificate or some equivalent qualification.
- (2) A practical knowledge of *sur* and *tāl*.
- (3) A knowledge of six of the principal *rāgas*.
- (4) A knowledge of modern Bengali songs or Hindusthani *gazals*.

* * *

VIII. THE INDIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Professor Jitendraprasad Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, has been appointed a Delegate of this University to the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Indian Economic Association which will be held at Nagpur under the auspices of the Nagpur University from the 29th December to the 31st December, 1938.

IX. SUBJECTS FOR JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN ARTS AND SCIENCE FOR 1940

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prize in Arts and Science to be awarded in 1940 :

Arts

Contribution of Islam to the Civilisation and Culture of India.

One hundred years of Education in British India and its Socio-Political effect on the life of the Bengali people, specially as revealed during the twentieth century.

Science

The Illumination Value and Ultra-Violet Intensity of Sunlight in Calcutta.

Psychological determinants in the choice of Vocation.

X. THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXHIBITION OF 1851

The Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, London, have allotted for the first time two Research Scholarships for 1938 to India. These have been awarded to Dr. R. S. Krishnan, M.A., D.Sc., of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and Dr. N. K. Pannikar, M.A., D.Sc., of the Madras Christian College, Tambaram, South India.

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XI. DR. AMIYA CHAKRABARTI

Dr. Amiya Chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Senior Research Fellow, Brasenose College, Oxford, has been appointed a special Reader to deliver a course of lectures on "Poetry and Modern Civilization: A Survey of recent Thoughts Movements as represented in Post-War English Poetry."

XII. PERMISSION TO TRANSLATE "BANKIM PARICHAY"

Dr. A. N. Narasimha, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (Lond.), Librarian, University of Mysore, has applied to the University for permission

to translate "Bankim Parichay," a recent publication of this University, into Kannada to secure among the Karnatic public an appreciation of the life and work of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. The translation would appear either in the University Kannada Periodical or in the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Patrika. Dr. Narasimha has obtained the permission he has asked for and the translation which he had undertaken in anticipation of a favourable reply from the University is expected soon to be completed.

XIII. RENOMINATION OF FELLOWS

Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D., and Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, M.A., PH.D., have been renominated Ordinary Fellows of this University with effect from the 4th August, 1938, when their term of office expired.

XIV. IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

The Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has forwarded to our University authorities a prospectus of the Post-Graduate Courses at the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, along with an account of the qualifications needed for admission to the Institute. It is also stated by the Director that the Department of Agriculture has decided to award two scholarships of Rs. 25 each per mensem to candidates, one of whom would be required to study Mycology and the other Entomology. Our University has been requested to recommend candidates with the necessary qualifications for admission to the Agricultural Research Institute.

XV. JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE'S RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1937

The Jogendrachandra Ghose's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for 1937 will go to Pandit Krishnagopal Goswami, Srinitimansatirtha, M.A., whose thesis "Hindu Law of Suretyship" has been recommended by the Board of Examiners appointed in connexion with the award of this Prize.

XVI. ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER IN ARTS FOR 1938

Mr. Charuchandra Dutt, B.A., I.C.S. (retd.), has been appointed the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for the year 1938. The subject of his lectures will be "Sivaji and Ramdas." Mr. Dutt, since his retirement from service, has established his reputation as a popular author in Bengali by his several volumes of critical essays, reminiscences, and short stories.

* * *

XVII. CHANGES IN UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS APPROVED

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to approve of the changes in the University Regulations bearing on the introduction of Experimental Psychology as a new subject of study for the I.A., I.Sc., B.A., and B.Sc. examinations.

* * *

XVIII. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Ramprasad Mitra, M.Sc., has obtained the degree of Doctor of Science of this University for his thesis entitled "Hydrogen Clays." We offer our congratulations to Dr. Mitra.

* * *

XIX. GIFT OF BOOKS BY THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Consul-General of France presented 227 volumes of publications on different branches of knowledge to this University on behalf of the French Republic. The gift has been accepted with thanks.

XX. SIR DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY MEDAL

Srimati Nibarbala Mitra, the second daughter of the late Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, has offered to the University 3½ p. c. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000, for creating an endowment for the annual award of a gold medal, to be called "Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary Medal," after the name of the donor's illustrious father, and to be bestowed upon a leading scientist, not necessarily an Indian,

once in two years. The donor has conveyed her wish that the first recipient of the medal at the Annual Convocation of 1939 might be Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray, a class-fellow and early friend of her father's.

The offer has been thankfully accepted and the donor has been informed that the suggestion regarding the first recipient would duly be considered by the Committee to be constituted for the award of the Medal.

* * *

XXI. DEGREE COURSE IN ARCHITECTURE

The University has decided to establish a Degree Course of study in Architecture, which will be open to all its undergraduates. The course will extend to four years. The first two years would be followed by the Intermediate examination, after which two more years would be required for the Degree Course. Graduates in Science would be allowed to take the degree examination at the end of three years' course instead of four

The Course which has been prepared by competent persons is a comprehensive one and includes among other things, History of Indian Architecture and Iconography, Lightning and Refrigeration, Air-Conditioning, Mathematics, Electrical Engineering, Applied Mechanics, etc.

Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterjee, the well-known Architect, who has been working for many years for a renaissance of Indian Architecture and to whose energy and interest the adoption of the present scheme owes not a little, has thus set forth the object of the new Course: "Our aim has been to inculcate in the students the spirit, and the principles of composition, of both Occidental and Oriental Art and Architecture, and to give them a thorough ground-work in building construction according to modern methods, while at the same time presenting to them the beauties of their own historical buildings so that, as far as may be practicable, they may combine a synthesis of the knowledge thus acquired both in their studies and in their after work."

* * *

XXII. A NEW ENDOWMENT: "ANANTA BILAS GHOSE
SCHOLARSHIP "

The late Mr. Narendrakumar Ghose has left to the University a sum of Rs. 10,000 by his last will and testament so that the money might be invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Government Securities for creating an endowment for the annual award of a scholarship to be called the "Ananta Bilas Ghose Scholarship." The Scholarship is to be awarded for the period of two years to the B.Sc. candidate who tops the list of those who graduate with Honours in Physics. The offer which has been accepted with thanks has been made on behalf of the late Mr. Ghose by his Solicitors.

NOTICE
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

SIR JAGADISHCHANDRA BOSE FELLOWSHIP

Applications are invited for the Sir Jagadishchandra Bose Fellowship of the University.

The Fellowship is open only to Bengali Hindus. Candidates must possess high academic qualifications, preferably of the Calcutta University, and must have already furnished proof of their capacity for research.

The Fellow will be required to undertake and carry on research work in Physico Biological subjects. He will ordinarily be paid Rs. 150 a month.

The Fellowship is tenable for three years and the Fellow will be placed on probation for the first year. He will be a whole-time worker and shall devote himself exclusively to research work in his special subject.

Copies of detailed rules governing the Fellowship may be had from the office of the Registrar of the University.

Applications giving present age, details of academic qualifications, previous research works, if any, and a programme of work to be undertaken, together with copies of published papers should be submitted so as to reach the undersigned on or before the 15th September, 1938.

J. C. CHAKRAVORTI,
Registrar.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



The Late Professor J. R. Banerjee
(1869—1938)



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1938

JOSIAH ROYCE AND INDIAN THOUGHT

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WE preface our discussion with Royce's general estimate of Hindus as speculative thinkers, which he gave in a paper on Jean Marie Guyau. He writes: 'The Hindoo, as a philosopher, has always been a keen critic of human illusions, but since it chanced by some accident of race development, that the Hindoo, from an early period of his evolution, did not love life, Hindoo philosophy, extensive as are its literary monuments, is in essential doctrine always very brief and unfruitful. Life for the Hindoo is an ill; one philosophizes to seek salvation. And salvation lies in some sort of absolute contemplative abstraction from life, an abstraction which you can define in many ways; but the goal is always the same, a peace that passeth understanding and that flees from facts to the Absolute beyond life's illusions.' This is a summary statement containing both grains of truth and error, and resulting from vast generalizations based on an insufficient examination of details in a vast literature.

However, let us turn to the subject of our investigation. It easily falls into two divisions, that is, Royce's interest in Hindu philosophy proper and his interest in Hindu religion. As far as his knowledge of other than philosophical and religious literature pertaining to India is

concerned, it seems to have been meagre. We have a discussion of the story of Nala and Damayanti, illustrating his thesis that individuality is something we demand of our world yet never find. Furthermore, a passing reference to Kipling's *Jungle Book*, and perhaps one or two other allusions, are all that may be gleaned.

From his writings it is clear that he liked to think of Indian thought in this bifurcated way. What he calls 'Hindoo philosophy' coincides mainly with the Upanishads and only secondarily with Sankhya. On the other hand, when he speaks of Hindu religion, he is thinking almost exclusively of Buddhism. The various philosophical schools within Buddhism were not known to him directly. Buddhism for him is essentially a religion. Moreover, it is not Chinese or Japanese Buddhism which he is usually commenting on, but what he calls the original, or Southern, Buddhism, that is, the form preserved for us in the Pali texts. We shall speak of Hindu philosophy first.

In the great majority of cases Royce's quick and keen insight supplied him with accurate ideas, while his later interpretations of the Upanishads are admirable. There is only a brief excursion into the philological in the second lecture of the first series of his lectures on *The World and the Individual*. For the rest, Royce did not seem to care for correct transliterations of Sanskrit words, neither did he care very much for historical questions—as also his *Problem of Christianity* amply demonstrates—somewhat in contrast with his earlier literary works. But as a student of ideas he could well dispense with these details without distracting from the infinite worth which an idealistic interpretation of reality possesses in itself.

With regard to general observations of Royce's about Hindu philosophy, we must note his mention of the frequency of metaphors. He calls the Hindu metaphysicians 'wonderful masters of comparison.' In the treatment of the Upanishads and the Sankhya he also dwells on the similes and parables.

Royce loved to incorporate Sanskrit phrases in translation into his writings, be it for the sake of illustration, emphasis, or even vividness of style. The original meaning of these phrases of course was accordingly somewhat transformed. Thus, the English translation of the Upanishadic *tat tvam asi*, 'That art Thou,' appears almost in the style of a slogan in several works. Though mainly in contexts dealing with Schopenhauer, we find Royce also making use of it independently on occasion, so that we are entitled to speak of a real borrowing of

ideas. Much less marked the case with 'I am Brahm,' Sanskrit *aham brahmasmi*, and *neti, neti*, 'not this, not that,' also from the Upanishads.

Nowhere is any extensive discussion devoted to common, every-day Hindu conceptions. The number of times these are alluded to is practically negligible. The doctrine of *karma*, as we shall see, he criticized in its extreme individualistic formulation. Minor philosophic conceptions, such as 'Name and Form' (*nama-rupa*) and *maya*, are very seldom referred to, and if so, only in a subordinate manner. The last one may constitute an exception to which we shall revert below.

The philosophic Sanskrit literature which Royce studied and which he discusses in his books comprises the Upanishads and the Sankhya. The knowledge of the Upanishads he apparently derived, in the first instance, from Schopenhauer, as is clearly seen in *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, pages 253 ff. There (pages 251-55) he quotes Chandogya Upanishad 6.12. 1-6 and 6.14. 2. Then he may have perused the translation by Max Müller in *Sacred Books of the East*, volumes 1 and 15, and finally Deussen's translations. For the first volume of *The World and the Individual* Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman, of Harvard University, supplied him with an English translation of a series of passages from the Chandogya Upanishad, namely:—

Chandogya Upanishad	3.14.	1-4	on pages 158-59
	*6.2.	1-2	page 161
	6.9.	1-3	pages 161-62
	6.10.	1-3	page 164
	6.12.	1-3	pages 164-65
	6.15.	1-3	page 165

Interspersed with and following these translations we find Royce referring, though not by verse and number, to other passages of the Chandogya as well as to the Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad, and perhaps to other Upanishads also.

Whether Royce studied the Vedanta as such cannot be stated with certainty. To be sure, he mentions it in *The World and the Individual*, 1.78, but a closer knowledge cannot be inferred from that.

The Sankhya, however, was known to him through Richard Garbe's *Der Mondschein der Sankhya-Wahrheit* which he cites in the same work on page 101, quoting an illustrative passage.

We shall be brief in our discussion of the problems in this philosophic literature which especially appealed to Royce. After his thorough study of the main aspects of Hindu philosophy in *The World and the Individual*, that is, Upanishadic and Sankhyan thought, the former always had a greater persistency with Royce, mainly because it was more congenial to his own thought. It is expedient, therefore, to dispose of the Sankhya first.

His account is influenced altogether—it could not be otherwise—by Garbe's exposition. Royce speaks of the Sankhya as realistic, dualistic, and teaching a psycho-physical parallelism which the system itself, however, considers illusory. The entire doctrine itself he looked upon as a fine illustration of the realistic conception of Being. In the first place, it dichotomizes nature into a soul principle and a world principle. And in the second place it must introduce a theory of independence; the objects among themselves are independent; so are the knowing beings; the objects likewise are independent of the knower (knowledge 'makes no difference' to what is known). Salvation, then, consists in realizing the absolute-in-itself-character of the soul, which is 'really unaffected by matter.' The postulate of the permanency of the reals Royce also sees exemplified in the Sankhya, though it likewise 'recognized a realm of real changes.'

His criticism of realism applies on the whole with equal pertinency to the Sankhya thus interpreted and may be summed up as follows. The world of the realist is full of chasms; all elements are in greater or less isolation; unity becomes mysterious and, if dispensed with, will still leave the problem of the linkage in knowledge which the realist must assume but cannot satisfactorily solve. The hypothesis of independence is untenable also with respect to the natural world no less than the social world; but if consistently adhered to, it will destroy the world as it is really experienced and leave only a chaos and a meaningless nothingness, while the value of accepting for the present the realist standpoint consists merely in deepening our conception of the world and leading us beyond to an idealistic interpretation of experience.

The most thorough and mature treatment of the Upanishads we find likewise in the first volume of *The World and the Individual*. In his understanding Royce there follows Deussen (1.156). As in the case of Buddhism, he supplemented the first impressions received

from Schopenhauer by further studies and the effort to arrive at an independent opinion.

He characterizes the Upanishads as 'half philosophical, half dogmatic treatises, compounded in a singular fashion of folk-lore, of legend, of edifying homily, and of reflective speculation' (I.156). Generally speaking, they are for him monistic at base and founded more or less on an intuition of the unity of life and of nature. In this respect they come near the Eleatic School, whose realistic tendencies however they transcend by making this oneness dependent on knowledge and the Self of the knower. They thereby evade the dangers of the realistic and dualistic position of the Sankhya. In the passages on which he commented (see above) they teach an explicit idealism, subjective in kind and almost of the type of a modern epistemological idealism. Royce found it difficult at times to see why the 'allegorical and essentially exoteric cosmology passes over' in some passages into subjective idealism. So it happens that he used the Upanishads to illustrate the mystic conception of Being which he does not consider the final solution of the problem but with which he nevertheless had great sympathy.

Of more specific problems, those of the self, of the Absolute, and of the One and the Many fascinated him most. What the Upanishads in reality strive for is the knowledge of the self motivated as it is by the desire to encompass being. They lead the enquirer through various phases of the self as the 'Me,' as the soul in dream and the like, only to disappoint him in his search for that which really is the fulfilment of all longing. For you cannot go outside your subjective experience on the one hand and want the feeling of oneness which gives you peace that passeth all understanding on the other. To accomplish this, the *atman* must be that which neither strives nor has any idea of another nor has any characters save that it merely is. It must be simple, single, and individual; it must be the Absolute, the All, *Brahman*. As Royce paraphrases the Upanishads, 'the Self is precisely the very Knower, not as a thing that first is real and then knows, but as the very act of seeing, hearing, thinking, in so far as the mediating presence of some other, of some object that is known, seen, heard, thought, is simply removed, and in so far as the very diversity of the acts of knowing, seeing, hearing, thinking, is also removed (p. 167). It is therefore the pure immediate, best exemplified in dreamless sleep. This is what Royce calls the mysticism

of the Upanishads. The whole dialectic of these treatises has as purpose, he says, the refutation of dualism and realism. Every contrast, everything finite, must be got rid of. 'The Absolute must then be ineffable, indescribable, *and yet not outside the circle within which we at present are conscious*. It is no other than we are ; consciousness contains it just in so far as consciousness is a knowing ' (p. 170).

We see how lovingly Royce could appreciate and interpret the Hindu ideals. Most significant also is how he re-states the answer to the objection that the Absolute thus defined would seem to be identical with Nothing. 'The Absolute is the very Opposite of mere Nothing. For it is fulfilment, attainment, peace, the goal of life, the object of desire, the end of knowledge. Why then does it stubbornly appear as indistinguishable from mere nothing ? The answer is: *That is a part of our very illusion itself*. The light above the light is, to our deluded vision, darkness. It is our finite realm that is the falsity, the mere nothing. The Absolute is All Truth ' (pages 170-71). It is the 'contrast-effect' by which the Absolute acquires the aspect of emptiness. He shows that this conception may be traced in all mystics and in an admirable fashion he portrays on page 178 the whole development leading up to the 'ineffable immediacy of an experience.'

Yet Royce passed judgment also on this mystic conception of being. Because it dwells on the immediate he could not regard mysticism as a philosophy in the strict sense, even though it is dialectic, seeks to transcend the realistic contradiction, and is established on doubt. Mysticism is the obverse side of realism, or, as he says, 'the logically precise and symmetrical correspondent of realism.' 'Submit to the facts' is the slogan of realism ; 'Know the truth in yourself,' that of mysticism.

Despite the claim that this mysticism cannot be the ultimate solution, Royce was able to say (pages 79-80) that nobody 'can understand a large part of human nature without understanding Mysticism.' And in his *Fourth Conception of Being* (Lecture VIII, first series) mysticism is a stage whereby the negations which the mystic utters are expressive not of 'the essential nature of true Being,' but merely of 'our finite ignorance.'

There are a few more stray problems relating especially to Upanishadic philosophy which may be mentioned in passing. In *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, and influenced no doubt by Schopenhauer, Royce made much of the will and seems to bring it into connexion

with the thought of the Upanishads. But gradually he became aware that it is especially Buddhism that is pre-eminently concerned with this phase of our nature.

Interesting is the remark in *The World and the Individual*, 1.173-4, that truth for the sages of the Upanishads is nothing independent of the knower. Much later, in *William James and Other Essays*, page 195, we learn that the Hindus also knew—as in fact every cultivated nation knows—the relative and instrumental character of truth which Pragmatism hailed as a new doctrine.

Neither was the problem of morality overlooked by Royce. He treats it more fully in the case of Buddhism. But in *The World and the Individual*, 2.397, he also refers to the logic of mysticism in wiping out moral differences in the Absolute—a teaching with which he finds his own in sharp contrast. The doctrine of free will as the origin of sin and consequent suffering which underlies the Hindu conception of *karma* is the subject of a discussion of Job's problem in *Studies of Good and Evil*, pages 11 ff. It must be owned that there Royce exaggerates greatly and allows himself to state absurdities by presenting an extreme interpretation. By no means is cynicism the outcome of holding a logically consistent *karma* doctrine. Royce failed altogether to see that *karma*, as believed in by the Hindus, has its social aspects as well, in the sense that all of us are the makers of one another's destinies.

One other interesting remark of Royce's may find its place here. The Hindu seers, he says, 'retired to the forests (or in other words, "took to the woods") in their own vain effort to solve that most recondite of human mysteries, the mystery regarding *what* it is that is *given* ' in the sense of 'present to,' or in the experience, perception, feeling, state of mind of somebody. 'From Yajnavalkya to Bergson this problem of the given has troubled men'

The closing years of the 19th century really mark the culmination of Royce's interest in the Upanishads. Around the year 1906 we find him again referring to the mysticism of the Upanishads, now in comparison with Schelling's Idealism. In the posthumously edited *Lectures on Modern Idealism*, which he delivered in that year; he speaks (page 75) of a 'profound religious motive' underlying 'both Hindu and Western thought for thousands of years, that is, the union of the self and the divine 'wherein the nature of each is intimately revealed at the moment when they are nearest together.'

Schelling's conception of the self, he says (page 107), at first sight seemed to tend very much toward the conception of some Upanishadic philosophers who defined that self 'by an endless abstraction from every sort and form of objective existence. What they obtained as the concept of the true self was therefore a certain pure emptiness of all contents. The self for them was said to be very lofty, but was as good as Nothing.' We see in these words of Royce's that by this time his desire to do full justice and to interpret the Upanishads thoroughly was on the wane, though the appreciation remained. The study of Buddhism again caught his fancy.

But before we deal with that aspect of our investigation we have to speak of Royce's comparison of the thought of Eckhart and the sages of the Upanishads. That such a comparison is very fruitful indeed is proved by Professor Rudolf Otto in his book *West-Oestliche Mystik* in which he compares Sankara with Eckhart. Many and profound are the agreements not only in spirit but in phraseology. The same, of course, is obvious in the case of Eckhart and the sayings of the Upanishads. Royce attempted such a comparison first in his paper on *Meister Eckhart*, then also in *The World and the Individual*, 1.82, 175-178 and 2.397. The principal point of comparison is the self, or *atman*, in its various phases and characters.

NATURE IN BANKIM CHANDRA'S NOVELS

AMIYAKUMAR SEN, M.A.

I

MAN is the centre of interest in fiction. The clash of personalities, the conflict of emotions, man's struggle against environment and often against his own self—these form the stuff a novelist's dreams are made of. Nature in and for herself has no place in this world. She cannot intrude needlessly where man alone is supreme. But Nature is too near to man to be entirely ignored. The influence of her presence, the beautiful background she creates, her intimate association, sympathetic or otherwise, with human emotions—these are a heritage too precious to be lost. Hence a paradox: though centred round man fiction has to allow Nature her proper place in the world that it creates.

Sometimes Nature is a mere setting, bright or dark, in which human actors play their part in the novelist's world. The manly hero must meet the beautiful heroine. But the mere meeting between two human beings, however manly or charming they might be, becomes too prosaic if an atmosphere of romance or of dramatic suspense is not created round them. The novelist must either develop a situation of emotional intensity or he must place them in the midst of a natural scene which invests them with its own glamour. It is, however, very difficult to use the dramatic method unless the action of the novel has progressed so far as to make us interested in the fate of the characters represented before us. Very often, therefore, the artist prepares the ground for the introduction of his hero by describing a scene of striking beauty. He is conscious that when the grandeur of the scene sinks deep into the heart of his readers, his characters silhouetted against the background that has been so artistically created will leave the deepest impression on their mind. This artistic method was very widely used during the Romantic age. Byron used it in his verse-tales and Scott in his many novels and romances. Shelley and Coleridge are equally careful and equally artistic in their development of the setting and background of their tales and dramas. Bankim

was a child of romance and it was only natural that he should make the fullest use of this technique.

His descriptions of nature are remarkable for their variety and charm. Intensely sensitive as it was to all aspects of natural beauty, his mind could not rest satisfied unless and until it fully utilised those scenes which had affected him strongly in actual life. The roseate hues of the evening sky, the wild beauty of the gathering storm, in short, nature in her many forms of splendour and magnificence appealed to his imagination and his novels are interspersed with beautiful vignettes of natural scenery. But nowhere has he introduced them needlessly. They are always artistically related to his story.

Sunset; the western horizon crimson with the last rays of the sun: all on a sudden the massive clouds of the gathering storm darken the landscape. A horseman painfully picks his way through them all. The storm now sweeps over the vast plain; torrents of rain retard his progress. Yet he doggedly pursues his path. A flash of lightning; and white against its glare stands a solitary temple. Surprised yet not afraid, the rider approaches the temple. He tries the door of the shrine but finds it bolted from inside. This magnificent beauty of nature in her storm, this sudden unaccountable obstruction cannot but thrill the reader. He starts at the low cry of fear and the sudden blowing out of the lamp. And then against this background of nature, in the midst of this atmosphere of suspense, Bankim introduces him to the beauteous Tilottama.

The solitude of the forest rendered all the deeper by the sweet harmony of birds, the green beauty of the foliage of trees, the splash of colour in their fragrant flowers—all create a scene of uncommon charm. Sharply contrasted against this glow of nature comes man, cruel and ferocious in aspect, an ugly blot in her peaceful scene, working his will on a defenceless creature of idyllic innocence. And thus against the setting of peaceful nature disturbed by the depredations of man is the beautiful blind flower-girl Rajani introduced to Amarnath—a meeting fraught with grave consequences to both.

The evening approaches slowly along. The purple clouds gradually become darkened; twilight broods over the waters of the Ganges; flower-like the stars bloom in the distant horizon. And in the midst of this darkening atmosphere the boat of Saibalini hovers into sight.

The solitude of midnight grows grim. The vast plains shimmer in the pale moonlight; the wind shivers through the dark leaves of trees. Silence deepened by the soft murmur of the breeze envelops everything. Suddenly the solitude is broken by a significant sound—Satananda approaches wraith-like, he creeps forward into the forest and meets his men.

In all these instances nature appears to be used as a mere setting to give a touch of romance to the activities of man. A deeper analysis, however, shows that she serves an artistic purpose of far greater significance. Not only does she act as a background to human actions but she also invests them with that universality which is necessary for the highest art. In fiction mere characterisation or even the artistic representation of inward conflict cannot fully satisfy our æsthetic sense. Something more is demanded of art. It must develop an atmosphere that goes beyond the mere figures of its creation. The characters and incidents must not form a world of their own absolutely isolated from everything else. They must have innumerable points of contact with the world of reality. They must be of this world and not beyond it. We must feel the universal life-force passing through them even as it does through us. There are many methods for securing this universality of art. The intimate association of the characters of Bankim's novels with natural scenes which we feel to be closely resembling our normal world of existence makes them appear not so much as the creations of his imagination, as living, breathing, human beings. This is one of the methods which Bankim uses to give us the sense that the actors and incidents of his novels are not placed in a so-called world of imagination absolutely divorced from the life of normal experience.

Nature is also used as a background which invests the characters of Bankim Chandra's novels with an added charm and beauty. Keenly appreciative of the different types of natural scenery as he is, Bankim utilises them for the purpose of setting off the personalities of the characters whom he creates. He carefully chooses the natural scene and makes the fullest use of its peculiarities for deepening the impression of those particular traits of human character which he wants to emphasise. Here nature is not a mere passive setting; on the contrary; it actively contributes to the creation of an atmosphere congenial to the development of the characters through whom the action of his novels progresses onwards.

All through the story of *Mrinalini* flits the mysterious figures of Manorama. Womanly in her tenderness and constancy she is almost a child in her ordinary moods. Up to the time of the discovery of her secret she is an enigma not only to the readers but to other characters as well. A mystery, almost supernatural in its effect, clings round her personality and it is this sense of mystery which the author wants to intensify. The natural scenery in the midst of which she is placed is exactly suited to this impression which the artist wants to leave on the mind of his readers. At midnight she appears before Hemchandra. Clothed in white rendered all the more dazzling against the background of the impenetrable darkness created by the dense forest, her face shines bright against the black tresses falling in cascades, as it were, on her back. She looks more a supernatural being than the woman that she really is. The darkness sets off her beauty perfectly, it invests her figure with a mystery all its own.

Navakumar loses his way in the forest and all on a sudden comes upon the sea thundering against the shore. He looks with awe on the vast expanse of water stretching before him. The white foaming ridges of waves undulating in the dim distance, the sparkle of waters in the last rays of the sun, the gradual approach of twilight darkening the entire horizon—they all influence him strangely. In the midst of this last glow of sunset and the mellowing twilight of evening appears that exquisite child of nature, Kapalkundala. She seems, at first sight, to be the presiding spirit of the natural scene rather than a human being of flesh and blood. The glamorous beauty of nature enters her soul. She is enveloped, as it were, in a visionary splendour which differentiates her from normal womanhood.

After long years of separation Devi Chaudhurani calmly awaits the appearance of her husband, and Bankim Chandra conjures up before our imagination the swiftly flowing Teesta in all her glory. The soft moonlight lies like a transparent veil on the surface of the earth, the eddying pools of the river gleam faintly in the rays of the moon. Darkness and light play hide and seek on the bosom of the waters. The deep booming of the torrents disturbs the hush of midnight. Against the background of this fairy scene appears the surperbly ornamented boat where sits Devi Chaudhurani in queenly dignity. By subtle touches of art the novelist brings her into complete harmony with the spirit of the scene. The calm grandeur of the river enters her personality. The glitter

of moonlight on its surface is reproduced in her dress and ornaments. The dark shadows cast by forest trees have their counterpart in the masses of dark hair which envelop her person. She is, as it were, a part of this romantic scene—a goddess illuminating with her beauty the entire landscape. The play of light and shade in nature and in the person of Devi Chaudhurani on the one hand and the play of emotions in her heart on the other—they all harmoniously blend together into one artistic unity.

Every work of imaginative art has about it an atmosphere peculiar to itself—an atmosphere which permeates all its different aspects. It is this which distinguishes Shakespeare from Ben Jonson, Shelley from Keats and Byron from both. This indefinable elusive something is one of the fundamental elements in the making of a novel; and no artist worth the name fails to recognise its significance. The artist, however, can create his atmosphere more convincingly if he blends with it a picture perfectly congenial to its characteristic tone. The blasted heath in *Macbeth* does not take away anything from the tragic atmosphere of the drama but makes the weird sisters more real. The wild tempest in *King Lear* adds a touch of convincing realism to the storm raging in the desolate heart of the old king. Bankim Chandra does not ignore this significant contribution of nature to the creation of atmosphere. He never fails to utilise nature for the purpose of developing the romantic atmosphere of his novels.

Girijaya returns from Hemchandra, disappointed and disillusioned. Her revelation of Hemchandra's cruelty stuns Mrinalini. Her heart is well-nigh broken; she sits silently gazing at vacuity. In the interest of the story, however, the novelist cannot leave her there. She must not succumb to her sorrow. Her normal self must be restored to her. She must find relief in tears. Bankim Chandra has to create an atmosphere where such a transformation will be probable. He has to transport his reader to a world where he will be softly lulled into a belief in such romantic incidents. Conscious of these requirements of imaginative art Bankim takes us away from the normal world of existence to a scene instinct with wondrous beauty. The calm waters of the pond are silvered over with the rays of the moon. The silent trees encircle one another in fond embrace. The beauty of flowers is reflected without a tremor in the bosom of the waters. The wind fitfully wafts fragrance from within the dark forest. There is

perfect peace and solitude in the air. In the hushed silence of this beautiful scene Girijaya begins her song. Her low warble gradually gathers strength till the entire landscape seems to be overflowing with harmony. The fairy charm of the scene, its hushed silence and peaceful solitude, the sweet melodious song of Girijaya, the fragrance of flowers and their radiant beauty bring Mrinalini back to the world of reality. The significant song of her companion enters her very soul and her sorrow is dissolved into tears. Here certainly nature is not a mere passive setting nor is it a mere background. It blends itself with the atmosphere of the novel; it actively participates in the development of action.

And then the meeting between Mrinalini and Hemchandra ! Nature herself seems to participate in Mrinalini's joy. She decks her forest trees with garlands of creepers ; she decorates her lakes with lotuses and fragrant flowers. The sky, the stars, the very clouds are radiant with joy. The moon smiles on everything she illuminates. She touches the tree-tops, the creepers and flowers, the blue waters of the lake and they catch the contagion. This tremulous joy in nature is perfectly attuned to the tremulous joy in the hearts of the lovers themselves.

At dawn Govindalal comes to the window to enjoy the morning breeze laden with the fragrance of flowers. Bhramar comes and joins her husband. After the inevitable lover's quarrel he stands gazing raptly on the face of his beloved. Bhramar seems to be transfigured by love. All on a sudden the roseate rays of the morning sun flood the entire room with a mild radiance. They illuminate the countenance of the young wife. They clothe her with a romantic glamour. The love-light in the eyes of Govindalal finds an answering light in nature. Nature and man, love's glances and the soft light of morning, lovers' dalliance and the sweet breeze of dawn—all combine to create an atmosphere which is in tune with the happiness filling the lovers' heart to its very brim.

Sometimes again Bankim Chandra wants to indicate at the very outset the main idea of his novel. He does not merely assert or explain this central theme. That is not the artist's way. On the contrary, he proceeds indirectly to stir the imagination of his readers with vivid description of a natural scene of unusual sublimity and grandeur. He arrests their attention and then artistically introduces the central theme set off against this impressive background.

Here also nature actively enters the atmosphere proper for the reception of the idea.

Anandamath centres round the conception of self-sacrifice in the service of our motherland. In the very first chapter of the novel (significantly named 'Introduction') the artist wants to present before his readers this central idea underlying the development of its action. He is not, however, satisfied with a bald statement. He must first create an atmosphere impressive enough to introduce the fundamental concept. And so he begins immediately with the vivid description of a vast forest, extending miles and miles over the undulating plains. In an unending line, without any interval, without any the slightest passage for light, the forest proceeds along to the dim distance of the horizon. Darkness, absolute darkness, envelops the entire scene. There, at midnight, when thousands and thousands of the denizens of the forest have been hushed into silence, a sudden cry was heard. Thrice the cry was heard—thrice did it break the magic silence of the forest and it was only then that the answer came: "Without faith the salvation of one's motherland cannot be attained." This message of the novelist coming as it does through that silence which can be felt thrills the reader as nothing else can. Nature by her magic wand invests it with a solemn grandeur which otherwise it could never gain.

In dramas and novels there are very often significant changes not only from tragedy to an atmosphere of comparative happiness but from happiness to tragedy as well. Such transitions if introduced abruptly without any previous preparation dissipate the illusion of probability which is the essence of artistic creation. The artist has therefore to develop very unobtrusively a background proper for the representation of such changes. Bankim Chandra utilises nature for this purpose as well. He often introduces a natural scene the beauty of which captures the imagination of his readers and makes them forget the previous tragic situation. The romantic glamour of nature sinks into their heart and then the scenes of happiness are presented before their mind's eye.

In *Indira*, for instance, when he proceeds to describe such a transition he prepares the background of nature very carefully. The expansive bosom of mother Ganges with her waves glittering in the rays of the sun, the forest trees standing like beautiful shady groves, the musical notes of innumerable birds playing on the vast expanse of

atmosphere and connects them with the readers and even with the world beyond the readers. We can find in *Krishna Kanter Uil* an instance of this external symbolism. The Kokil with its musical note which Bankim Chandra introduces in the scene where Rohini first meets Govindalal serves such a purpose. It influences the plot from without, and weaves an atmosphere of romance round Govindalal and Rohini. The way in which the novelist associates the bird and its note with the ordinary affairs of life establishes points of contact between the action of the novel and the wider world outside. Against this background of external symbolism the artist gradually builds up the personality of Rohini. Her sensuous nature, her beautiful person, her amorous gait are all visualised with a distinctness characteristic of the author. But the central theme of this chapter is neither external symbolism indicated by the bird nor the personality of Rohini—though both are very important factors therein—but the transformation of nature in the hues of her yearning heart. The notes of the bird instil into the mind of this widow vague yearnings and desires. She looks upon the world and the world stands transformed before her gaze. The deep blue cloudless sky, the mango-blossoms peeping through the trees, the buzzing of bees attracted by their sweet fragrance, the innumerable flowers which deck the beautiful garden of Govindalal, the beautiful manly figure of Govindalal himself—all are attuned to the song of the bird. The response of Rohini's heart to the song is beautifully reflected in external nature.

Natural symbolism is based upon the consciousness that nature is not lifeless but instinct with spirit. She bears an intimate relationship with the soul of man, a mystic sympathy which expresses itself in moments of supreme crisis. Pathetic fallacy in its simplest form is, however, too crude for the highest art. But it has its subtler expressions as well. The artist when he places his characters in situations of great mental distress or conflict may make the impression of such struggles all the stronger by representing nature in a similar mood of storm and stress. The peace and tranquillity of a scene of reconciliation will be all the more heightened if placed in the midst of a smiling landscape. The moonlight scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, the darkness and gloom of the castle in which Duncan is murdered, the lashing hail and the driving wind of nature in storm which we find in *King Lear*—all show with what art Shakespeare uses this type of natural symbolism to strengthen the dramatic effect of his comedies and

tragedies. Nature as symbolical of human emotions and passions plays no inconsiderable part in the novels of Bankim Chandra. She deepens and strengthens the impression left upon our mind by many a prominent character of his novels.

Saibalini after her fateful interview with Pratap flees away from all that is beautiful in life. Her heart is darkened with despair ; and the novelist places her in a scene where dense masses of clouds darken the entire landscape. The sky with its moon and stars, the swiftly flowing river, the sandy river-side, the mountain-ridge that skirts its banks—eternal darkness veils them all. The gloom in Saibalini's mind becomes symbolised, as it were, in the gloom of the natural scenery around her. Insensible to all physical torments Saibalini struggles on. The contrite heart carries on a relentless war against her baser self. This storm in her mind now finds a response in the storm that suddenly overtakes the external world. The darkness of night deepens. Flashes of lightning, the deep rumble of thunder, the crash of broken branches, the cry of panic-stricken animals, the distant roar of the waters of the Ganges—all symbolise the storm that rages in Saibalini's heart. The stormy mood of nature is changed and everything settles down. So also Saibalini's struggles gradually grow quieter and she obtains sanctuary in the protecting care of the Sannyasin.

The absolute loneliness of the place where Dalani Begum is cast away by the Europeans, the vast plains undulating to the distant horizon, without any light to illuminate them, the desolate character of the surrounding scenery—they all shadow forth the darkness of despair and the utter dejection which overwhelm the poor forsaken Begum of Mir Kasim.

Besides this modified form of pathetic fallacy Nature may also be used for the purpose of foreshadowing the future course of action in a novel. The flow of incidents gathers greater significance if the attention of the reader is arrested, all on a sudden as it were, by an extraordinary event or a significant change in the environment. His mind eddies round the incident or the change ; he tries to find out its inner meaning and its relationship to the other parts of the plot ; and when he finds that it symbolises in some subtle way the development of action he obtains from such recognition an æsthetic pleasure far deeper than he would have otherwise done. Apart from this artistic significance such symbolical use of nature suggests, vaguely though it be, that there is a mystic sympathy between the stupendous forces of nature and the

human activities represented in the novel. It invests the action of the novel with a universality which characterises the highest art. During the first meeting between Navakumar and Matibibi the lamp which she was nervously handling goes out as soon as she learns the name of her companion. This sudden extinction of the lamp not only gives us an idea of the emotions stirring in her heart, but also throws over the interview itself a veil of mystery. Our curiosity is roused and it is satisfied only when, at a later stage in the development of action, we come to learn of the relationship which existed between them.

After meeting Matibibi in the forest Kapalkundala returns home. The midnight gloom in the forest, the whispered threatenings against her life, her sudden encounter with the mysterious person—all create an atmosphere instinct with tragic possibilities. Our mind is full of suspense regarding the future consequences of such extraordinary incidents. Tragedy seems to be brooding over the poor innocent creature. And significantly the sky becomes overcast with dark clouds. The little light which had, so long, been faintly illuminating the forest scene disappears and with a burst of thunder a furious storm overtakes her. The deep rumble of thunder, the flashes of lightning, the ominous appearance of the Kapalik make us all the more anxious for her fate. We seem to behold the tragic catastrophe gathering shape before our very eyes. Kapalkundala might be comparatively unconcerned but nature sees in the future far more clearly than her poor self. Conscious, as it were, of the impending tragedy she symbolises in her storm and her thunder the grim atmosphere of the catastrophe. Against this background of natural symbolism the action of the novel itself gains in significance and universality of appeal.

When, again, on that fateful night Kapalkundala leaves her home all on a sudden the lamp in her room goes out. We at once receive a mild shock of surprise. Our attention is suddenly arrested to this extraordinary incident; and it receives an added significance when we are brought face to face with the tragic fate of Kapalkundala. Nature thus foreshadows coming events. Not only so, through the storm and the sudden extinction of the lamp a sense of fate intermingles with the development of action in the novel—a sense of an outer-world power shaping and guiding human destiny.

Poets and artists of the Romantic period often represent nature as expressing in forms of beauty the Eternal spirit underlying the

universe. They could not rest satisfied with descriptions of her physical beauty alone. They must look deeper into her fundamental characteristics and discern therein 'the one spirit's plastic stress' which consecrates all the objects of the world. Naturally, therefore, they are always conscious of the spirit revealing itself through the veil of appearance. In Shelly and Wordsworth, for instance, there are wonderful pictures representing this aspect of nature. In *Prometheus Unbound* as Asia proceeds along her path of self-realisation the whole of nature is gradually spiritualised. The shadows of the morning clouds, the blossoms of spring, the purple mountain slopes have all, writ over them as it were, appeals revealed to the spirit alone.

Bengal had come into intimate contact with Romanticism in Western Literature and Bankim Chandra was bound by a thousand bonds to the currents of thought and life prevalent in his age. No wonder that this technique of romantic art should leave its impress upon his mind and that he should describe in his novels the gradual spiritualisation of nature in contact with human emotions.

When after taking poison Kalyani gradually sinks to her death, in her semi-conscious state she hears celestial music coming through the forest-trees. She joins in the song of exultation and responds to what appears to be heavenly harmony. Charmed with the harmonious blending of her voice with that of the forest, her husband, his heart overflowing with faith and reverence, raises his voice and in the anguish of his heart, joins in the choric song. The entire landscape resounds with melody. The birds in the trees, the streams, the trees, in fact nature herself, seem to take up the burden of the song. When gradually Kalyani loses her consciousness Mahendra makes the forest resound; he startles the birds and beasts with his song of praise and prayer. Nature seems to be spiritualised; she has become the proper shrine for such hymns of adoration.

Nature thus plays a very prominent part in the novels of Bankim Chandra. Sometimes she is a mere setting to human actions; sometimes she adds a touch of romantic glamour to incidents and personalities represented in the novels; sometimes again she actively participates in the creation of their atmosphere. Bankim also recognises in her a power, a spirit. He can consequently utilise her to symbolise human emotions and passions or sudden changes in the action. He can also use her to universalise the appeal of his artistic creations and make her catch on her beautiful countenance the hues of human emotions.

Nature and man in intimate contact, the one reflecting and influencing the other—this is the picture that Bankim Chandra gives us in his descriptions of nature in her varied moods interspersed throughout his novels. And everywhere with subtle touches of art he harmoniously blends together nature and the world of his novels so that none of his descriptions can ever be regarded as superfluous or out of place.

UNCLE SAM: PATRON OF ARTS AND LETTERS

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

I

THE economic depression worked havoc with America, both morally and financially. It shattered the complacent dream of prosperity. It punctured the optimistic faith of the people, who had always lived confidently in the belief that the resources of the country were limitless; that the menace of poverty and unemployment could never darken their land. So serious, so widespread was the suffering caused by the financial and industrial crisis that the Federal Government had to intervene. The hungry had to be fed, the homeless provided with shelter and the minimum decencies of life. The United States would not stand by idly while millions of its citizens starved. In the emergency a system of direct relief was devised.

It was soon found that direct relief was not only cumbersome and costly but also repugnant to many of its recipients, who regarded it as a kind of public charity. It ran counter to the American tradition of self-reliance, rugged individualism, economic independence. Then, in 1935, the Works Progress Administration was organized to furnish relief, on socially useful projects chiefly of a constructive nature, to those unemployed and in need. It was a comparatively simple matter to find jobs for manual workers. Difficulties arose when the white-collar class, especially writers and artists, scholars and reporters, applied for work relief. No precedent existed which would justify the Government in subsidizing literature. A writer, as a rule, fended for himself. Faced, however, with the alternative of either contributing cash relief or assigning some work of a suitable character for professionally trained writers, the Federal Government came to a bold decision: it undertook the radical experiment of instituting a Federal Writers' Project, a Federal Theatre Project, a Federal Art Project, and a Federal Music Project.

Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, who was appointed Director of the Federal Writers' Project, declares: "For the first time in the history of the United States writers are working for the Government as writers. . . .

But until the Federal Writers' Projects were organized under the Works Progress Administration this year, the government had never helped writers actively by giving them direct employment at their craft and by subsidizing work for writers, as it has, for instance, work for shipbuilders and other craftsmen." Organized in haste and designed at the beginning primarily for the purpose of providing work relief, these projects committed mistakes in management, in the selection of plans and of personnel. But these initial errors could not very well be avoided. The administrators, men of far-sighted vision and executive ability, did the best they could under the circumstances. There were many obstacles to overcome, many thorny problems to solve. The growth of these projects in so short a time, their distinguished achievement, the high degree of organizational efficiency they have developed, indicate that the money spent by the government was well invested.

Aware that whatever they did the public eye was fixed censoriously upon them, the writers on these projects had to work under considerable pressure. Since the Federal Government was paying the bill, projects had to be planned which would not trespass upon dangerous and forbidden territory. Politically safe yet fruitful subjects had to be found. If the work produced were proved to be worthless, there would be a loud outcry of boondoggling; good money going to waste on frivolous, impractical pursuits. If ideas and beliefs expressive of the individual writer but utterly incompatible with ideology of the Government found their way into print, a storm of protest would be unleashed against the inculcation of subversive principles. The writers were damned if they wrote and damned if they didn't. The Gordian knot was cut by the decision to gather material for and publish *The American Guide*, a project nation-wide in scope, which would provide work for the writer and preserve his integrity without in any way compromising the Government. There was need for such a guide to America. Moreover, the work was bound to prove interesting to writers since it gave them valuable information about the history and development of their country as well as of the State and locality in which they lived. A remarkable venture in literary collaboration was started. As far as possible, writers were assigned to tasks for which they were specially fitted. Some ransacked old, dusty archives and rescued many precious historical documents from loss or destruction. Some mapped and described tours that tourists could profitably follow.

Others did research work in the library, digging up significant information about any aspect of State or local history. In the central offices the more experienced writers were entrusted with the responsible position of editing the enormous mass of material that kept pouring in steadily. Besides the writers, photographers were hired to supply illustrations, and architects were employed to describe various important historical buildings.

Many volumes have already been issued by the Federal Writers' Project. Three States—Vermont, Idaho, and Massachusetts—are already represented by guide books. They afford a striking instance of what can be accomplished under a system of intelligently managed co-operation. The final work is collective and anonymous; each writer has contributed his share, large or small, to the finished product. The State guides are packed with a vast mass of useful information: local history, folk lore, picturesque scenes and trails, hotel accommodations, transportation facilities, places of literary and cultural interest, descriptions of industries, flora and fauna, libraries, museums, and buildings. The work so far produced, while not a triumph of literary artistry (it was not meant to be that), is sufficiently competent and interesting not only to serve the practical purpose for which it was intended but also to stimulate and enrich the cultural growth of the country. When the guide books for the forty-eight States are completed, we shall have a huge composite portrait of America.

Besides devoting themselves to these State guides, the members of the Federal Writers' Project have been busy with other literary plans. Numerous cities and localities have published their own guides, and many others are to be issued soon. The guide for the city of Washington, D. C., which was put out by the Government printing office, won high praise. The Federal Writers' Project in New York City has printed three unusual volumes: *Who's Who at the Zoo*, a guide book to wild animals, *Almanac for New Yorkers*, a collection of wisecracks, and the first of a series of racial studies of the people living in New York. Space forbids the listing of all works published or about to be published by the Federal Writers' Project; it is enough to say that the plans call for the completion of more than two hundred volumes.

What value these projects will have for the future, it is, of course, hard to say. They were meant to continue, as an emergency measure, for no more than six months, but they have developed to a point

where they may become an established institution. Certainly the Government will encounter hard-fought opposition if, in order to balance its budget, it attempts to drop the entire experiment. Already any effort to reduce expenditures by discharging members from these projects provokes loud indignation, organized protests, and sympathetic strikes. On the whole, these projects have been a source of good. They have made a definite contribution to the culture of the nation. They have rescued the writer from an untenable and humiliating situation; they have given him a living wage—the wage for a skilled worker in New York City is about \$ 103.50 per month—and the assurance that his professional status is not threatened. Though employed by the Government, he can continue his creative work: write plays, poems, short stories, novels. He has an incentive to create; he is free from the fear of poverty, the worry of unemployment. No one for a moment maintains that Federal patronage alone will act as a generator of genius. There is no successful recipe, after all, for manufacturing that commodity synthetically; we do not even know its constituent elements. But of one thing we can be sure: if the Government is willing to subsidize the writer on useful and congenial work at a living wage, the legend of the starving, embittered, maladjusted genius will die a natural death. Economic security, in his case, will mean more than a means of livelihood; it will give him a sense of kinship with his community, a feeling that he has a stake in the government, a belief which may inspire and ennoble his work that his writing is fundamentally important, that his career as a writer has its dignity and its uses.

II

The most flourishing and successful experiment undertaken by the Works Progress Administration is the Federal Theatre. It has attracted more attention, favourable and unfavourable, produced more distinguished and exciting work, created more controversies, than any other creative project. It has demonstrated how dynamic a force is the stage, how much more powerful the spoken and acted word is than cold print. Begun about November, 1935, the Federal Theatre provided professional work for thousands of unemployed theatrical workers. At the head of the largest unit in the country, the one in New York City, was placed Mr. Elmer Rice, the well-known playwright. Enthusiastic

over the possibilities of the project, he envisaged what has long been the dream of dramatists and critics in America, a national theatre that would be uncensored, politically and morally, a theatre pulsating with life, hospitable to new ideas. The Federal Theatre, he also felt, would help to develop a large theatre audience among the young who belonged to a class too poor to afford the price of a ticket for plays produced in the commercial theatre. He invested the Federal Theatre in New York with dignity by putting it on a self-sustaining basis; he eliminated free shows and charged a modest price for admission.

But before he could carry out the numerous plans he had in mind, he resigned his post as regional director. A dispute had arisen concerning the subject matter presented in *The Living Newspaper*, a sketch on "Ethiopia," which was a frank, scathing satire of Mussolini. An order was sent from Washington that no edition of *The Living Newspaper* should contain any representation of the head or the ministers of a foreign State. This was a species of censorship Mr. Rice would not tolerate, and he angrily sent in his resignation.

Nor is this an isolated instance of dissension in the Federal Theatre. Self-appointed critics complain bitterly that radicals are in control, that the stage is being utilized for propaganda that the Federal Government is spending money for furthering Communistic ideas. When *It Can't Happen Here*, the dramatized version of the novel by Sinclair Lewis, was presented simultaneously in a number of cities by the Federal Theatre Project, every one wondered what would happen. A large studio in Hollywood, it seems, after expending a small fortune on filming the novel, had stopped work on it, so Sinclair Lewis charged, because it was too controversial and propagandistic in subject matter. Yet nothing happened when the Federal Theatre produced the play, which had an unusually long run.

Despite the severe criticism to which it has been subjected, the Federal Theatre has good reason to be proud of its record of achievement. It has called native talent, it has entertained and also educated millions of people, in all parts of the country, who might never have had the opportunity to enjoy the living drama. Besides, like *The American Guide*, it is presenting America with a vivid portrait of itself. Mrs. Hallie Flannagan, Director of the Federal Theatre Project, writes: "It is in this ardent exploration of the American scene that the Federal Theatre can and should make one of its greatest contributions. In this field the Federal Theatre has produced, to date, in addition to

The Living Newspaper,' 'Triple—A Ploughed Under,' '1935,' 'Injunction Granted' and 'Power'; over one hundred new plays dealing with, or relating to, the American scene, such plays as 'Battle Hymn,' 'Class of '29,' 'Altars of Steel,' 'The Lonely Man,' 'Chalk Dust,' 'Turpentine,' 'I Confess,' 'Black Empire,' 'John Henry,' 'Sweet Land,' 'American Holiday,' 'O Say, Can You Sing,' 'It Can't Happen Here,' 'Walk Together Chillun,' 'America Sings,' 'The Lost Colony,' 'Unto Such Glory,' 'Hymn to the Rising Sun,' 'Ballad of Davy Crockett,' 'Censored,' 'Cherokee Nights,' 'Jefferson Davis,' 'Backwash' and 'Brother Mose,' to which should be added the dance drama, 'How Long, Brethren.'

These plays are not all of equal merit, but they are generally of a serious nature, filled with propagandistic ardour. The Federal Theatre, however, if it is to satisfy the special needs of each community, must furnish entertainment as well as "proletarian" drama. After all, the primary purpose of the theatre is to entertain, not to instruct. The Federal Theatre has, therefore, diversified its programmes with dance and religious dramas, with classical productions and, with juvenilia, musical comedies and ballets were produced. During the summer, many children were entertained by the caravan theatre in the city parks where Gilbert and Sullivan as well as Shakespeare was played. For the benefit of the young, the Federal Theatre, in conjunction with the Federal Projects of Art and Music, will soon stage a ten-day festival, including such favourites as "Treasure Island," "Jack and the Beanstalk," marionette shows, and a Tom-Thumb circus. More ambitious is the plan to produce a cycle of plays by Eugene O'Neill and George Bernard Shaw, both of whom have generously given their consent. It is an exciting thought that a number of cities, scattered over the United States, will have an opportunity to produce and witness the work of these dramatists. Perhaps the hope that the Federal Theatre Project may form the nucleus of a 'genuine national theatre,' a 'people's theatre,' will be realized.

Before this can happen, the question of propaganda on the stage, especially on a Government subsidized stage, must be settled. Concerning this problem, there are conflicting points of view. In *Bread and Circuses*, a documented study of the Federal Theatre Project, by Miss Wilson Whitman, the argument is raised that propaganda serves a useful educative purpose in socializing the masses. The Federal Theatre, she feels, achieves its artistic and social aim by attacking the

evils inherent in our economic system, by exposing the fatal weaknesses of capitalism. The argument, when applied, is seen to rest on a curious fallacy. Why should the Government pay money to see its power deliberately undermined ? If the Federal Theatre is to be no more than a forum for the dissemination of the Marxist doctrine of the class struggle, if the aim is to be chiefly that of accentuating the class conflict until the final victory of the proletariat, then the investment of Federal funds is a mistake. If the dramatic treatment of crucial social and economic problems is banned, then the theatre is bound to lose its vitality and force. In a country like America, the only feasible solution is the creation of a genuinely democratic theatre, free from dogma and didacticism, preferring artistic excellence to propagandistic fervour. For it is only as art that the idea is imbued with life.

III

The Federal Arts Project will also be remembered by future historians as an outstanding achievement of President Roosevelt's Administration. The work completed for these art projects has helped to restore the self-respect of the artist ; it has given him an economically significant place in the life of the community ; it has called forth the best that is in him. What was begun as an emergency relief measure developed into a national movement that has fruitfully stimulated the arts. New talent has been discovered. Younger artists have received public recognition. Older artists have been saved from want and frustration. They can continue with their work, assured that a close vital relationship exists between art and the people. For their work has been displayed in museums and art galleries, in schools and local communities, throughout the country. Recently, in New York, the new Federal Art Project Gallery gave an exhibition of water-colours and drawings by New York artists employed on the project. About one hundred items in the graphic arts and sculpture were exhibited—the work of almost as many individual artists. Many of these community art centres are being established—a significant indication of a reviving healthy interest in the arts. When the WPA Art projects were threatened with a reduction of personnel, Mr. Lewis Mumford, brilliant art critic, addressed an open letter to the President, eloquently urging that they be allowed to go on. Art

is a form of wealth, he declares, which can contribute greatly to the happiness of the nation. "In the WPA Art projects your administrators have, I believe, done better than you realize : you have created a solid public platform for American art and you have furthered a great civilizing influence, capable of solving, as no commercially supported arts can solve, the problem of how to use our collective wealth and our individual leisure with dignity and sanity and permanent delight." This appeal was endorsed by artists and critics such as Messrs. Lee Simonson, Joel E. Spingarn, John Sloan, Rockwell Kent, and Paul Rosenfeld.

Finally, the Federal Music Project must be mentioned, which has won a large, music-loving audience. It has been enterprising and conscientious. The project has fully demonstrated its value. It has given varied programmes consisting of compositions not usually played.

What permanent value these projects may have it is difficult at present to determine, but they afford some indication of what can be accomplished when the creative forces of the nation are mobilized. They represent a truly revolutionary experiment in the socialization of artistic effort and talent. It may well be—such is the perversity of critical judgment—that nothing will be remembered of the New Deal, neither its extensive political and social reforms nor its gigantic reconstruction programme, except the movement which it initiated of subsidizing the arts.

PHILOSOPHY IN LORD BYRON

M. TAHIR JAMIL, M.A., B.E.S.

III

THUS Byron's treatment of Nature in "*Childe Harold*" ends in claiming the supremacy of the human mind over the data supplied by the senses. This element in his poetry becomes most articulate in other works of the period. Here we find expressed his unshakable faith in the power of the human mind, in the supremacy of the human will, and in the innate nobility of human nature. The new philosophy of the mind that had so deeply effected the tone of the romantists was an integral part of Byron's philosophical equipment as well. Fully abreast of contemporary thought, he tells us of the highly creative power of the human mind. This power betokens its divine source, endows fancy with images, creates new shapes, and lives in the realm of its own creation. It then feels exalted and ennobled and becomes conscious of its own greatness and immortality. Its creations

" . . . multiply in us a brighter ray
And more beloved existence."¹

These bright moments, when "the veil of heaven is half undrawn,"² by the divine essence in man, stand recorded in the works of art which man leaves behind him, and which "look like gods below."³ In them the mind tries to apprehend the Absolute in sensuous form and creates the objects of beauty for itself, but since what is spiritual cannot be adequately contained in a gross material form, the actual realisation of the "Idea" is far

"Less than it feels, because the weapon which it wields
Is of another temper."⁴

The moving and intuitive forces of the mind, by virtue of the freedom and infinitude of the soul, have the capacity to rise to the consciousness

¹ "*Childe Harold*," IV, v.

² *Ibid.*, IV, xlix.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, lii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, lxi-lxii.

of a world of objective reality, and although the efforts of embodying that ideal in form may be doomed to failure, yet it leaves behind a restlessness that is the first condition of all ennobling spiritual endeavours. This leads the poet to express his faith in the transcendental Reality beyond, which experience cannot know, but before which the material world stands as a fairyland. He says :

“ Yet there are things whose strong reality
Outshines our fairy-land ; in shape and hues
More beautiful than our fantastic sky.”¹

Man is to carry on the quest, remounting after every failure with a fresh pinion, and sustained by the occasional glimpses of the Ideal, till death unites him with it, and the physical phenomena cease to obstruct its hampered view :

“ And when, at length, the mind shall be all free
From what it hates in this degraded form,
Reft of its carnal life, save what shall be
Existent happier in the fly and worm,—
When elements to elements conform,
And dust is as it should be, shall I not
Feel all I see, less dazzling, but more warm ?
The bodiless thought ? the Spirit of each spot ?
Of which, even now, I share at times the immortal lot ? ”²

But there are few traces of this type of abnormal subjective idealism in Byron. They are rare moments of the ecstatic rapture of a mystic when he peeps into the world beyond, feels thrilled with the spiritual vision, and sings to us of his experience ; but he cannot feed on their ambrosia as Shelley did. He is principally a realist, and philosophises as a man of the world who knows the actual world with its contrasts, and takes things as they appear before him. Then he very often contradicts what he has said in a moment of spiritual inspiration and speaks as a disenchanted mortal who views things as they happen in life, with all the disillusionments and disappointments they bring with them. His is the philosophy that abandons the search for the Ideal, to be content with the effort to understand and improve the actual ; so we have many passages which condemn pure idealism as fictitious. What the mind intuitively perceives as ideal Love and

¹ “ *Childe Harold*,” IV, vi.

² *Ibid.*, III, lxxiv.

ideal Beauty exists in the realm of the things-in-themselves, but are nowhere to be found in the world in their perfect manifestation. A search for that perfection in this conditioned and imperfect sphere he condemns as a sickness of the brain. Perhaps no other poet has expressed more comprehensively the despair and disillusionment of such a seeker:

" Nor worth nor beauty dwells from out the mind's
Ideal shape of such ; yet still it binds
The fatal spell, and still it draws us on." ¹

The poet's cure for it is to recognise the futility of such idle thinking by remembering that,

" Of its own beauty is the mind diseased,
And fevers into false creation." ²

In that belief lies the secret of Byron's avoidance of Shelley's subjective idealism and "unreality." He has full faith in the ultimate reality "behind the veil," and believes that the human mind is capable of getting a knowledge of that reality through intuition, but disapproves of the methods of those who would remain contented with the creations of their fancy. Just as he considered it to be

" a base
Abandonment of reason to resign
Our right of thought—our last and only place
Of refuge," ³

in matters of religion and morality, similarly he would not let the light of reason be eclipsed by the phantoms of human desires clothing themselves in forms of "love, fame, ambition, avarice." ⁴ These are as great impediments in the path of the soul's progress in the direction of the ideal as traditions and customs are in the path of humanity ; and it is the great mission of Byron to portray, in his masterly and undisguised manner, the strength of those passions and emotions that sway man from within. He has seen deeply into existence, has faced disheartening failures and disappointments, and is, therefore, in a position to give to his readers the benefits of his experience and

¹ "Childe Harold," IV, cxxiii.

² *Ibid.*, IV, cxxii.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, cxxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, cxxiv.

warn them of the pitfalls of life. He reminds them, like other poets of the group, of immortality as their heritage, and constantly points out the fact that they can qualify themselves for the glory of eternity only through an exercise of the will in their struggle against the sufferings and evils of life, which are only for a day. Greatness of man does not lie in attainment, but in striving after an ideal beyond and above.

In "*Manfred*," there is to be found the noblest expression of the doctrine of "enlightenment" applied to human mind and will. The poet himself did not judge the work well when he wrote to Moore announcing the work in the following words: "I wrote a sort of mad Drama for the sake of introducing the Alpine scenery in description." As any reader of the drama will find, its chief interest is centred neither in the scenic descriptions, nor in the full and fierce expression of sorrows and regrets, doubts and pessimism, nor even in the misanthropic note that runs throughout, but in the conflict between the good and the evil in a soul, and the recurrent and bold assertion of the power and supremacy of the mind. The passionate soliloquies in which Manfred pours forth his masterly self-analysis, and the abyss of despair into which he sinks at times, reveal an indomitable will which stands erect even in the midst of the highest sufferings. His mind, "the Promethean spark, the lightning" ¹ of our being, has the power to lord it over the elements of Nature which stand at its "beck and bidding," and are ready to yield to him sovereignty over all that they control. He becomes a lover of solitude, and seeks, like Wordsworth, a balm in the beautiful visible world around him, but cannot swear obedience to its will. He cannot make his mind subservient to any outside power and angrily retorts to the Witch of the Alps:

"Obey; and whom? the spirits
Whose presence I command, and be the slave
Of those who served me—Never!" ²

The divine spark within, sharing in the creative power of God, cannot permit him to bend his knees before any of His humble creations. Neither has the beautiful Witch the power to lure him to submission, nor can Manfred be made to crouch before the throne

¹ "*Manfred*," Act I, Scene I.

² *Ibid.*, II, 2.

of Arimanes, whom he defies as made by God not for worship. Similar confidence in his own greatness is exhibited towards the close when Manfred refuses to yield himself to the power of the devil and triumphantly proclaims, in the following words, the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of man. "My past power," he declares,

Was purchased by no compact with thy crew,
But by superior science—penance, daring,
And length of watching, strength of mind, and skill
In knowledge of our fathers—when the earth
Saw men and spirits walking side by side,
And gave ye no supremacy: I stand
Upon my strength—I do defy—deny—
Spurn back, and scorn ye !—"¹

Nor does he, at the moment of his death, seek the intercession of an atoning power. He despises the idea of choosing a mortal to be his mediator, for whatever he has been or is, his accounts lie between himself and Heaven. There he would brook no interference by an outside authority. Adah expresses the same faith in "*Cain*" after the evil deed has been done and all have left the murderer alone. She, the ministering angel of suffering humanity, cannot forsake Cain because it is not for her to judge a deed that lies, as she says, "between thee and the Great God."² It is a lesson of mutual toleration and forbearance which should govern the treatment of man by man, and is sure to mitigate much of the evils of life if only practised. Byron, a victim of the prejudice and intolerance of the age, challenges, in these dramas, the right of his persecutors in matters that lie entirely between him and his Maker.

Byron conceives death to be the portal to "another life"³ which alone is the Reality, as he says in "*Cain*." The earth, Lucifer explains, is merely an outward covering and nothing more. Human soul is immortal in its essence, and when it casts off its mortal coil, it will enjoy its eternity and will be no less than what it is now.⁴ In the words of Manfred, " 'tis not so difficult to die," and he dies with an intuitive belief in the immortality of his soul which would create its own punishment or reward in the eternity to come. The philosophy

¹ "*Manfred*," III, 2.

² "*Cain*," II, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 1.

of a future existence, as conceived by Byron, along with the doctrine of future punishment, is thus summed up by Manfred :

"The mind which is immortal makes itself
Requital for its good or evil thoughts,—
Is its own origin of ill and end
And its own place and time : its innate sense,
When stripp'd of this mortality, derives
No colour from the fleeting things without,
But is absorb'd in sufferance or in joy,
Born from the knowledge of its own desert."¹

The power of thought has been raised here to the height of Kantian philosophy where space and time are regarded as forms of thought which have only a subjective and relative existence. The doctrine of retribution, too, is denied with Byronic vehemence. Like the Neo-Platonists, he expunged "the idea of cruelty and vindictiveness from the character of God by interpreting Hell as a state of the mind."² It is not a place but a condition, and its torture is subjective, making a hell of heaven, as Manfred declares :

" there is no future pang
Can deal that justice on the self-condemn'd
He deals on his own soul."³

Similarly the closing words of Cain, "But with me!" suggest most powerfully the depth of remorse which a penitent mind inflicts upon itself. In them, Byron exalts the human mind, as it domineers over the forces of life in this world, and shapes the destiny in the life beyond the grave, converting death into victory, and existing eternally, happy or miserable according to its own condition.

The problem of good and evil finds a still more definite treatment in "*Cain*" and in "*Heaven and Earth*." In them, for the individual is substituted humanity as a whole. Cain represents the inborn hankering in man for knowledge and enlightenment. His mind, which is the immortal part of his nature, burns with unspeakable thoughts and high aspirations. He tries to understand the dark problems of life and death, good and evil, but ends in scepticism which is born out of a conflict between the doctrine of predestination and man's

¹ "Manfred," III, 2.

² J. R. Farnell, "Attributes of God," p. 178.

³ "Manfred," III, 1.

accountability for his sins. Byron voices here 'a passionate denial of the justice of the decree which makes man the victim of inherited passions and untoward circumstances and then condemns him as solely and entirely responsible.'¹ It was not Lucifer who planted "things prohibited" within

"The reach of being innocent, and curious
By their own innocence,"²

nor did Cain, as he declares, seek for life or make himself. His sense of justice, accordingly, revolts against the idea of punishment on the weak creature whose free-will is not absolute, whose destiny has been cast for him before he came into being, and whose career is directed by powers in whose hands he "is weaker than clay." His sympathies are with man who is thus crushed under the heavy weight of omnipotent injustice, for predestination is as much a form of tyranny as is autocracy. He, therefore, walks up to the Creator to question Him as to why He thus foredoomed man to be as frail as unhappy, and permitted evil to exist in spite of Himself who is omnipotent and all goodness. It is true that he has prohibited Adam to eat the fruit of the fatal tree, "but had done better in not planting it."³ This terrible "double mystery" was the subject of passionate controversy at the time, and was ever present before the mind of Byron as an inexplicable enigma. His ardent religious emotion was confronted here with a sincere passion for intellectual and spiritual truth, and found a welcome solution in the doctrine of transcendental will. "Good and evil," he declares, "have no power in themselves save"⁴ in man's own will and derive their distinctive significance from that source. It takes us to the view that God's world is good and that what man regards as evil, due to his imperfect understanding and limited vision of the reality, must be good in its relative significance or it may at least be a step leading to higher good. Such a faith brings to the human mind devout resignation to the will of the transcendental Ruler. No more beautiful interpretation of it can be given than Adam's counsel to Eve in the midst of her ravings :

"Eve ! let not this,
Thy natural grief, lead to impiety !

¹ Sir H. J. C. Grierson : "Byron and English Society," p. 70.

² "Cain," I. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 1.

A heavy doom was long forespoken to us;
 And now that it begins, let it be borne
 In such sort as may show our God that we
 Are faithful servants to His holy will."¹

The same religious attitude of the mind has been maintained consistently in the "*Heaven and Earth*," where, in the midst of wailing humanity and a desolated world, with all the hopes and aspirations of man brought to nothingness, faith alone triumphs. In the words of the Mortal:

" all are his,
 From first to last—
 Time, space, eternity, life, death—
 The vast known and immeasurable unknown
 He made, and can unmake ;
 And shall I, for a little gasp of breath,
 Blaspheme and groan ?
 No; let me die, as I have lived, in faith,
 Nor quiver, though the universe may quake!"²

Thus the *summum bonum* receives the deeper sense of moral imperative, and enjoins that man, as a creature, must surrender himself to the Creator.

In passages like these there is a clear indication of the results of early orthodox teaching. The detractors of Byron contend that the poet does not identify himself with these pious speeches, but the fact that these passages are the passionate outpourings of the poet which carry conviction with them convince us of their sincerity. No poetry of abiding value can draw its inspiration from hypocrisy. To us, therefore, it appears that here Byron reproves human pride and presumption that bring into question the Eternal Wisdom of the Providence. He prefers to submit his whole soul to that august Being who can create and destroy, and the laws of whose great system cannot be broken for the pleasure of the individual who is less than an atom in an infinity of creation. But in this theological conception and "will to believe," Byron seeks to introduce the element of an effort to understand and to vindicate the ways of God. This he does by way of the intuitive faith of a mystic who grasps the truth from within and to whom nothing is unknowable. With this enlightenment comes to him

¹ "*Cain*," III, 1.

² "*Heaven and Earth*," Part I, Scene 8.

the assurance that evil and sufferings are not meaningless, and that if man could take a comprehensive view of the whole, he would realise that they are necessary to gain the clear consciousness of the higher good. It is only after a long and painful process that the absolute good reveals itself as that which can overcome the deepest evil. So does Byron end by striking a note of fervent optimism and, in the vein of Shelley, heralds the great and happy moment of final redemption when

"The eternal will
 Shall deign to expound this dream
 Of good and evil ; and redeem
 Unto himself all times, all things ;
 And, gather'd under his almighty wings,
 Abolish hell !
 And to the expiated Earth
 Restore the beauty of her birth,
 Her Eden in an endless paradise,
 Where man no more can fall as once he fell,
 And even the very demons shall do well !"

This is the message that Byron gives to the world, and the religious fervour with which he exhorts the reader "to bear with reverence and submission the burden and the mystery of fate"² cannot fail to convince him of the poet's profound sincerity and deep conviction. His mystic faith triumphs over the impotent creed of Manichaeism and the morbid doctrine of Calvinism, and makes him bow down to the Infinite not only as a Power, but also as Goodness.

And with the aid of this transcendental realism we find Byron's early deprecation of human existence and earthly greatness yielding place to a conception of eternal and higher values of life. Pessimism, that was born of a sense of the ephemeral nature of man and his works, disappears with the recognition that the essence of life does not consist in its longevity but in giving full play to will and activity :

"Thinkest thou existence doth depend on time ?
 It doth ; but actions are our epochs,"³

is the noble teaching in "*Manfred*," after Byron has realised his mistake in condemning life because of its illusoriness. He has pondered

¹ "Heaven and Earth," Part I, Scene 3.

² The Poetical Works of Lord Byron : Memoir by E. H. Coleridge, p. ix.

³ *Manfred*, Act II, Scene 1.

long enough over the eternal flux of things, has seen how trivial man is in his brief span of life, and has derided the insignificance of human schemes and pursuits in the vast and incomprehensible cosmos, but now his philosophy of the will intervenes and changes his entire outlook. It fixes his interest, henceforth, upon the eternal struggle that exists in man between his lower desires and lofty aspirations, and directs him to value life in proportion to the attainment of the ideal of perfection. Man may be reduced to dust, his chambers and halls may "grovel on earth in indistinct decay," but from his urn he will rule over the spirit of unborn generations. Time will not take away from the value of his work. That will remain eternal and immortal in so far as it displays the qualities of energy, creation and perfection, in which man approaches nearness to God. This is the faith that at least dawns upon the poet as he freely breathes in the changeless and eternal world of values. Through it he does not only keep the soul alive, but definitely saves it from despondency and lamentation over the limits of its bounds of power by helping it to recognise that even in its limited sphere there is neither any want of material to work upon, nor any lack of power to become a maker and a creator.

Ruskin was right when he called Byron the master and teacher of mankind. He undoubtedly is one of those rare geniuses who are at home in depicting both the sides of human nature and tell us of things celestial with as much warmth and rapture as of things mundane and sensual. If on the one hand Byron holds up to ridicule the amusing puppet-show of this petty existence and is the great exponent of the lower elements in man, it is to the divine within that he constantly draws our attention, and appeals to the immortal promptings of our heart for eternal truths. His insight into the human soul and the mysteries of life has deepened through experience and sufferings, and in his highest moments of inspiration, he calls us away from the world of vice, ignorance and folly to the spiritual world of values, and speaks to us of eternal Reality. In the words of Professor Grierson, in Byron we have "the spirit of the poet and prophet . . . contained in a very imperfect earthly vessel."¹ Here in a nutshell we have all that can be correctly said of Byron, in his weakness and strength. There is transcendental faith in God and immortality, in the spiritual significance of things and in the divine nature of man, and on account of these the

¹ Sir H. J. C. Grierson: "Byron and English Society," p. 58.

poet takes his legitimate place amongst the truly inspired mystical poets ; yet he is no scorner of the ground. Self-abandonment to an idealistic dream is not the creed of Byron. To him the will of man represents the highest grade of reality, and his poetry is interpenetrated with a passionate cry against the barriers of prejudice, custom and superstition that stand in the way of an exercise of individual will and intervene between man and his spiritual ideal. As one who has gone beyond the actual and has peeped behind the veil, he feels a great unrest of the soul when he perceives the disproportion between what the world is and what it ought to be, and exhorts his fellow-men, sometimes in bitter indignation but mostly in sincere grief and pity, to put Reason upon the throne and make their will a determining force in ordering and regulating life. Supported by that Divine foundation, their thoughts and deeds will reflect the glory of God, their attention will be concentrated on norms beyond the limit of any particular civilisation and culture, and they will call forth the latent and reserved energies of the soul, which will give inklings of immortality and divinity. Thus does the poetry of Byron give the true valuation of the good and evil in life and stands as a guide to practical wisdom. It is in such calm attitude towards what man has to put up with that we find in it an antidote for the hysterical despair that sometimes plays havoc with reason and feeling. Herein consists its permanent worth, notwithstanding its supposed impiety and blasphemy that once shocked the world.

[Concluded.]

NATURE OF OUR AESTHETIC FACULTY

RAMESCHANDRA GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

THE great difference between Aesthetic pleasure and other sorts of pleasure is this that while the latter leave us exhausted, satiated, and even injured, the former leaves us ennobled, soothed, and inspired. Pure aesthetic delight knows no limit ; it is universal.

Of late, much hue and cry has been raised about the nature of aesthetics and especially " Beauty." ' Beauty ' has been regarded by some as an instrument for sexual selection. Darwin himself partly inclines to this view. Yet he says: " How the sense of beauty in its simple form that is the reception of a particular pleasure from certain colours, forms and sounds—was first developed in the mind of man and of the lower animals is a very obscure subject. The same sort of difficulty is presented if we enquire how it is that certain flavours and odours give pleasure and others displeasure. Habit in all these cases appears to have come to a certain extent into play ; but there must be some fundamental cause in the constitution of the nervous system in each species " (*Origin of the Species*, p. 151).

Apart from the question of how the sense of beauty was first developed, we are not yet sure that Beauty's sole purpose is to lay the trap of Venus. Darwin says: " Many of the lower animals, whether hermaphrodites or with their sexes separate, are ornamented with the most brilliant tints or are shaded and striped in an elegant manner. This is a case with many corals and sea-anemones (*Actinia*), with some jelly fish (*Medusae*, *Propita*, etc.), with some *Planariae*, *Ascidians*, numerous *Star-fishes*, *Echini*, etc.; but we may conclude from the reasons indicated, namely the union of the two sexes in some of these animals, the permanently affixed condition of others, and the low mental powers of all, that such colours do not serve as sexual attraction and have not been acquired through sexual selection " (*Descent of Man*, p. 323).

Even in the case of the highest class of *Mollusca*, namely *Cephalopoda* or Cuttle fishes we find ' beauty ' not acquired through selection. " This is a surprising circumstance as these animals possess highly developed sense-organs and have considerable mental

powers " (*Ibid.*, p. 325). Of course, it is beyond question that some birds and beasts show their colours and play antics before their females. But from this we can not conclude that beauty originated in sex impulse. But Freud says: " Its (Beauty's) derivation from the realm of sexual sensation is all that seems certain ; the love of beauty is a perfect example of a feeling with an inhibited aim. Beauty and attraction are first of all the attributes of a sexual object. . . . the quality of beauty seems on the other hand to attach to secondary sexual characters " (*Civilization and Its Discontents*, pp. 38-39). It is obvious that while speaking of Beauty in general, Freud thinks of beauty of the opposite sex. Even then Freud errs ; for the beauty of opposite sex was not created, as we find, for facilitating sexual intercourse. Among animals, birds and insects, mostly the males are ornamented. Among human beings both males and females are beautiful. Among apes we find no marked difference on the score of beauty between males and females. It remains still unexplained why the males in certain species and females in others are more beautiful than their opposite sex ; or, why males and females of a species are equally beautiful. Perhaps it is more true that it is not beautiful feathers or wings or horns but bodily vigour (as is the case with elephants, alligators, etc.), which determines the sexual selection in the animal world as it did in the society of the savages. Darwin frankly says: " I willingly admit that a great number of male animals, as all our most gorgeous birds, some fishes, reptiles, and mammals, and a host of magnificent butterflies have been rendered beautiful for beauty's sake " (*Origin of the Species*, p. 151).

Many beautiful things were created long before man came into this earth and certainly not for selection of any species, *e.g.*, the beautiful volute and conch shells of the Eocene epoch, the gracefully sculptured ammonites of the Secondary period, the extremely beautiful minute siliceous cases of the diatomaceae, etc.

As Wallace says: " Since writing this in 1870, I have come to the conclusion that sexual selection had little, if any, influence on colour " (*Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, p. 186 fn.). Wallace goes on: " Colour is a normal and even necessary result of the complex structure of the animals and plants ; and that those parts of an organism which are undergoing continual development and adaptation to new conditions and are also continually subject to the action of light

and heat, will be the parts in which changes of colour will most frequently appear" (Natural Selection and Tropical Nature, p. 359). From what has been said above it appears clear that sexual selection does not explain the origin of beauty nor even its necessity in organic life. Rather, beauty should be regarded as a personal equation of the mind of the individual who perceives it, with the thing Beautiful. The thing is beautiful either because of its symmetry of growth, i.e., form, which is due to organic or psychic unity; or because of its colour, which is due to the effects of light and shade; or because of its moral and emotional background suggesting light or serious feelings or any between them.

Beauty is the expression of unity in creation. We cannot appreciate beauty without a sense of the fulness of our being. As Smuts says: "It is undeniable that Beauty rests on a holistic basis. Beauty is essentially a product of Holism and is inexplicable apart from it" (J. C. Smuts: Holism and Evolution, p. 221).

As regards the musical faculty, many birds and insects are in the habit of producing harmonious notes that appear very pleasing to the human ear. Among the insects of the homoptera kind, musical faculties are possessed by the males alone. The male Cicadae also makes sound, which, as Darwin points out, "may truly be called a voice." But there are other insects, both sexes of which possess musical powers. Amongst birds there are many which sing beautiful notes, e.g., the nightingale, the thrush, the cuckoo, the parrot, etc., but among animals we do not find any musical faculty prominently manifested. Among apes it is practically absent. Among human beings there are as many male as female singers. From this how can we conclude that musical faculty originated in sex impulse? How can we say that it is a secondary sexual character? Music is an expression of the inward rhythm and harmony of our being. Music is the dance of the soul sailing in the sea of the eternal Ideas, sometimes boisterous, sometimes calm and serene; sometimes merrily murmuring, sometimes roaring in anguish and anger; but always moving on and on. As Carlyle says: "It is a kind of inarticulate unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that."

Well, then, what is the nature of Aesthetics? Aesthetic pleasure is a pure, spiritual, supersensuous pleasure without any personal

desire for gross possession. Here the ego of man becomes submerged in the embrace of the eternal Idea. Here one gets a glimpse of one's supermaterial nature, the unity of his being with the living soul of the universe which is ever romantic, never stale, perpetually beautiful though constantly changing forms. Aesthetic pleasure is quite different from hedonistic pleasure. It is something quite superficial and useless, yet vitally necessary for self-expression and self-realisation. We can not dispense with it without rolling back to primitive barbarism. Aesthetic pleasure is the only pure joy which is not loaded with passion or greed, pain or grief. Aesthetics of pure beauty is the same thing as art or intuition or expression. It may be mystical and transcendental, spiritual or beatific, capturing imagination and producing thrills; but it must be expressive and have subjective universality. "The Beautiful is that which apart from concepts is represented as the object of a universal satisfaction" (Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, p. 56, Trans. by J. H. Bernard). Beautiful, whether expressed in painting or in sculpture or in music or in Nature, is an object of disinterested satisfaction. There is, of course, a great difference between pure reason and pure aesthetics; our logical concepts are without vital vibrations, whereas our aesthetic ideas proceed from intuitions of psychic organism. But though logical concepts are quite distinct from aesthetic expressions, yet the latter involve an intellectual and moral judgment which is very quick, subtle, intuitive and lies unconscious under over-abundant thrills of our senses that proceed from passive imagination. Aesthetics affords no practical pleasure commingled with desire but contemplative pleasure, untainted satisfaction. "The distinguishing peculiarity of this aesthetic pleasure is that it springs immediately out of the act of contemplation itself and involves no relation between the subject and the object" (Sully, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 532).

Aesthetic pleasure is an end in itself. It is not instrumental to the satisfaction of other wants. It is not a prop to material enjoyment. It is a pure, etherial enjoyment, the release of the tension of the soul. I am not speaking of Aesthetic judgment which must exist apart from enjoyment of pleasure or pain. The latter is exceedingly formal and expressive. Expression alone is the criterion of its perfection. Croce is perfectly right when he says that "Aesthetics is the science of successful expression" (*Aesthetics*, p. 56). Indeed there is a great difference between Aesthetic Hedonism which Croce defines as the conception of

"the beautiful as that which pleases sight and hearing, that is to say, the so-called higher sense," and Pure Aesthetics which is a judgment of form and expression apart from any sensation of pleasure and pain. From this point of view the theory that beautiful is that which amuses us or excites sex-love falls to the ground. Pure aesthetics considers Beautiful as that which immediately suggests in us a living Idea, which is an expression of the unity of the psychic organism, i.e., of the soul with the object represented. This expression or its appreciation involves considerable intellectual, moral and emotional process. Pure aesthetics is, therefore, a science, as it is apart from individual elements and made up of correct rules of representation.

However, we are here concerned with aesthetics as a taste for elevating and ennobling sensation without any motive of gross possession or furthering any other interest. The development of aesthetic taste is closely related with the development of that faculty which we call genius. As our ordinary, primitive, gross, sensual pleasures gradually become extinct through the progress of culture and morality, new sources of pleasure spring up which are pure, universal and extremely ennobling. Kant in his "Critique of Judgment" points out that all works of art, i.e., aesthetic productions, are works of genius (pp. 189-90). Schopenhauer says the same thing in his "The World as Will and Idea," Vol. I. p. 239. Croce in his "Aesthetics" says: "The activity which judges is called taste: the productive activity is called genius; genius and taste are therefore substantially identical" (p. 120). In short, appreciative faculty depends as much upon the result of taste, impressionalism, emotion, and intuitive vision as the Artist, i.e., the creator himself, depends upon it for his productions. It is no wonder, therefore, that highly intelligent and moral persons should find the highest source of pleasure in Aesthetics and Art objects. Aesthetic faculty is the highest faculty in man. Sully says; "The feeling for beauty in its higher form is a late attainment, and presupposes an advanced stage of intellectual and emotional culture. Yet the germ of the aesthetic faculty exists from the first" (Outlines of Psychology, p. 547). The love for the Beautiful is inborn in every man, for he is a creator. Goethe writes: "Man has in him a formative nature which displays itself in activity as soon as he is free from care and from fear. The demi-god, active in repose, gropes round him for matter into which to breathe his spirit. And so the savage remodels with bizarre traits, horrible forms, and coarse colours,

his 'cocos,' his feathers and his own body" (Quoted by Bosanquet in his "Three Lectures on Aesthetics," p. 115).

A century ago Kant said the same thing: "For, imagination as a productive faculty is power to create as it were another nature out of the matter which actual nature supplies. . . . By its aid, when ordinary experience becomes commonplace, we frame to ourselves a new world, which, though subjected to laws analogous to those of the natural world, yet is constructed on principles that occupy a higher place in our reason. Thus we are delivered from the yoke of association which limits our empirical use of imagination and are enabled to work up the materials supplied by nature into something which goes entirely beyond nature" (Quoted by Edmund Caird in his "The Critical Philosophy of Kant," Vol. II, p. 443). Thus it becomes quite clear that in Art our free imagination creates. But it creates what? Schopenhauer gives the answer very clearly: "Art repeats and reproduces the eternal Ideas, grasped through pure contemplation, the essential and abiding in all the phenomena of the world; and according to what the material is in which it reproduces, it is sculpture or painting, poetry or music; its one source is the knowledge of Ideas; its one aim the communication of this knowledge" (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 239). It appears clear that Croce's *Intuitive Theory of Art* is not new. Such a conception was clearly grasped by the German philosophers long before Croce. But one thing the German philosophers emphasise, and this is neglected by Croce. Both Kant and Hegel, and Schopenhauer and Goethe insist upon reason as the basis of this intuition, though all of them agree that Aesthetics can not be explained by the principle of Sufficient Reason. Thus Schopenhauer defines Art as "the way of viewing things independent of the principle of Sufficient Reason" (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 239). Croce denies this, and what I have already said will prove that he is not right. Indeed, I fail to see why there should be any disharmony between Intellect and Intuition. Understood properly, they are complementary. As Bergson says: "Intuition and Intellect do not oppose each other, save where intuition refuses to become more precise by coming into touch with facts scientifically studied, and where intellect, instead of confining itself to science proper (that is, to what can be inferred from facts or proved by reasoning), combines with this an unconscious and inconsistent metaphysic which in vain lays claim to scientific pretensions" (*Mind-Energy*, p. 27).

However, we know that Art creates ; that Art and Aesthetic tastes are based on mental and moral culture (*vide* Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71 ; Caird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 635-36, Vol. II, pp. 438, 459, 480 ; Kant, Critique of Judgment, pp. 176-78) ; that the peculiar work of creative genius is " to give that which is supersensuous a sensuous presence and to that which is above time and space, a local habitation and name " (Caird) ; that the appreciation of Easy Beauty and Difficult Beauty (words used by Bosanquet) requires great moral and intellectual development in the appreciator. Indeed, a genius, a highly cultured man, can not live without aesthetic pleasure. It is as much a natural food for his sustenance and higher development as light, air, and milk. Herbert Spencer has shown that with the development of individuation multiplication will cease and continence will become a natural virtue with men. Therefore, as our intellect and moral nature will destroy all lower passions, new sources of pleasure will spontaneously spring up ; for Nature takes away nothing without giving us an equivalent in its place. With the preservation of the vital energy in our body, our nature will crave for pleasures that will not injure the extremely sensitive nerve tissues, and yet offer a very soothing, exalting and ennobling sensation. But Freud says : " This kind of satisfaction such as the Artist's joy in creation in embodying his fantasies or the scientist's in solving problems or discovering truth, has a special quality which we shall certainly one day be able to define metapsychologically. Until then we can only say, metaphorically it seems to us ' higher and finer,' but compared with that of gratifying gross primitive instinct, its intensity is tempered and diffused ; it does not overwhelm us physically " (Civilization and its Discontents, p. 33). As if physical overwhelming is or should be the criterion for measuring the intensity and purity of pleasure ! In the light of what we have already said above it will appear that Freud is wholly wrong. Art affords the highest, the noblest, the most elevating pleasure. Artistic imagination and representation overwhelm our soul, whereas sensual pleasure overwhelms us physically.

The Freudian idea of Beauty is striking its root deep into the minds of our men. This is something monstrous and ominous. There has happened a marked deterioration in the standard of our Art and taste. Sensual enjoyment cannot create anything lasting in the world. Bernard Shaw very truly remarked : " In Beethoven's days the business of Art was held to be the sublime and the beautiful. In our day

it has fallen to be imitative and voluptuous. In both periods the word 'passionate' has been freely employed; but in the eighteenth century passion meant irresistible impulse of the loftiest kind: for example, passion for astronomy or for truth. For us it has come to mean concupiscence and nothing else" (Back to Methuselah, p. lxxi). Those who still believe that Art originated in sex-impulse, I refer them to Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Goethe, Croce and others as well as to the productions of Raphael, Michael Angelo, to correct themselves before it is too late. Croce truly says that Art is the Liberator of human soul. He writes: "The liberating and purifying function of art is another aspect and another formula of its character as activity. Activity is the deliverer, just because it drives away passivity. This also explains why it is usual to attribute to the artists both the maximum of sensuality or passion and the maximum of insensibility or Olympian serenity" (Aesthetics, p. 21). Schopenhauer also says that Art is real (The World as Will and Idea, Vol. III, p. 197). Caird, remarking on the value of Art and aesthetic consciousness, says: "The great, the infinite value of the Beautiful, as specially of the beautiful Art, lies in this that it appeals to the whole man and, so to speak, keeps him whole. It produces, in the form of immediate feelings, the consciousness of the accord of the outward world with our spirits, and of our spirits with themselves; and so frees us from the sense of being limited and strained in ourselves and in our circumstances. For the prosaic consciousness, each finite object stands apart from the others and is limited by them; or if it be connected with them, still the connection remains outward. For Art the lines of limitation vanish, and the differences speak only of unity. For in it, thought and feelings are joined together, nature and spirit kiss each other" (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 457-6).

As civilization progresses, as man subdues his sensual nature and develops his moral being, as his intellect comprehends the eternal unity of his being with the soul of the infinitely beautiful universe, he gradually abandons his narrow self-centredness, his selfish ego, and eagerly allows his soul to drink deep of the fountain of eternal beauty which expresses itself now and then in the creative imagination of the genius, but always in the ever-changing forms of Nature.

Indeed, as Spencer pointed out in his "Principles of Psychology," Vol. II, p. 648, the greater the economization of energy through the improvement of our bodily structure and our labour-saving ap-

pliances, mechanical, social and others, the more will be the activity of the Aesthetic faculty. But Spencer did not see the spontaneous, inevitable and indispensable development of this faculty side by side with our intellectual and moral development. Now we cannot live, even for a day, without aesthetic pleasure and moral consciousness. Aesthetics etherealises and universalises our narrow self-centred ego entangled in the web of gross material and sensual enjoyment. Yes, as Plato said, "surely the end and consummation of culture is the love of the Beautiful" (*The Republic*, Bk. III, p. 265).

Let me conclude with these words of Schopenhauer: "Everything is beautiful only so long as it does not concern us. Life is never beautiful, but only the pictures of life are so in the transfiguring mirror of Art or Poetry. . . . Why has the sight of the full moon such a beneficent, quieting and exalting effect? Because the moon is an object of perception, but never of desire" (*The World as Will and Idea*, Vol. III, p. 136).

THE 'INTERVIEW' METHOD OF SELECTING CANDIDATES

KRISHNA CHANDRA MUKHERJI, M.SC.

NOW-a-days the importance of vocational psychology in the field of vocational and personnel selection can hardly be questioned. In England after extensive researches it has become a very important branch and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology under its worthy director Dr. C. S. Myers is flourishing from day to day and is rendering invaluable service towards the solution of the problems of human life. In America vigorous researches have been carried on and are still being continued to develop this branch of psychology and to make it as much objective as possible. Many renowned psychologists have given up their teaching activities in the Universities and concentrated their attention on this branch of psychological research. Even the notable behaviourist Dr. J. B. Watson of America has lately devoted his attention to Vocational Psychology and has thereby been enriching it with his valuable contributions.

Of the two branches of Vocational Psychology, namely, Vocational Selection and Vocational Guidance, the former has been perfected to a great extent during these recent years while the latter is not as yet in such a satisfactory state of perfection. Immense difficulties underlie the investigation of a problem like this and hence the progress in this direction is necessarily slow. Nevertheless we need not lose heart. Judging by the efforts that are being made it can safely be expected that in the course of another decade this branch of Vocational Psychology will be considerably advanced and thus solve many of the present-day problems of human life.

In our country, however, both the branches are in an equally unsatisfactory state—the latter more so than the former. This is due to the non-recognition of the importance and utility of the subject by our parents and authorities and it may be that they are mostly ignorant of this branch of the Science as well as of the specific results that it can achieve ; they however seem to enjoy the benefit which accrues as a result. But time and tide are not static and the happy signs are

not far to seek. It can often be seen now that parents or guardians and the managers or directors of firms are consulting psychologists to devise ways and means for the improvement of their progenies and firms respectively and if this state of things continue it may be expected that in a very short time this branch will be sufficiently developed here and will be an indispensable necessity. Formerly you could hardly make a father believe that his son due to native endowments and acquired characteristics was not fit to become a businessman or that he was not likely to take to medicine but now it would not take a very long time to convince him of these facts.

It is my object in this paper to suggest a thoroughly practical scheme by following which a beginning can at once be made. In the field of vocational selection there are at present five traditional methods, namely, (1) the letter of application, (2) the photograph, (3) self-analysis, (4) recommendation and testimonial, and, lastly (5) the personal interview. It is with this last one, i.e., personal interview, that I shall deal with here not only because this is the most important of the traditional methods but also because this is the procedure which is most often adopted by employers in connection with the selection of employees. Here in our country it is practically the only method employed in the selection of personnel. The possibilities of the method, however, are nowhere fully explored as will be evident from what follows.

The method ordinarily requires the applicant to present himself for a personal interview, and to submit testimonials or letters of recommendation from others who know him. Since there is at present no standardized interview procedure which can be widely adopted, we can define the interview merely as an occasion on which, usually not for a very long time the applicant confronts some manager, director, executive or employment specialist, who undertakes the task of further judging his character and specially his fitness for a particular place or type of work. The period of time devoted to the interview is not a fixed one and varies within fairly wide limits from individual to individual including both the interviewer and the applicant. It depends also on the nature of the task that the interviewer is required to perform and on some other less significant factors. We cannot in a general formula state specifically what happens in an interview for that varies considerably according to the purposes and motives of the interviewer, his general conception of what is significant and the nature of task for

which selection is to be made. Very broadly it may be stated that the applicant's general appearance is inspected; his physique noted, his manners, general bearing and deportment, his dress and the care of his person observed. He meets the examiner and may be introduced to others as well. He is asked some questions to which he is required to give suitable replies and of course he is given ample opportunity to express himself in speech and gesture. The import of the questions cannot be specifically mentioned but the questions ought to be relevant to his past, his plans, his motives and desires, his qualifications, his general habits, interests and affiliations. There is certain elaboration of this procedure which sometimes supplements the above-described interview procedure, namely, that the applicant may be invited to luncheon or he may be otherwise observed in public. But the traditional interview does not admit of these elaborations. It is seen more often to consist of a brief inspection and conversation, lasting for some time.

The above is all that the method of personal interview consists of. Now investigations have revealed many pitfalls of the method as well as the great risks that are incurred in adopting it as the only method for the selection of personnel. A discussion of this sort at once raises many counter-questions for instance, would it be better to prescribe in definite terms what should occur in an interview, to dictate typical questions that may be asked, to lay down some particular points and special behaviours that are to be noted, etc., etc.

An off-hand answer to the questions raised above is not possible for such an undertaking can be usefully attempted only after a study of the particular requirements of a given case or type of cases. But in what follows I shall try to give a broad general answer. Statistical considerations have shown that the reliability value of the results of ordinary interviews is not much inasmuch as competent judges have been found to differ widely amongst themselves in their judgments about a particular candidate. The method as it is usually followed can never be of great practical value from the scientific point of view and in fact it is not scientific at all. It fails to provide against the many serious errors to which the method is subjected.

It is only recently that the attention of the investigators in this field was drawn towards the shortcomings of this traditional method of interview and since then many valuable improvements have been made. From the theoretical standpoint perhaps the most obvious

suggestion would be to increase the number of judges. Since individual judges are prone to error, multiplication of the judges may well serve to cancel the positive and the negative errors. That is, in other words, the larger the number of interviewers, the more nearly does the final record approach to the impression the applicant is destined to make on the world at large. But of course the practical adoption of such a suggestion to increase the number of interviewers may entail great difficulties but yet such a procedure should be attempted as far as possible and when the usefulness of the results obtained by pursuing the method is considered the objection to the modification from the practical point of view falls through. Moreover the irksomeness of the procedure will disappear when it is borne in mind that the applicant's future life and prospects depend on it. Apart from this way of increasing the validity of the method something may be done in the way of increasing the reliability of the judgments of the individual interviewer. Of course this does not mean that the whole interview process is to be reduced to the form of a rigid and formal interrogative or questionnaire. Instead the informal impression and the vague general reaction of the interviewer should each be given its due weight, in so far as his reactions to personal appearance, attitude, bearing, manner, and others, fairly represent the reactions of others. Personal hunches, personal ill-feelings and antipathies arising from particular idiosyncrasies such as complexion, dress, accent, etc., should not be permitted to overweight the judgment. But the general impression which is probably the candidate's first effect on others is usually not unimportant and is worth recording along with other factors. But this ought to be recorded as an independent item, and should not be ordinarily confused with the verdict based on other data.

Next in order of importance comes the discriminating choice of questions, for interview is largely a matter of question and answer and hence special care should be taken in that aspect for otherwise the questions will tend to become superficial and thereby lose all their practical significance. In such cases the questions merely serve as an etiquette or formality but bear no real value and the method itself loses all its significance. In fact the traditional method of personal interview should not be used all alone and the impression gained thereby should not be regarded as a decisive factor. In general the interview method should be coupled with definite and objective tests.

Now after so much of theoretical discussions the question which looms large is how to proceed in a concrete case. The following procedure is recommended. In the first place the job analysis and specifications should be undertaken so as to enable the interviewer to know definitely beforehand what sort of abilities he has to look for in the candidate. But before proceeding to gather information from the candidate he should establish some sort of friendly relationship with the applicant which is technically called 'Rapport.' Much here depends on the manner, attitude and personality of the interviewer. Often this condition may be ensured after a few introductory questions. Each relevant characteristic of the subject should be independently scored, in as objective a fashion as rating scales will permit, and if time allows definite record should be made of those acts, words, or indications which serve as the basis for the judgment. The advantage of this method of procedure is that it will enable others to make their own judgments and to check up the impressions of the interviewer. Questions should be so framed as to actually elicit information, and not to permit of specious correctness through random replies or through suggested answers. Properly conducted interviewing a candidate is really an art of a rather high order and the essence of it lies in the following elements : (a) Establishing a favourable rapport, (b) Discriminating between relevant and irrelevant questions and answers, (c) Elimination as also effective and deliberate use of suggestive questions according to the needs of the situation, (d) Independent recording of facts elicited as distinguished from inferences drawn, (e) Standardization or consistency in form of verdict and in terminology of report, (f) Sagacious synthesis of varied independent items, and (g) Typical or representative personal reaction to that total ensemble of characteristics that constitute the candidate's appearance and attitude.

In conclusion it may be suggested that the interview method should also consist of some device for measuring the subject's emotional life and hence as well as his personality traits. These contribute to a great extent towards the success or otherwise in the vocation that a person has chosen. A candidate may be intellectually well equipped for a particular post but due to his unbalanced emotions and temperament he may turn out an utter failure. The emotions and temperament can be measured with precision by the paper and pencil method, two forms of which are widely current and may be suitably adopted for the purpose by a trained psychologist. Regarding the measurement of the

subject's more complex personality traits, there are simple methods which may be profitably employed.

The University has created a department of psychology where all these matters are theoretically taught and discussed. What is the use of the knowledge thus gained by the students if that cannot be utilised in service of society at large? The University has set up an Appointments and Information Board, one of whose tasks is the selection and appointment of candidates for particular professions. It would be better if the Board and the Department work together and it will be a further step forward in the humanitarian work that the University has undertaken to relieve the sufferings of its unemployed alumni.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMICS

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Visva-Bharati

THE increasing or decreasing size of the educational problem throughout the times reflects best of all the importance attached to cultural values within a social group as well as the economic capacity and willingness to provide the oncoming generation with a suitable educational service. It seems as though in modern times education is no longer part and parcel of culture, but an independent economic institution. Modern educationists sometimes already speak of education in terms of production and consumption ; according to many of them the cultural standard of the generation to come will be nothing else but the outcome of an immense organised economic effort of the social group at large. Therefore they are justified to define culture in terms of economics, and, furthermore, they may, if they wish to, draw their conclusions with regard to cultural values thus produced. To explain the meaning of this assumption, its correctness and its fallacies, is the aim of this study. And we shall come to our conclusions, if we consider the educational service or system of a country as the infinitely complex machinery of cultural production and the social group at large with its various professions, occupations, and interests, as the equally complex machinery of cultural consumption. However, the producer, properly speaking, is the teacher, the professor, or whatever we may call him, that is to say, the mouthpiece of the social group whose task it is (or should be) to prepare the " next " generation for an intelligent adjustment to existing cultural values. The teacher then being the " middleman " between society and the generation to come, his economic position within the social group will be of particular interest to us. We are, however, very well aware of the fact that in approaching education from an economic angle we forcibly are led to neglect all the other aspects of the educational problem in modern times. To correlate the economic interest of a social group, with regard to education, to all the other possible interests—such as social, cultural, national, psychological, religious, moral, etc.—should be the aim of one or more other studies.

For various reasons, which will become clear in the course of this essay, the United States of America have been selected as the best instance for a complex educational service extending over many states although concentrated in one "Bureau of Education" within the "Department of the Interior" at Washington. Many of the facts and statements quoted as well as the conclusions drawn from them, may—after a careful examination—be applied to other countries as well. And whenever other countries are mentioned, the similarities in the educational service throughout the civilized West will become evident.

The ever increasing size of the educational problem during the last 50 years in the West justifies our approach in terms of economics. According to official sources approximately 30,000,000 students were enrolled in day schools in 1930, in the United States. Of these about 23,500,000 were on the elementary-school level, 4,800,000 on the high-school level, 1,100,000 on the college level, and 500,000 on various levels in special schools.¹ Thus one person in every four in the United States is daily attending school. Furthermore, it is well known that many educationists advocate an all-year school, so as to make attendance at school (or at any other educational institution) the very "vocation" of youth and to make the school-year correspond to the work-year of the adult. On the other hand the growing increase in the enrolment of high-schools makes the problem of higher education dominate all others, and as there is no possibility to prevent that increase, the facilities for higher education will need to be multiplied in a few years by seven. In a statistical summary of elementary and secondary schools, covering the years 1890 to 1925, we read that out of the total number of pupils attending schools, 1·6% were in high-schools in 1890, 5·1% in 1910, and 14·8% in 1925. The average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled in high-schools in the United States increased from 88·2 in 1890 to 136·5 in 1925. And, finally, the total expenditure per pupil in average attendance increased from \$17·23 (1890) to \$98·10 (1925).² An increase in high-schools logically means a corresponding increase in colleges as well and we may assume already now (an assumption which we shall have to prove later on) that, with the ever

¹ Biennial Survey of Education, 1928-30, Washington, 1931, II, 3.

² Walter Robinson Smith: An Introduction to Educational Sociology, 1929, pp. 247 sq.

increasing number of people going in for higher education, cultural and social values and standards have to undergo a change and have to be popularized to a considerable extent. In a sociological survey of a small American town (in the Middle West), which is of particular interest to anyone concerned with the social background of modern civilization, we read the following stimulating remarks: "While the city's population has increased but three-and-one-half-fold since 1890, enrolment in the four grades of the high school has mounted nearly elevenfold, and the number of those graduating has increased nineteenfold . . . Between 1890 and 1924, while the population of the State increased only approximately 25 per cent, the number of students enrolled in the State University increased nearly 700 per cent, and the number of those graduating nearly 800 per cent. During the same period the number of students enrolled in the State engineering and agricultural college increased 600 per cent, and the number of those graduating over 1,000 per cent."¹ No intricate mathematical calculation is necessary to prove that a considerable number of Americans is throughout the day engaged in being trained for all kinds of professions, occupations, and interests. Proportionally, those who are employed in the educational service, as well as all the substantial material necessary for the upkeep of all the institutions combined, constitute an economic asset of considerable value. For, working in these institutions were 1,037,605 teachers, or "2.1% of the number of persons 10 years of age and over who were gainfully employed by the Bureau of the Census"²; as for the value of all school property and endowments for the institutions, it amounted to \$11,216,704,000, or "7.2% of the assessed valuation of all property in the United States in 1928 subject to general State property tax."³

Yet, although the national wealth increased between 1900 and 1925 from 83 billion dollars to 344 billion dollars, the actual expenditure for education in 1910 consumed 17.6% of the total expenditure (national, State, local), whereas in 1920 the proportion had been reduced to 11.8%. These numbers may remain meaningless, if they are not related either to other spheres of life within the social group or to a similar proportion of the general wealth and the expenditure for

¹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd: *Middletown, A Study in American Culture* 1929, pp. 182 sq.

² *Biennial Survey of Education, op. cit.*, II, 3.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 12; cf. also George S. Counts: *The Social Foundations of Education*. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part IX, 1934, New York.

education in other countries. Now, according to reliable sources, the tobacco bill in America equals the total expenditure for education; as for the automobile bill it is double that for all forms of education; and, lastly, it seems that the American people spends twice as much for insurance as it spends for education.¹ Although 11·8% of the whole budget for 1920 seems to be a very small percentage indeed, if we consider the actual number of people in the United States engaged either in training the young or being trained, many countries in Europe and in the East show a much lower percentage; so we find that in 1926 France spent 4·8% of the total budget for education, Spain 5·8%, Italy 6·7%, the USSR 6·2%, Japan 7·8%, Australia 4·8%.² And after a careful examination of the educational budgets of various countries we may find that part of the budget is actually consumed by un-educational activities, such as "general administration, ministry, provincial school boards, examination commissions, military training," etc.; so, for instance, we find that, in the estimate (for 1926) for the total expenditure on education in Prussia, almost exactly the same amount is needed for "Scientific Institutes" as for the "Ministry and General Administration," namely, 0·9% each of the total budget.³

These few remarks on the proportion of the general wealth of a social group and its expenditure on education may still seem meaningless to all those who believe that both the wealth, income and property of a country and its educational service do not remain static throughout the times, but have to undergo dynamic changes either as the result of economic or political crisis or of social reconstructions, and so forth. Only if we consider both the economic background and the educational service as functions of culture, both being therefore subject to changes—due to the dynamic movement and evolution with which culture moulds new organisms from one generation to another—the numbers, statistics, and statements begin to "mean" something, namely, the part education plays within the ever changing framework of a specific culture; and the data which we have collected up to now will be useful in a more detailed investigation on the fate of the educational service within a social group during a period of "transition," of crisis, depression, and reconstruction. We have again selected the

¹ Walter Robinson Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 sq.

² U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1928, No. 13, *Major Trends of Education in other Countries*, by James F. Abel, 1928, Washington.

³ Educational Year-book of the International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1928, pp. 78 sqq.

United States as the most illuminating instance; the recent economic crisis will provide us with all the necessary data as to the relationship between economic depression and the educational service of a social group.

One of the highest American officials in the Department of Education made, in 1934, the following bewildering, though illuminating, statement, summarizing in a few words this relationship between economic depression and educational service: "The situation is becoming rapidly worse. In November 1932, only 40 schools in the whole nation were actually closed. On April 1, 1933, *just after the Bank Moratorium*, 5,825 schools had been closed. It is now estimated on the basis of figures just received from country school superintendents in all parts of the nation that on April 1, 1934, there will be 20,300 schools closed, enrolling 1,250,000 children."¹ It is a gloomy fact that the closing of schools constitutes only a part of the measures taken against education in the case of an economic depression. The "Bureau International d'Education" at Geneva has attempted in one of its publications to summarize all those measures that have been taken during the economic crisis, in Europe and America, with regard to the educational service: salaries have been reduced by 10% to 60%; no new appointments of teachers were made in many countries; the number of pupils per class increased; more working hours for teachers; no admissions to teachers' training colleges; unemployment of teachers; suppression or rationalization and standardization of the subject-matter; shortening of the school-year; considerable decrease in scholarships; the use of school-buildings to other than educational purposes.² Nowhere were the effects of the economic crisis on education more obvious than in the United States. In 1933 (according to an official source) there were more than 1,650,000 children, 6-13 years old, not in schools in normal years; together with those 14-15 years old, there was a total of 2,280,000 children who ought to have been in school, but were not. Furthermore, in 1930 already, rural schools for 1,500,000 children were open only 6 months or less. Terms in all great American cities were, in 1933, 1-2 months shorter than they were 70-100 years ago. Since

¹ John K. Norton, Chairman of the first Commission of the Emergency in Education, U. S. A.

² "Les Economies dans le Domaine de l'Instruction Publique," D'après les données fournies par les Ministres de l'Instruction Publique. (Publ. of the "Bureau International d'Education,") Geneva, 1934, pp. 12-499.

1930, instruction in the following subjects was either reduced to a minimum or completely eliminated: 67 out of 700 typical cities reduced art instruction, 36 eliminated it; 110 reduced the music programme, 29 eliminated it; 81 reduced the physical education work, 28 eliminated it; 58 reduced industrial art instruction, 24 eliminated it; 89 reduced health service, 22 eliminated it.¹ Or, in other words: "Between 1931 and 1933, schools and classes were eliminated in the following percentages of cities in the service indicated: music 4% of cities; physical education 4%; art 6%; physically handicapped 7%; mentally handicapped 8%; kindergarten 12%; continuation work 21%; night adult classes 28%, and summer schools 28%."² As for the teachers, it seems, according to the above Leaflet, that 200,000 certificated teachers were unemployed and one of every 3 teachers had to work that year (1933) for less than the "Blanked Code" minimum for unskilled labour. It seems, therefore, as though an economic depression is not limited to merely commercial activities within the social group, but influences its education as well. We have seen, up to now, that there is a considerable increase in the enrolment in all kinds of educational services (except for elementary education), that there is at the same time a decrease in the budget for education and—due to the economic crisis—a reduction in the educational service itself. The training of the young suffers, therefore, considerably during an economic depression. Particular emphasis must be laid upon the fact that some of those subject-matters that safeguard culture, such as, art and music, had to be partly dropped at that time. Not only education, but culture itself, seems to be severely handicapped, whenever the economic life of a social group is disturbed, as it was the case in America and in Europe between 1932 and 1935.

This conclusion, however, is not yet fully satisfactory. The United States, which we have selected as the best instance for our argument, are not a homogenous whole. Local economic conditions vary from state to state; we may, therefore, assume that conditions of education are subject to these various local economic circumstances, and that the educational problem is not the same everywhere. In selecting a few States with diametrically opposed economic conditions,

¹ U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Leaflet No. 44: *The Deepening Crisis in Education*, Washington, 1933.

² *The American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, Vol. XL, No. 6 May 1935, p. 813, F. J. Kelly: *How Education is Faring*.

the interdependence of economics and education will become still more evident.

Although all the states try to maintain equality of educational opportunities, they stagger under unequal economic burdens. Thus, "a tax of \$10 on every \$1,000 of property for school support would produce \$58 per child in one state, \$ 457 in another."¹ Although one should not underestimate the relative value of "property" for the support of education, another more "human" factor should be considered as well, namely, the variations in percentages of State population aged 6-13—if we limit ourselves to elementary and secondary education alone. The actual cost of public elementary and secondary schools in the United States, in 1922 for instance, was \$1,574,948,776, with 16.72% of the population aged 6-13. If, however, we suppose that the percentage of the population aged 6-13 had been the same all over the United States as in South Carolina, the hypothetical cost of public elementary and secondary education in 1922 would have been \$2,045,368,021, or, if the same as in California, \$1,193,143,012. The burden upon the state is not only unequal, because the actual wealth of the States varies according to local circumstances, but also because the number of people who have to be trained is not the same everywhere. And it is possible to say already now, that those states with outstanding wealth and vested interests and a comparatively small percentage of population aged 6-13 provide a better education than those with a mediocre or small wealth and a high percentage of population aged 6-13. In choosing two states, one of which is usually known as "rich" and the other as "poor," we shall be enabled to compare their economic assets with their educational facilities.²

The states California and Tennessee attempt to provide their young with equal educational opportunities. However, the relative economic ability of California to support schools is \$33,785,000 per child and that of Tennessee \$9,368,000. Here, no doubt, lies the root of the evil: for the ability to support education is defined as the number of units of economic power behind each unit of educational work ("13). And if we add that the percentage of total population aged 6-13 in California is only 12.68%, whereas it amounts in Tennessee to 19.26%, the dilemma becomes even greater. The result can

¹ "The Deepening Crisis in Education," *op. cit.*, p. 14.

² The following figures are taken from John Kelly Norton: *Education and the Federal Government*—Thesis, Columbia University, 1926.

only be unequal educational facilities. In fact, the average total amount of expenditure for a child of school age, in 1922, was \$127.26 in California and \$11.0 in Tennessee; the average annual salary of a teacher was \$18.49 in the former and \$640 in the latter; the average value of school property was \$194 in California and \$41, in Tennessee; consequently, the average number of days attended by each child in school was 126.0 in the one and 99.8 in the other, and the percentage of teachers graduated from a training college 93% and 20% respectively; and, finally, the average number of years of school life (if we take as a basis the 180-day year) was 7.42 years in California and 5.45 years in Tennessee. It may also be interesting to know that the percentage of native white population illiterate was only 0.4% in the former, but 7.3% in the latter.

According to these figures the educational facilities in a state depend on the relative economic ability of the state to support education as well as on the birth-rate; and we may conclude that in so-called rich states, with a wealthy population, the economic ability to support schools is greater than in the so-called poor ones, and that in the former the birth-rate (for various reasons) is by much lower than in the latter. All the other figures are but the result of these two factors; they show that not only the actual expenditure for education and the value of school property are lower in the poor state, but that also consequently the standard of culture is inferior to that of the rich state; to prove this last assumption we have quoted the figures for illiteracy in both states, with regard to the native white population.

We need hardly insist on the unequal distribution of educational facilities *within* a state: in the rich states private schools abound; only the children of wealthy and leisured class families who can afford it, go there and receive undoubtedly a better education than in a public school. Another more important instance for this unequal distribution is to be found in states with a mixed population, especially in those states where Negroes are either in a majority or, at least, constitute a large part of the total population. Thus, in Alabama state Negroes comprise 38% of the population and received, in 1929-30, only 10% of the school funds. In South Carolina the proportion was 51% Negroes and 10% of school funds; in Mississippi 52% and 20% for schools; in Georgia 42% Negroes and 14% for their elementary education, and lastly, Florida with 34% Negroes of the total state population

received only 6% of the school funds. This discrimination between races is to be found in rich and poor states alike.¹

If we speak of culture in connection with the economic structure of a state, the expressions "rich" and "poor" seem to be unsatisfactory. No profound economic investigation, however, is necessary to understand that states with a "city-culture," with flourishing industry, commerce, and vested interests are usually the wealthy ones, and those with preponderant agricultural interests the poor ones. From the point of view of an educationist that means to say that a state in which city culture abounds provides better education than one with an "open country" and agriculture. The result must again be different standard and values of culture in states with great cities and in those with predominant agricultural interests. Only if we add this conclusion to our first one, we shall realize what this "unequal economic burden" and "unequal educational facilities" really mean: "It is not without some educational cause, that the annual average income of the 5 states with the largest per capita expenditure for education is more than double that for the 5 states with the smallest per capita expenditure for education . . . of every 1,000,000 children born in the open country, where schools are poor, 233 achieve eminence, while out of each 1,000,000 children born in the city, where school facilities are superior, 1,550 attain eminence."² A few simple figures will make this difference in school expenditure for large cities in industrial areas, and small cities in agricultural areas, clear. The per capita cost in schools, in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, was \$95.64 in 1924, \$104.82 in 1926, and \$113.69 in 1928, whereas the average per capita cost in cities of 2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants was \$74.91 in 1924, \$74.80 in 1926, and \$81.32 in 1928.³ Not only is there a difference of over \$20 per capita in 1928, but the increase itself shows a much slower movement in small cities than in large ones. At this stage of our study it is hardly necessary to point out to what disastrous results this unequal distribution of education within a social group or country may lead. The preponderance of a city-culture in the United States, as well as in many European countries, is one of those results; the flooding of the open country with the

¹ Howard K. Beale: *Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools—Report of the Commission on the Social Sciences*, Part XII, New York, 1936, p. 442.

² Walter Robinson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

³ U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Statistical Circular No. 12, Jan. 1929.

artificial values and standards of a city-culture, such as the daily wireless programme, the newspaper, and the cinema-production cannot but lead towards a complete breakdown of cultural values altogether. And that is, in fact, what is happening in many countries of the West.

We still have to apply our conclusions, with regard to the unequal expenditure for education in different states and in cities and rural areas, to the teachers themselves who, as we have seen, constitute "2.1% of the number of persons 10 years of age and over who are gainfully employed by the Bureau of the Census." The teacher in his every-day work—the training of the young—is not concerned with the economic background of the educational service which employs him; indirectly, however, his own personal life and consequently his capacity, training, and qualification as a teacher depend to a considerable extent on the economic activities of the social group (or state) in which he happens to live. If this social group is highly industrialized and if the population is concentrated in a few large centres of industry, commerce, and intellectual life, he may expect a larger salary than in an agricultural district or in any other rural area. It is, therefore, in the interest of the teacher to leave the open country as soon as possible and to immigrate into large cities where his income will be sometimes twice as much, or more, as in an agricultural district. (This fact actually can be observed in America, where a very large number of teachers come from small farms in rural areas, and after two or three years' service immigrate into the next large city; this again handicaps the educational service in rural areas, where the children every two or three years are taught by young and inexperienced teachers.) The following comprehensible figures will make this argument clear: the average salary for all teachers in the United States, in 1930, was \$1,420; in cities, however, the average was \$1,700, whereas a rural teacher in the same year received only \$926. In 1933-34, that is to say, during the economic crisis, the average income of a teacher in the United States was \$1,050; in cities the average was \$1,416, and in rural areas \$750. To this may be added that the "Blanked Code" minimum for unskilled factory labour, in 1933-34, was \$728, and that in the same year 40,000 rural teachers received a salary below \$500. Negro teachers sometimes received as little as \$100.¹

¹ "The Deepening Crisis in Education," *op. cit.*

If a social group is in economic difficulties, it wants to minimize its expenses in all those activities which it considers of secondary importance for the attainment of its goal, which invariably now-a-days is economic prosperity ; one of these secondary activities is undoubtedly the training of the young : cheap labour in the educational process means untrained and unqualified teachers. And in the general structure of Western civilization it seems possible to pay a teacher less than an unskilled factory-worker ; and we have to come to the almost paradoxical, though justified, conclusion, that factory-workers to-day are more needed than teachers. Again, a few simple figures will prove this conclusion to be correct : " The estimate of Miss Mabel Carney is that 10% of our *rural* teachers had not completed the elementary grades, 50% had not finished a four-year high-school course, and one third or more had no professional training whatsoever . . . " ¹ That is for the rural teachers. As for the total number of teachers in active service, in 1922, they were, according to the Research Bureau of the National Education Association (U.S.A.), 56% below the standard ; in 4 states, over 90%, and in 6 others, 80% or more, fell short of the standard ; only *one* state, California, had less than 10%, and but 5 others less than 20% of teachers whose preparation fell short of the minimum

The interdependence of training, academic qualifications and economic status of teachers in a society where everything is considered in terms of production and consumption, becomes evident. Untrained or " unskilled " teachers necessarily lower the standard of education and, furthermore, the standards and values of culture. Although theoretically education is considered in the West to be the most important cultural activity within a social group, the teacher himself to whom society entrusts its children is frequently paid less than a factory-worker and is in terms of economic and social life a nonentity. The " School Board " under whom he works is usually composed of businessmen who after appointing him no longer care either for his social or economic standing. This being so, it is not without some cause that the sons and daughters of the professional, business, and cultural leaders of a social group are rather reluctant to take up teaching or the training of the young as their profession. And it is an interesting social phenomenon that the sons and especially the

¹ Walter Robinson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 268

daughters of farmers, artisans, and industrial workers from the lower social and economic levels are attracted by the teaching profession. This again, no doubt, has its effects upon the standards of education. Whatever the result may be, the question which an educationist has to ask himself is, whether under these conditions of the unequal distribution of educational facilities and the unsatisfactory social and economic standing of the teacher, a training for intelligence and community improvement is possible and what a culture will look like in which economic interests prevail over everything else.

One index for the effects of unequally distributed educational facilities is illiteracy statistics; we have already given the percentage of illiterate people in a "rich" state (California) and a "poor" state (Tennessee); another index is the actual reading matter "consumed" by the population; if we select 10 popular magazines, we find that the percentage of their circulation in 1922 was 25·83% of the population in California and 5·94% of the population in Tennessee.¹ This undoubtedly is as much an indication of the level of educational attainments in the two states as illiteracy statistics. There is, however, another more serious relationship between economics and education to be found than those mentioned previously. In a social group where the educational service increases or decreases according to the economic conditions prevailing at a certain time, the very training of the young must be directed towards an *economic* adjustment. It seems as though in many states in America and in many countries in the West the traditional training for cultural adjustment has been replaced by a training for "social intelligence" and "intelligent consumption": "The present economic collapse is believed to have its root in social conditions which can be corrected chiefly by a better socio-economic-civic education of the leaders of to-morrow."² Apart from this new interest in social and economic studies, especially in colleges, we find a similar phenomenon in schools also, and that long before the economic depression. If we divide the subjects taught in schools into "languages, sciences, and commercial subjects," we find that, apart from languages, commercial subjects seem to attract the young more than anything else. According to an official publication there were 23·33% of high-school pupils enrolled for Latin (in 1923),

John Kelly Norton : Education and the Federal Government, *op. cit.*, Table 18.

² Amer. Journ. of Sociology, Vol. XXIX, No. 6, May 1924 : Charles H. Judd, *Education*,

21.20 for French, and 21.09% for Spanish; the next subject-matter, however, is Typewriting with 18.50% and Book keeping with 18.40%; General Science follows with 14.84% and Shorthand with 13.54%; and, lastly, Home Economics with 12.47% and Hygiene with 11.7%.¹ This percentage applies only to cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, that is to say, to centres of commercial and cultural activities. According to the sociological survey of a small American town in the Middle West, which we have mentioned previously, the greatest number of students in the local high-school, in 1923-24, took English, then followed Social Science (Civics, Sociology, History), then Mathematics, Languages, and Commercial Sciences. "Book-keeping," in fact, claimed 17% of the total students-hours during the first semester of 1923-24 and 21% during the second.² And the President of the local School Board stated quite frankly: "For a long time all boys were trained to be Presidents. Then for a while we trained them all to be professional men. Now we are training boys to get jobs."³ An optional half-year course for the future business girl is mentioned also, equipping a girl to be an "intelligent consumer." There is no doubt that in the last 10 years these courses in economics and other commercial subjects have made further progress, and, in terms of educational economics, that means to say that more money had to be spent for training the young in Shorthand, Typewriting, and Home Economics than the Arts and Sciences, and, furthermore, in terms of cultural evolution, that the future generation will be more efficient in Book-keeping and "citizenship" than in those cultural values which until recently were considered to be most important for the training of the young and for an intelligent adjustment of the adult. In a civilization where all the concerns of a grown-up man tend towards the acquisition of wealth, this sort of training may be useful. But whether the community at large will be improved by the training of an "intelligent consumer" is, after all, doubtful.

We begun our short study by saying that "the increasing or decreasing size of the educational problem throughout the times reflects best of all the importance attached to cultural values within a social group as well as its economic capacity and willingness to provide the

¹ U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Statistical Circular No. 2, May 1929.

² "Middletown," *op. cit.*, p. 194 and Table XVI.

³ *Ibid.*

oncoming generation with a suitable educational service." Our conclusion must necessarily support this statement. Although the greatest importance is attached to education as such, although there is a considerable increase in the number of pupils enrolled in the various kinds of educational institutions, although, finally, the economic capacity to provide a suitable education for the oncoming generation is beyond doubt, there is no such willingness, which alone could provide equal educational facilities for all, which alone could re-establish a normal and healthy social and economic status of the teaching population, which alone could provide the oncoming generation with that kind of educational service, in which both the economic and cultural interests of the social group are represented in their true proportion.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

KAMALAKANTA MOOKERJEE

FROM the very dawn of the history of human thought there has been a long-drawn controversy between the domains of science and religion. The spirit of this antagonism is not, however, grounded upon the actual facts of the case but upon the narrow-mindedness and idiosyncrasies of a particular group of scientists or religious teachers. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, for instance, science treated its subject-matter in such a way as to leave no room for religion. Or, if we trace our investigation far back into earlier periods still, we come across the same spirit of hostility between the two. During the middle ages of Europe the scholastic teachers were much engrossed in the formulation of religious dogmas—reason was made ‘the hand-maid of church.’ At the period of transition from mediaeval thought to modernism there appeared a series of inventions of world-wide significance. The shackles of the church fell from the minds of the people—the human spirit tried to free itself from the restrictions and servitude of the church—the whole face of the world was changed. A civilisation sprang up, which was opposed to the religious spirit. The voyages of Vasco Da Gama and Columbus, resulting in the discovery of America and the Road to the East Indies, the discovery of the gun powder, the inventions of the printing press, telescope, compass and the like laid open to men the structure of the whole Heavens and widely increased their outlook. Still greater revolutions in the domain of science are associated with the names of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and others all of whom received during their life-time severe ill treatment at the hands of the people. The essays of Montaigne, too, greatly influenced modernism. On the whole these vigorous scientific researches changed the map of the world. But the scholastic theologians would not allow any questionings and the man who did not accept the dogmas was regarded as an enemy of religion. Thus grew the apparent opposition between science and religion.

The influence of the Renaissance made this opposition more acute. Bruno’s philosophy is the most characteristic product of the Renaissance period. His ‘fiery spirit and poetic temperament’ declared an

open revolt against 'dogmatism,' 'scholasticism' and 'ascetic Catholicism.' Persecuted consequently by the church he ultimately fell into the clutches of the Inquisition and was burnt at the stake. In the very earliest times, *viz.*, the 5th Century B. C., the most eminent Greek philosopher Socrates for his declaration of the glory of self-knowledge was given the hemlock.

The scientific men in those days were filled with pride and felt that they could do without religion. It was not until the influence of the purer and less scholastic conceptions of religion introduced by the reformation had begun to make itself felt that the way was opened for a happy reconciliation between science and religion. The form in which 'religion' has come to be regarded in more modern times is not one to which the scientists may possibly object. The situation is being gradually changed and now there is supposed to be no hostility between the two but rather they are regarded to be complementary to each other.

Now let us investigate into the sources from which each has sprung. It is a fact universally accepted that religion far precedes science. We come to find in history that even the most primitive and uncultured races have attempted some sorts of religious worship or have observed religious rites in some form or other, at a stage when they were lacking in any scientific culture. The spiritual imperfection and incompleteness on the part of a man prompted him to be religious. The universality of a felt need is the secret of the universality of religion. Hence it has been said that 'religion arises out of a feeling of dependence on a power or powers higher than man, for self-preservation and well-being.' And science, too, as Pfeleiderer says, arises out of the invincible needs of the human mind and according to him, both science and religion meet in their highest object—the 'idea of God.' But indeed they look upon it from different points of view, which we shall see by and by.

Science, it has been said, grew out of the manual arts. 'Man, endowed with superior brain power to that of the animals, and free to use his hands in virtue of his upright posture, set himself to adjust means to ends in order the better to maintain himself in the struggle for existence.' By this habit of manipulating means towards ends, the reflecting spirit was fostered and thus out of 'the will to live' 'the desire to understand' was born. It was on this practical basis that the scientific spirit evolved—the spirit which strives to comprehend

the relations of objects and to formulate the laws of their working. The aim of science is to establish continuity between the elements given in outer experience and it achieves this by means of the principle of cause and effect and at last it arrives at God as the ultimate cause which must be assumed for our explanation of the world

The natural sciences are, however, primarily concerned with the 'laws of nature,' such as 'gravitation,' 'friction' and so on which enable us to understand the operations of Nature as a mechanically connected system of parts. In themselves, then, the natural sciences are neither religious nor anti-religious. They deal with the facts of outer experience which do not raise religious issues. The scientists strive to set forth the quantitative relations involved in phenomena; and the world of 'personal values and ideals' in which the religious spirit lives and breathes is a foreign land to the natural sciences. Religion does not seek to explain the world theoretically but establishes a right relation between the 'feeling and willing Ego' and the 'world,' and it does so by referring man's own life to the 'world-ruling power.' The feeling of dependence of man's life on the world-ruling power naturally passes into the impulse to enter into a 'living fellowship' with that power. With a view to the adjustment of the strife between religion and science it has been lately proposed that the science takes charge of the province of the 'real' and religion that of the 'ideal.'

But on an examination of the history of Religion and Science we come to see that the beginnings of Science are to be found in Religion. Hence Pfeleiderer has rightly put it. "With all peoples the origin of science can be traced from their religious views. Myths and legends are the original forms which prompted men to cultivate a scientific spirit. For instance, in Egypt, in India and in Greece, the beginnings of science and philosophy were developed out of mythology—and the priests of Egypt and Chaldæa were led in the very earliest times to the study of Astronomy and similar other sciences by the needs of worship." In India, for instance, the inventions of the Sciences of Geometry and Astronomy (Romaka-Siddhānta) may be attributed to the Vedic era, when the sages had to take account of the movements of the stars, planets, and other satellites, which were supposed to fix the suitable times for the performance of different kinds of Yogas. And so also the ancient Indian medical sciences, or Ayurvedas as they are termed, took

their rise from the Atharva Vedas. It is evident, therefore, that most of the Indian Sciences originated out of religious needs.

When the religious reformers were asked to explain the phenomena of the universe, they did so by means of the mythologies and legends. And it is true that, at this stage, the scientific wisdom and the spirit of the priests were so fused with religious traditions that they hardly freed themselves from the 'egg shells of mythology.' This separation took place with the Greek philosophers at an early age.

In the Christian world, too, Science proceeded from religion and theology and here too the 'daughter broke away in time from the mother and set up a new house for her own.' But this relation was different from what it was with the Greeks. However much religion and science were at variance and whatever feuds they had waged with each other they never quite parted company but always exercised a positive attraction on each other—influenced each other, 'vivified' and 'fertilised' each other.

The religious idea underlying Christian dogmas grew up especially in the minds of the Christian apostles from their absorbed contemplation of the life and death of Christ. The ethical monotheism of the prophets—their belief in the moral rule of the world, the presence of the divine spirit in the hearts of the good—the possibility of the redemption of sin and communion with God by the victorious power of faith and love—these are the most fundamental traits of Biblical religion containing truths of the greatest importance and permanent validity and these contain the most fruitful germs of the scientific view of the world, so that the Apostle can say with truth that in Christ are laid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

We might now consider some of the arguments that have been put forward to prove the opposition between science and religion. Science, it has been held, is rational while religion is purely a matter of faith. In the words of Galloway, 'the one draws sober inferences from facts and the other makes a venture on trust.' But the fact is that this description exaggerates the difference between the scientific and the religious temper. Faith and reason are not to be sharply separated and opposed in this fashion. Science also must depend upon faith which, of course, is essentially a religious attitude. At first it may seem strange enough to the scientists who assert that they have clear and tangible proof of everything and that they have nothing to do with what is simply a matter of faith. But it may, however, be pointed out to them

that they put faith in their own faculties by which they frame hypotheses and draw conclusions, and which, they believe, will lead them to truth or into contact with reality. And moreover a scientist has faith that the 'uniformities' he has established will hold good in future as they have done in the past, and the continuity he has found in experience will obtain *everywhere* and *always*. We may conclude therefore that neither in its method nor in its temper, is science necessarily hostile to religion. 'If science is not anti-religious neither is religion anti-scientific.' The relation between the two is one of interdependence. The ideal of science is to reach some supreme principle according to which it may arrange all the phenomena of the universe in an orderly manner. And this scientific ideal is also religious, in as much as science cannot suppose a system of laws without some kind of *law-giver*. Hence science while studying the law of the universe is also brought in touch with the Supreme Being—God—who is the source of all laws. It is only to such a Being that all sciences point and in this they find the proper explanations of all phenomena. Unless the sciences rise to the conception of God as the ground and goal of the world, they will fail to explain the cause of the world and will be simply confined to certain materialistic categories. And when we shall take into account the sufficiency of the categories, we must go beyond them. Life, mind, consciousness and the like can never be explained by the laws of mechanics, physics and so on but only by a living 'Mind' who rules the universe. Science can complete itself only if it goes beyond what is presented to our senses and seeks in the supersensible world the true meaning and unity of all phenomena. For this reason it has been said—

" Religion begins where reason ends."

Pfleiderer also observes, " No absolute distinction can be drawn between the exact knowledge in the province of nature and the metaphysical sphere of religion. Are not the fundamental notions of the knowledge of nature, force and motion, space and time, cause and law, atom, gravitation, life, stimulus, sensation—are not all these metaphysical notions of the most problematical kind? " Fechner says, " Everything is a matter of faith which is not immediately experienced or that is not logically certain; every knowing about that which is, extends into faith, must be carried into faith, if there is to be any connection, any progress, any conclusion, of knowledge."

At the same time, we must remember, however, that religion takes the help of science as much as the latter takes from the former. By means of mere feeling or intuition we can have only a certain amount of contact with the Divine but we must put this sense of contact into intellectual or scientific form. 'The Divine Treasure of Religion must be put within the vessel of science, if it is not to be lost' Again, science of religion is necessary if we are to avoid the extravagance of merely emotional or dogmatic religion. Thus we can quote the very words of Pfleiderer again, "Religion cannot be divorced from science because she would expose herself to serious dangers of irreligious theories intruding into the domains of religion and undermining its soil. By taking a repellent attitude to the culture of the day she would make it impossible to come to terms with the elements of legitimate culture. And finally by shutting herself up against science she would ultimately sever the roots of her own knowledge—would forfeit the ability to labour continuously at the tasks of self-knowledge and self-improvement and would expose herself to the danger of being spiritually starved and frozen and of a lingering death from the want of a fresh and living circulation." Of course, there are certain points of differences between the two. Science is mostly theoretical while religion is supposed to be essentially practical. But this should not bring about any opposition in as much theory and practice are both operations of the same human mind and cannot be separated from each other. "An abiding conflict is impossible unless, indeed, the human mind is in some inexplicable fashion at discord with itself." Moreover, the attitude of sincerity and honesty which is so essential in the cultivation of science is no less valuable in the practical sphere of religion.

And it has been pointed out by some that science is objective in the sense that it takes no account of the personality of the scientist while religion has to do essentially with the personal factor. But this argument can be refuted by saying that personal factor plays a greater part in science than is generally admitted; because, science reaches its ideal only by relating the so-called impersonal occurrences of nature to a central principle which may be conceived as a divine personality entering into personal relations with humanity. We can as well sum up the relation between science and religion in the following lines of an eminent writer:—

"A little of science makes a man an atheist while a great deal of it turns man's thoughts about to religion. . . . Science is the truth of

the natural world whereas religion is the science of the spiritual world. The one is built up atom by atom by the brain, the other already is and can be seen only by the eye of the soul. The one is a light-house to warn the sailors of the rocks, the other is the star in the sky by which he steers. When our knowledge of the natural world is equal to that of the spiritual world, then will science and religion shine forth in perfect and beautiful accord."

DIVYOKA : A NATIONAL HERO OF BENGAL

MR. S. AKHAND, B.L.

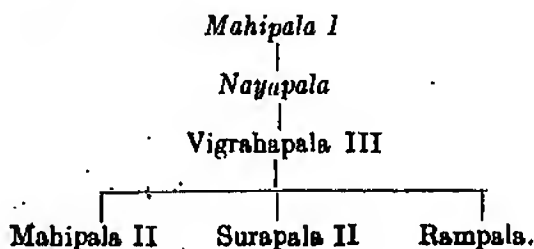
IN a distant quiet village in North Bengal, stands a noble granite pillar in the middle of a tank. It is 41 ft. in height and 11 ft. in circumference. The tank is called Divair Dighi and its adjoining village Divair, situated in the jurisdiction of Patnitala P. S. in Dinajpur district.

Nobody seems to have taken any notice of this mute pillar, till the attention of the students of history was drawn to it by the late Mr. Akshaykumar Maitra, himself a historian of no mean repute. He suggested that the pillar might be a monument of Divyoka—the hero of the rebellion of North Bengal, in the last quarter of the eleventh century—who was elected king of Varendri after the fall of Mahipala II, the reigning king of Gauda.

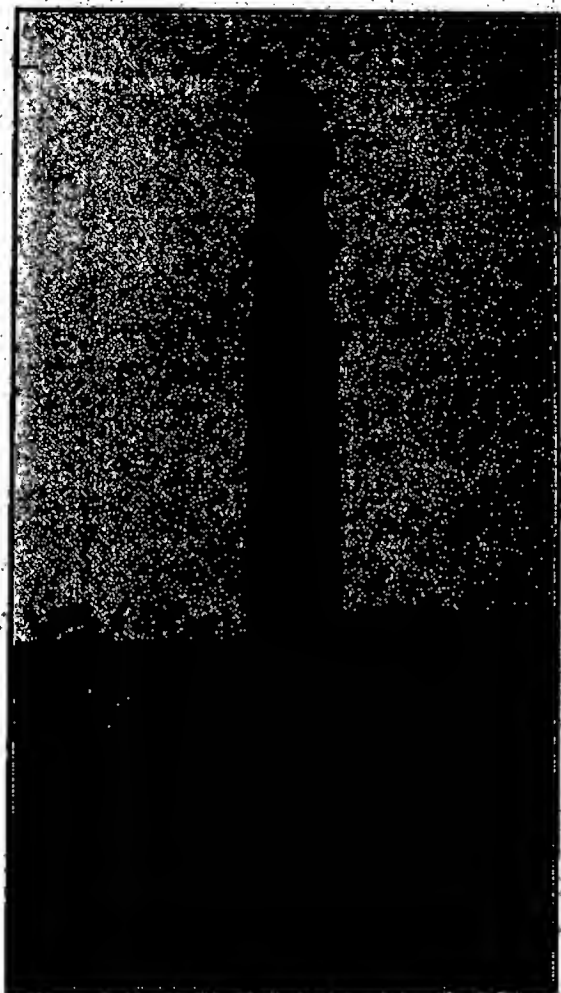
Since then a school of enthusiasts has sprung up who are celebrating every year the memory of the hero in a befitting manner, at the village where his monument is situated.

The fact that there had been a revolt against Mahipala II, by his subject people, under the leadership of Divyoka, was first brought to the notice of the public by the discovery of the Sanskrit historical poem, entitled Ramacharita by Sandhyakar Nandi. The entire credit of this momentous discovery is due to the late Mahamahopadhyay Hara Prasad Sastri, who collected this curious manuscript from Nepal in 1897. Later on he himself edited and published the entire poem consisting of 272 stanzas with the commentary in A. S. B. Memoirs, Vol. III, No. 1, in 1910.

Besides Ramacharita, additional light has been thrown on the life and character of Divyoka by two copper-plate grants of Vigrahapala III and Bhojavarmadeva. We give below the genealogical table of the later Pala kings of Bengal:



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



Divyoka Monument

The Amgachi copper-plate was granted by Vigraphapala III who was a great conqueror. This plate speaks of his conquests thus:—

“ Whose war elephants, resembling clouds, having drunk clean water in the eastern country abounding with streams, having freely roamed in the sandal-wood forest on the Malaya valley and having cooled trees there with thick spray then betook themselves to the girdle of the Himalayas.”

It is inferred that perhaps Vigraphapala III overran Eastern Bengal and effected an alliance with Jatavarmadeva, the founder of the Varman Dynasty. Both these kings were sons-in-law of king Karna of Chedi. Vigraphapala III defeated king Karna, whereupon he was given the princess Yauvanasri, daughter of the vanquished king in marriage. Jatavarmadeva married the other daughter, Virasri.¹

In the Belava copper-plate grant issued by Bhojavarmadeva, grandson of Jatavarmadeva, from Vikrampur we find reference to Divyoka's valour.²

According to Sandhyakar Nandi, Divyoka was a servant of Mahipala II of a very high rank and was an aged man at the time of his elevation. Mahipala II was son of Vigraphapala III and as Divyoka was never a king before the death of Mahipala II—during the reign of the great conqueror Vigraphapala III—most probably he was one of his commanders-in-chief.

This is all we have got about the previous history of Divyoka, our hero.

The question now arises : Why did Divyoka revolt against his king ? Was the rebellion an ambitious design of a powerful general, like Pushyamitra Sunga against his helpless master ?

Sandhyakar Nandi has given a reply to these questions in his Ramacharita thus :

“Mahipala II followed the wrong course of conduct”

“he always undertook measures that are opposed to right policy”

“he disregarded truth and right line of action.”

It is evident, therefore, that Divyoka had no unholy ambition on the throne for the reigning king. Against the untold tyrannies

¹ “ Having defeated in battle and then protected Karna—he (Vigraphapala III) wedded the earth and Yauvanasri”—Ramacharita. “ He spread his own imperial dignity by marrying Virasri (the daughter of Karna).”—The Belava Copper-Plate.

² He spread his own imperial dignity by emulating the glory of Prithu, the son of Vena, by eclipsing the fame of the valour of Divyoka.”—The Belava Copper-Plate.

of Mahipala II, there was an upheaval among the mass, whose leaders (Ananta-Samanta Chakra) thereupon joined hands and collected a huge army to expel the tyrant from the Fatherland (Janakabahu)

Many years ago, early in the eighth century the people of Varendri and West Bengal elected Gopala the founder of the Pala Dynasty in Bengal to be their king to save Gauda from the turmoils of anarchy then prevailing in the country. After three centuries and a half, the descendants of those electors had to take up arms against an unworthy successor of that Gopala to save the same dear Motherland from the oppressions of a misguided king.

And in Divyoka they found a hero. The tyrant could not withstand the onslaught of the people's army and was ultimately defeated and slain. Thereupon, the people of Varendri elected Divyoka as their king.

Divyoka, the people's man—we know almost nothing about his past history. From within the darkness of anarchy suddenly he emerges before us in his full grandeur—the chief of a powerful caste an experienced statesman and a valiant general—advanced in age but dearly loved by his people.

Poet Sandhyakar Nandi, an advocate of the Pala Dynasty, had to admit the sacredness of the mission of Divyoka. He describes him as an "*Upadhi Vrati*" (disguised as one observing a vow).

His vow was that of a valiant knight as sacred as the vow of Rana Pratap to save Chitor from the clutches of the imperialist Akbar—as sacred as the vow of Al-Hussain to save Islam from the iniquities of the descendants of Abu Sufian.

If the heroes of Haldighata and Kerbala have remained through the ages the ideals of the people there is no reason why we should be failing to pay the same reverence, admiration and love to Divyoka the national hero of Bengal—the only radiant figure in the dark ages of the early history of our motherland.

In his panegyric poems, the poet, an ardent supporter of dynastic claims, calls Divyoka a "robber" and compares him with Ravana, who abducted Sita.

If the poet meant us to understand his analogy in its literal sense, we must say that he has done a great injustice to our hero. It does not stand to reason how, the poet who describes Divyoka as "*Upadhi-brati*" can at the same breath call him a robber and compare him with Ravana, the king of demons. In his exuberance of joy for the

recovery of the ancestral throne by Ramapala—his hero, the poet forgets that the founder of the Pala Dynasty, Gopala himself had no better claim to the throne of Gauda than that of Divyoka. Gopala was a representative of the people of Gauda and was elected by the people themselves, just as Divyoka was elected three centuries and a half after. To say that Divyoka, the national hero of Varendri was a robber, is to cast the same aspersion against Gopala, the forefather of the hero of the poet, whose cause he pleaded in *Ramacharita*.

Was Divyoka a national hero?—a pertinent question may be asked. Yes, he was in the true sense of the term. Yet, of all, the choice of the people fell on him. That at once goes to show the true character of Divyoka, the man through all the years of his life had to earn the love and admiration of the people of Varendri by his manly qualities. When darkness loomed over the land he was called upon to father the helpless and oppressed masses. The call was as sacred as his religion and he took a vow to save the mother country from the tyrannies of the reigning king.

To the utter joy of his people, he was successful in his mission and the people rewarded him with the throne of Varendri, the highest reward that lay in their power. Had he lived long he could have fulfilled the expectations of his electors, just as Gopala did centuries before. But cruel death snatched him away and a glorious figure disappeared for ever.

Eight-centuries and a half have rolled by that mute granite pillar is standing in that distant quiet village in North Bengal. No poet has sung the praise of its builders. No historian has dipped his pen in ink to place Divyoka in the same rank with Al-Hussain, Rana Pratap, Joan de Arc, Robert Bruce, Kosiński and others of the same mettle.

History has done him no justice : Let us, his countrymen, do it.

JAPANESE ART AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION

KALIDAS NAU

WITH some people like the ancient Hindus, the development of religious life and belief could be traced through literature. But even in India a good deal of evidences relating to the arts and rituals of the pre-Aryan and the pre-Dravidian peoples have been lost because of the absence of literary records. Fortunately for China, the discovery and decipherment of the Oracle Bones have helped in unravelling the mysteries of ancient Chinese religion. But Japan is less fortunate and has lost, through oblivion or fusion with later cults, many of the primitive religious beliefs and customs because they were never recorded in literature. The modern sciences of comparative mythology and religion, however, are helping to reconstruct partially that ancient and half forgotten history suggested by the indigenous institution of Shintoism. But as it came to be influenced very strongly by the double spiritual and cultural currents from China and India, even modern Japanese experts on Shintoism find it difficult to disentangle the autochthonous from the extraneous elements. Prof. K. Mizoguchi in his recent *Study of Shintoism* admits clearly that the term "Shinto" appears rather late in the reign of the thirty-first emperor Yomei and it came to be used as a philosophical expression only as late as the Kamakura period (13th century). However, in the heyday of Yamato culture when Japan was already impregnated with Chinese religious beliefs and Indian Buddhism, some attempts were made to conserve and characterise the positive contents of Shintoism in two classical texts compiled between 681 and 720 A.D.—the *Nihonshoki* (the *Chronicles of Japan*) and the *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*). But already the ancient myths and legends are found to be distorted and often amplified by new things imported by oral tradition. But because the two ancient chronicles are regarded as the bibles of Yamato spirit, they are of considerable importance explaining the religious faith and racial spirit of old.

In the pre-Buddhistic days the people worshipped their gods and respected the Emperors as the descendants of the Gods who ruled them according to the precepts of their Ancestors. Of this Triad, the

gods in the plural suggest that many pre-historic and proto-historic deities came to be assimilated into the Yamato pantheon. So the ancestor cult may have been influenced by the Confucianism of China. The Emperor-concept may also have been developed in Japan through her relations with Chinese imperialism of the Chou, the Tsin and the Han dynasties. But the Japanese Emperor-concept was something rooted to the soil. This became clear when the interpretations of Shintoism from the Confucian, the Taoist and the Buddhist point of view was superseded by the assertion of the national stand-point with the publication of the *Jinno Shotoki* or the True Successions of the Divine Emperors written by Chikafusa in the 14th century. There it is stated clearly that Japan as founded by the supreme goddess Amaterasu Omikami. She is the ancestress of all the emperors who governed Japan as her "Divine descendants from generation to generation according to Her principles." This was further emphasised by Kanetomo, a scholar of the Ashikaga period who recorded that "although there were numerous gods, yet the way of the holiest deity Amaterasu was the only one and was free from all influences of Confucianism, Buddhism or Taoism, as it had been cultivated purely in Japanese soil."

The word "Shinto" is of Chinese origin meaning "the way of the gods." It includes not only the worship of the ancestral spirits but those of nature and abstract deities as well. Some degree of Fetishism must also have come down from the proto-Ainu aborigines. There is no definite counterpart in Japan of the Chinese Shang-ti or the supreme ruler. His place is fulfilled by the great Amaterasu of heaven-shining deity who is the mother of sun cult of Japan which probably was derived from the Vedic, the Chaldean and Iranian solar cults which with the migration of the Polynesian races possibly entered Japan and the Pacific world. Dr. Munro has instituted a close comparison between Amaterasu and the Mithra legends. Many Western-Asiatic and Indo-Iranian analogies are suggested by the Shinto myths and rituals. Reeds are mentioned in the Babylonian cosmogony and Moses is born in a bed of reeds. So some of the early Shinto gods were produced from the reed-shoots and these are the gods worshipped in the famous Ise shrine where ritual fire is still produced by friction, as in Vedic India. The fire cult is also a common element and the horse had equal symbolical meanings in the sun and fire cults of Shintoism and Vedic India. The heavenly horse was flayed by the storm god Sosa (Vedic Marut) and thrust into the weaving hall of

Amaterasu, suggesting some kind of horse-sacrifice. These have been discussed in detail by Aston in the volume on "Shinto." The next important element is the worship of the departed soul which lies at the root of Japanese religion. This is considered by Dr. Munro to be rooted in primitive Fetishism and he significantly refers to the anthropomorphic images (*dogu*), both in stone and wood, coming from the primitive sites which form a connecting link between the ancient fetish worship and the ancestor worship of the later Yamato people. Some of the figures retain only the upper limbs, sometimes only the head. So the phallic symbol is clearly seen on the *Sekibo* worshipped by the Yamato people who may have derived it from earlier races. There is no doubt now that many primitive cults came to be amalgamated with the later Yamato cults. Dr. Munro agrees with Rev. Batchelor, the leading authority on the Ainu culture, that the Japanese derived the word *Kami* from the Ainu word *Kamai* which means god. So the Yamato, like the Aryan conquerors of India, adopted from the conquered aborigines the phallic emblems and the fetish of clay figures to ward off the evil spirits and other troubles expected from a hostile surrounding. Protection of roads and fields and against maladies were the main functions attributed to these pre-historic deities. Stone circles or cromlechs and standing stones are almost unknown in Japan. But there are references to them in the early chronicles and here and there upright stones are being discovered with primitive pottery. So from the dim pre-historic past ancestor worship came to be associated with cannibalism which lingered in Japan. Living inhumation at the funerals of emperors and suicide at the funerals of feudal chiefs are probably vestiges of primitive human sacrifice. Many such evidences go to establish the continuity of the Northern Yezo with the Ainu of the present day who sacrifice the bear for the services of the greater deity just as human beings are sacrificed for ancestral or other gods. Ancestor worship in Japan is not a state religion. It is the religion of the hearth and home. But it is the source of all the beliefs that are classed to-day under the name of the Shinto. Its unwritten code saves the conduct of successive generations and so deep rooted is this faith that even Buddhism could not supplant it.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF YAMATO CULTURE

Those who consider that the historical period of Japan opens with the introduction of Buddhism would consider the first five centuries of

the Christian era as proto-historic. This pre-Buddhistic Yamato culture is fortunately conserved to a certain extent in three important compilations. The *Kojiki* was translated by Chamberlain; the *Nihonji* was translated by Aston and besides these two historical chronicles are the fascinating court poems of the *Manyōshū* anthology partially translated by Dickins. From the matter-of-fact and often coarse presentation of life in the *Kojiki*, that book seems to represent the more primitive aspect of Yamato culture. In *Nihonji* the treatment is more refined while in the *Manyōshū* poems we taste the almost hypersensitive feelings of an over refined court life. Sociological and cultural deductions from these literary classics have been made by several scholars like Prof. Florenz and Ernest Satow analysing the Shinto rituals and also by K. Asakawa, author of "The Early Institutional Life of Japan." Chronologically speaking, most of the material details in the above three classics belonged to the centuries previous to 720 A.D. when Buddhism was well established in Nara. In the very heart of that magnificent temple city, there have been discovered store-houses and shrines erected on posts, thus continuing the Ainu type of houses. Houses built partly on piles and over-hanging the shores of the lakes and rivers may still be found. For child birth, they had a special chamber resembling the primitive *Mura* or pit-dwelling. So special nuptial huts were suggesting the cult of ceremonial impurity. A very characteristic structure is the fortified granary or *Inaki*. Rice was not only a staple food but a form of currency and the medium through which the bulk of the taxes was levied just as it was the custom in India, Chaldea and Egypt. Hence "rice-castle" was important in the economic history of ancient Japan.

As regards dress and dress-materials, we seem to notice two distinct traditions. The *Haniwa* figures show dresses with tight fitting sleeves with arms possibly bare and with legs encased in something like stockings and breeches. Silk culture was probably indigenous though the common material was made of hemp and from fibres of creeping plants. Beating cloth-fibre is mentioned in the *Manyōshū* and the manufacture of cloth from the birth of the paper-mulberry seems to remind us of the Polynesian bark-cloth *Tapa*. Between 690-693, which marks the beginning of the historic era, we notice a few sumptuary laws regulating the costumes worn by the different classes. The common people are instructed to wear Yellow dress and the slaves black clothes. Caps and hats sometimes resembling helmets

and chaplets or garlands are mentioned. Headbands, combs, bracelets, ear-rings, etc., were well-known. Several styles of tying or dressing the hair were known, as the terracotta figures clearly show. So tattooing the face and blackening the teeth were probably survivals of ancient customs. The Han Records (25-220 A.D.) state that all Japanese males tattooed their faces and that while the Chinese used rice powder, the Yamato used red paint to decorate their body. The people have a mixed diet together with the intoxicating *sake* made from fermented rice which made the Japanese already famous for inebriety when the Han chroniclers wrote. Agriculture and fishing were the chief industries and to destroy fields or to disturb the irrigation system was considered to be "heavenly sin." Hand plough and metal spades as well as hunting implements show that the people were using metals freely. Fine arts and industrial crafts were imported chiefly from Korea and China. The Koreans taught the arts of paper making. Iron also appeared to have come from Korea to be fashioned into weapons and armours. Copper was called the red metal distinguished from bronze, a special fabric of Korea and China. The first Korean teacher to reach Japan about 385 A.D. was Wani Wang-in who is reported to have introduced the system of writing which enabled the recording of the beautiful folk-literature of Japan in a permanent form. Music, dancing and other recreations and games like wrestling and football are mentioned. Various professions and crafts were organised into hereditary guilds to secure efficiency by specialisation. Such a corporate association known as the *Be* corresponds to the Indian caste guilds and we find a long list of such Japanese guilds for potters, jewellers, painters, weavers, farmers, butchers, makers of arms and armours, court-reciters and scribes.

Some of the arts and crafts suggested by the above guilds were indigenous and some imported from outside. Many scholars agree that the primitive culture came to be displaced by the aggressive Yamato people during the first five centuries B.C. The Yamato culture advanced beyond the Ise-Omi line about the beginning of the Christian era when Yamato dolmens went out of use, followed by the building of the stone burial chambers. These tombs are associated with the Haniwa figures and most probably during the Han periods, Japan came to be strongly influenced by Chinese customs and crafts although still continuing some indigenous or Oceanic social traits like the matriarchate, sister-marriage and so forth. To unravel these mysteries, one

must turn to Polynesia and Oceania on the one hand and to the mainland of Eastern Asia on the other.

CHINA, KOREA AND THE CONTINENTAL CONTEXT

Prof. Frantz Weidenreich of the Peking Union Medical College and a member of the Rockefeller Foundation recently expressed the opinion that the pre-historic Japanese were related to the Peking Man. Some of the skulls discovered in North China were considered to be 150,000 years old by the Professor who presented casts of those skulls to the Kyoto Imperial University. That University possesses remarkable pre-historic collections kindly shown to me by President Hamada and Prof. Umehara, both renowned authorities in their respective domains. Coming down from the Stone Age we find that Japan possibly contacted China under the Chou dynasty and this connection continued with occasional interruptions, down to the Han period when China was pursuing an aggressive policy of expansion to Manchuria, Korea and beyond. Concrete descriptions of Japanese life and customs are found in the Han annals, and linguistic as well as archaeological researches are daily revealing ever fresh materials and evidences proving that Japan and her early historic culture were organically connected with the peoples and cultures of Manchuria and Korea. Eminent Japanese scholars like Dr. Torii and his colleagues have published papers and monographs which may form a separate library. But these are mostly sealed books to us because they are mostly written in Japanese. Thanks to the courtesy of my friends of the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai of Tokyo and other scholarly friends of Japan, I could handle, if not the texts, at least the splendid plates with which the Japanese illustrate their books, I could form some idea of the work done by Japanese scholars to elucidate the history and the problems of art and archaeology of China and Eastern Asia, specially Manchuria and Korea. Ever since the establishment of Japanese regime in Korea (1910) and with the Japanese co-operation with the new state of Manchukuo, studies and researches along the above line are developing rapidly. The Japanese archaeological missions led by Count Otani and Prof. Tachibana have brought valuable relics from Central Asia, published in several volumes. The sumptuously illustrated Japanese volumes on the arts and antiquities of Korea are unfortunately still inaccessible to us. Several important museums and art collections are to be found in principal cities of

Korea and Manchukuo. But no detailed description of them could be given till Mr. Andreas Eckardt published his *A History of Korean Art* which we shall analyse later on.

The biggest museum is in the capital city of Korea known as Seoul or Keijo which came to be the capital of the Kingdom in 1394 with the rise of the Li dynasty which lasted for 516 years, under 28 successive kings till Korea was annexed to the Empire of Japan in 1910. The Shotoku palace built about 1609 is gorgeously decorated but not open to the public. The Shokei palace dating back to 1483 has been turned into a public museum where one finds the most valuable specimens of calligraphy, paintings, ceramics and minor arts.

Keishu was the ancient capital of the Kingdom of the Shiragi dynasty which ruled for 992 years (57 B.C.-935 A.D.). During this epoch the great waves of Chinese civilisation from the Han to the Tang dynasty fertilised Korea. The Shiragi Kingdom was for a long period under Japanese protection and its first king Kakkyosei is supposed by some as a brother of Japan's first emperor Jimmu, both tracing their descent from heaven. Keishu and its suburbs are literally strewn with historical monuments, stone-carvings, glazed tiles, old tombs, cave hermitages and ancient Buddhist statues. Buddhism penetrated Korea in the fourth century A.D. and it helped enormously the development of Korean culture specially between 913-1392 when the country was under the Korai dynasty founded by Wang who built his capital at Songdo. This capital was shifted to Seoul by King Litan in 1392. But Korea had the misfortune of being repeatedly invaded by foreigners like Chengiz Khan and Kublai Khan. After the fall of the Mongol dynasty and the rise of the Ming emperors, Korea paid homage to the Ming rulers and continued to imitate the Chinese artists of the Ming period. Like them, the Koreans were, generally speaking, devoid of originality except in the art of ceramics. Like the superb Ming-porcelain wares, the Korean ceramic products draw universal applause; and beautiful specimens are treasured in The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and also in other museums of Europe and America. The Japanese began to raid the Korean coasts in the 16th century and in 1592 Hideyoshi the Japanese Napoleon temporarily conquered Korea and although the Japanese were recalled after his death in 1598, yet till the very end of the 18th century Korea was dominated by Japanese influence. History of Korea before the foundation of Silla Kingdom in 57 B.C.

is unfortunately still obscure. Yet both Korea and Manchuria are unexplored mines of pre-historic antiquities, for there is now a unanimity of opinion regarding the penetration (probably compulsory) of the Chinese into Manchuria and Korea during the first millennium B.C. when China was at the end of her Bronze Age. The Chinese sage Ki-Tze is supposed to have settled in Korea about 1122 B.C. with a large number of Chinese emigrants. But long before that the pre-historic Korean King Dankoon is reported to have sent an embassy in 2333 B.C. to the Chinese emperor. But no positive archaeological relics of this pre-historic period of Korea have yet been relieved.

The oldest remains so far traced come from Keishu, capital of the Shiragi or Silla Kingdom (founded 57 B.C.) which grew in rivalry with the Kudara Kingdom (capital Fuyo) and the Koli Kingdom (capital, Heijo). Sometimes in alliance with the Tang dynasty, the Shiragi Kingdom threatened to absorb her two rival states. Fuyo has not yet been thoroughly explored but Heijo (modern Pingyang), capital of the Koli Kingdom (218-1393), has given up many interesting monuments. This city is supposed to be the original seat of Ki-Tze with whom a large number of Chinese refugees settled in Korea in the 9th century B.C. Five and seven storied stone pagodas and other Buddhist relics have been found at Heijo which came to be the capital in 247 A.D. of the Kokoli dynasty which is supposed to have sent their first embassy to Japan in 297 A.D. The origin of the Kokoli state, however, was in Manchuria about 87 B.C. when after the death of emperor Wou there was a decline in the Chinese regime over North Korea. The Korean art proper before the Chinese influence may be studied at the tombs in Konan-ri and Kinseki-do also in the historic sites of Getsu-jo or the half-moon castle. Several such castles were built specially in the 7th and 8th centuries to guard against Japanese pirates. Several stone monuments, bronze-bells with the carving of the "heavenly beings" and other Buddhist objects have been found in plenty. The tomb of King Taiso-Buretsu (644-660) is famous, with its stone tortoise figure, for the King allied himself with the Tang emperor and by overthrowing the Kudara Kingdom paved the way for the final unification of Chosen in 668 A.D. The Buddhist influence was so great that only in Keishu and environs over 800 Buddhist temples were founded during the reign of King Hoko (513-539). The most important temple is that of Bukkoku-ji the best preserved of the old temples. It was greatly enlarged and

richly decorated by King Keitoku (743-765). Its pagoda of many treasures of Tahoto is one of the finest stone pagodas of the East, decorated with the rich stone carving of the Tang period and with Chinese lion and Indian lotus carvings. In a cavern on the sea of Wrusan there is a cave-hermitage at the end of which there is a colossal Buddha figure about 10 feet high in a sitting posture. Statues of the Avalokiteswara and attendant deities are beautifully carved on the walls. Many such rare monuments and art treasures have yet to be collected and studied systematically in connection with the art of India and China on the one hand and Japan on the other. The Koreans belong linguistically to the Southern branch of the Ural-Altai family and therefore, resemble the Japanese, as Aston attempted to show in his "Comparative study of the Japanese and Korean languages" (London, 1879). Other scholars try to link it with the Tungusic (Turkish) dialect or even with the Dravidian. The phonetic science of the Wnman alphabet (formed in the 15th century) resemble the Tibetan and Sanskrit partially.

MANCHURIA

The influences of the Turkish races on Korea and China are well-known and we follow the same trend in the history of Manchuria. This country is the stronghold of the Turkish Tungus races who had their original home in North Eastern China whence they migrated to Mongolia and Manchuria in the second millennium B.C., according to Shirokogorof, the Russian anthropologist. One of their cousin branches founded the Wei dynasty of China famous as patrons of Buddhist art. They were followed by the Khitan Tartars (10th century), the Kin-Tartars (12th century), the Yuan or the Mongols (13th century) belonging to the Turko-Mangolian family which exerted profound influence on Asiatic history, culminating with the conquest of China by the Manchu Tartars (17th century) who are masters of China for over 300 years.

A few pre-historic sites, discovered so far, go to prove that this country may yield a rich harvest of antiquities. Pottery and clay images have been found in abundance. But few great architectural monuments have survived because the country was often ravaged by the rival tribes, the Tungus and the Mongols. The country was subjugated temporarily by the Tang rulers but soon defied the Chinese

authority or helped the country as a fief of the Chinese emperor. Unifying the 8 separate tribes, the Khitan or Liao dynasty (927-1104) opened imperial career conquering not only the whole of Manchuria and North China but rivaling the glory of the Sung emperors. They built five capitals during the 217 years of its existence. They were followed by the Kin dynasty (1115-1234) of the "Golden Tartars." They first entered into alliance with the Sungs, overthrew the Liao dynasty and extended their sway over the whole of North China till they were overthrown by the Mongols. In the Ming era (1368-1644) the middle and South Manchuria belonged to the Chinese empire but it again was conquered by the Tartar-Manchus in 1644. Most of the temples of Manchuria testify to the great influence exerted on Manchuria by Tibetan Lamaism. The oldest and the most important city is Fengtien or modern Mukden. In its vicinity Dr. Anderson discovered valuable relics of pre-historic civilisation which we have described on our section on China. It was important as a political centre during the Yuan and Ming dynasties and in 1625 it came to be the capital of the Manchus who transferred their seat of Government, however, to Peking in 1644. The walls round the city are built of large black bricks hence the name brick-castle. The length of the wall is about 3 miles pierced by two gates on each direction. Massive towers with coloured tiles mark the old palace of the Manchu emperors whose old historical treasures were deposited in the palace occupied again after years by the new emperor of Manchukuo Pi-Yi who escaped from the Forbidden City of Peking. What the new regime will do for the art and archaeology of Manchuria has yet to be seen.

The history and antiquity of Korea and Manchuria are necessary adjuncts to Japanese art and culture, as we have often observed in connection with the evolution of China (*vide* Andreas Eckardt: *A History of Korean Art*, 1929). The ethnologists of Japan, for years, are tracing relations with the races of Manchuria. So Korea appears to be the centre of diffusion of the continental culture to Japan. Japanese scholars seemed to agree that the paintings in Horiyu-ji (about 712 A.D.), the earliest Buddhist temple of Japan, were drawn by Korean painters who were strongly influenced by the Khotanese school of Indian painting. Japanese scholars discovered about 1905 a series of tomb-paintings in Korea which they are publishing through their brilliantly illustrated series *Chosen Koseki Zu-fu* which gives excellent reproduction of the famous Korean relief from

Sekkutsuan (750 A.D.). These tomb-paintings were probably earlier than the works of the Chinese painters sent in 535 by the Liang rulers to the King of Korea. Buddhism entered Northern Korea from China in 372 A.D. but in the paintings discovered at the tomb of the Four Gods at Baisanri, represent an indigenous tradition of Korean art which often remind us of the technique of primitive cave paintings. Non-Buddhist cult figures of men and of richly dressed ladies have been found in several tombs of North Korea dating 400 to 500 A.D. In the great tomb at Gukenri (about 550 A.D.) we find the dragon motif on the east wall, the serpent and tortoise on the north wall and above them the figure of an *Apsara* distinctly derived from Indian art which penetrated Korea in 535 A.D. with the Buddhist painters at Nanking. In 535 Korea, as it is reported, obtained from China a present of Commentaries on various Sutras particularly that of the great decease (*Mahaparinirvana*), the Book of Odes, doctors, painters and professors. Prof. Siren observes in this connection: "Korean art shows on the whole in various periods a tendency towards exaggeration it lacks the equipoise and stability of Chinese art and plays with the borrowed motifs in a lighter vein. Japanese sculpture seeks still more refinement of line; it is more lyrical and when at its best, it strikes a milder euphony than we find in the Northern Wei art."

Korean paintings along with Korean Ceramics have begun to draw the scholarly attention of specialists. But as systematic surveys of Korean arts and crafts are still not available, we shall proceed now to continue our narrative of Japanese art evolution from the historic epoch when Buddhism came to transform the entire fabric of Japanese life and culture.

EARLY BUDDHIST ART OF JAPAN—552-645

Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 552 through the happy mediation of Korean kings of Kudara and after about 36 years of anti-Buddhist agitation, it came to be firmly established, thanks to the zeal and organisation of the first princely convert Shotoku Taishi (574-622), the second son of emperor Yomei. He helped in the propagation of Buddhism by harmonising it with Shintoism. He also encouraged painting, sculpture and architecture, building some of the earliest Buddhist temples. The empress Suiko was the pillar of strength to the cause of Buddhism and therefore the art of this period is very

appropriately named after her. The most remarkable products of art were the bronze images and wood-carvings which are unique and which have received scholarly treatment at the hand of Prof. Langdon Warner in his *Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period* (1923), published by the Cleveland Museum of Art. Most of the bronze figures, cast in the *cireperdue* process were gilded, gold being applied with mercury. The Buddhist wood sculptures were always decorated with colours or brightened with gold foil. Most of these statues remind us of the styles of the Wei dynasty of China. They are characterised by rare spirit of sublimity and mysticism and they are mostly found from the Horyu-ji temples near Nara. There was a phenomenal development of arts and crafts with the introduction of Buddhism, as we find from the temple objects and the famous gilt-bronze screens from Horyu-ji. This was possible because even before the reign of empress Suiko, the emperor Yuryaku invited artisans from Korea like potters, painters, brocade-weavers and saddlers. The sudden and somewhat revolutionary tradition from the proto-historic to the historic art of Japan was indicated by architecture, the most conservative of all arts. The most archaic style of Shinto architecture was based on the model of the primitive dwelling houses, as we find conserved still in the Taisha shrine of Izumo. The more advanced style is exemplified today by the famous Shinto shrine of Ise. But in the Suiko period, Japan welcomed the Chinese and the Korean styles of architecture marked by a rare dignity and delicacy of rhythm. There is always a *stupa* in the square court-yard and a Kondo or the Golden Hall behind which there stand a drum-tower and a bell-tower. The central group of buildings, facing South is surrounded on the North, East and West by the *Viharas* or the houses for the monks. The most valued possessions of each monastery are carefully preserved in the Shoso-in. The transition from the archaic Japanese architecture to a gorgeous temple like Horyu-ji is no less staggering than the development of the Horyu-ji frescoes against the background of primitive painting of Japan and the rock frescoes in the archaic tomb described by Prof. K. Takahashi (Kokka, July, 1927). In 607 A.D. prince Shotoku sent an embassy to the Chinese Court and the same year he founded Horyu-ji, the most ancient and venerable shrine of Japan. With these the prince inaugurated a veritable era of cultural revolution with which Japan suddenly emerged from her primitive isolation and began to play a leading role in the history of the Orient.

NARA PERIOD—646-793 A.D.

While Hiuén Tsang was preparing to return to China with his invaluable collections of Indian sacred texts and art treasures which would go to produce a veritable revolution in the cultural life of China, Japan during the second half of the seventh century also underwent a similar transformation. For Tang art and culture saturated the Japanese national life and Buddhism succeeded in effecting a most thorough and peaceful conquest of the country. In imitation of the Tang emperors, the entire court life and provincial administration was reorganised by the Great Reform of 645. The old Japanese patriarchal clans were replaced by a centralised state and the scattered cities of Yamato culture had to yield finally to the capital of Nara where the emperor with his court took up residence in 710 A. D.

Shintoist opposition to the continental religion of Buddhism was tactfully overcome by the famous Korean monk Gyōgi who settled in Japan during the reign of emperor Shōmu (724-48) and who preached the doctrine of Ryōbu-Shinto according to which the national gods of Japan were recognised and honoured as manifestations of the Buddha. The renowned Chinese scholar-monk Kanshin also visited Japan in 754 and the colossal statue of the Buddha Daibutsu, over 50ft. high, was consecrated (746) in the Todaiji temple at Nara. The Buddhist culture which now penetrated Japan was necessarily not purely Indian but of a cosmopolitan character, as Mr. Grousset has appropriately observed: "Buddhism brought with it into the archipelago not only Indian philosophy but also Chinese architecture, Indo-Greek, Indo-Gupta, Wei and T'ang sculpture and all the pictorial traditions of Indian, Iranian and Tang paintings now familiar to us from the discoveries in Central Asia and Korea: the paintings of Hōryū-ji are derived from Ajanta through the frescoes of Khotan, Kucha and Tun-Huang and of the Korean tomb of Sāmmyōri." Prof. Serge Elisséev, an authority on Japanese art, traces the direct influence of the Chinese Wei architecture on the early temples of Japan like Shitennoji (587) and Hōryū-ji (593-607 A.D.). The exquisite Buddhist trinity in Bronze, now in the golden hall of Hōryū-ji was most probably the work of Korean artists who are reported to be the authors of the Hōryū-ji frescoes as well. These priceless treasures of art have been reproduced at an enormous expense in the Japanese publication *Hōryū-ji Okagami*. The Japanese sculpture of this period

often reminds us of the earliest and best reliefs at Lung-men. But while the Chinese sculptures are interesting from iconographic point of view, the Japanese images excel in their supreme aesthetic appeal. The incomparable lines and flourishes of the Ajanta school are clearly traceable in the works of the Horyu-ji and though there is a tendency, of late, to minimise the Indian influence, it has been ably and conclusively vindicated by the French specialist Rene Grousset who writes: "Towards the sixth and seventh centuries the living aesthetic ideal of Gupta India replaced the outworn Hellenistic models in Central Asia. It was this fresh influx of vigour flowing northwards from the Ganges Valley that gave rise to the Sui renaissance in China from which were derived in turn the great Japanese schools of Nara." But what Japan borrowed she not only transformed but carried to the highest pitch of perception by virtue of her rare individuality in aesthetic realisation for which Grousset has called the Japanese the Greeks of the Orient who created, as it were, the new Hellas on this island of the Far-East.

The Japanese artist began to show a rare sense of realism and individual portraiture in and through the figures of the disciples of the Buddha and the various historical monks who contributed to the glory of Buddhism. Along with this tradition of religious art, there were the influences of secular schools we find from the wonderful painting of the goddess of beauty Kichijoten of the Yakushiji monastery, but now preserved in the Imperial Household Museum at Nara. The sublime carnality of Krishnaism is manifest, as pointed out by Grousset, in the princely figures of many Bodhi-sattvas, just as we find in India. On the contrary, super-human traits of Mahayana iconography also came to be represented in figures like that of the Eleven-headed Kwannon which stands against the simple humanity and inimitable grace of Gakkwo Bonten (750) probably the Japanese Brahma made of lacquer and clay by the Nara school. The same refinement of aesthetic instinct is manifest no less in the applied and decorative arts, some rare examples of which are luckily preserved in the Shoso-in, the wooden treasure house built in the reign of emperor Shomu (724-748) who was a great patron of artists and artisans. Beautiful designs are found on musical instruments like Biwa made of sandal wood inlaid with flowers and birds in mother-of-pearl. Entire scenes are sometimes represented on a seven-stringed harp with its surface and backside all lacquered black and inlaid with gold and silver plates

cut into figures of exquisite workmanship. Such inlaid designs are also found in the bronze mirrors and other metal wares in the priceless collection of the Shoso-in. The object which surprises us most is the gilt bronze jug with the figure of a winged horse which is typically Persian in design. Persian patterns are also seen on a tapestry with hunting scenes in which four lion-hunting knights are riding winged horses. The collection of textile fabrics in the Shoso-in and in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum prove conclusively that, thanks to the Continental Buddhism, Japan was not only not isolated but she actively participated in the development of Oriental silk and other textiles which were so famous that it was imported into Europe in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian. Already in the 5th century Emperor Yuryaku (457-479) encouraged sericulture and on the Japanese textiles we find the same designs discovered also on those from Persia and Antioch in northern Egypt. Sassanian influence appeared to have spread over the vast area extending from Persia to the Roman empire on the one hand and the Japanese empire on the other. The barrier between the East and the West would disappear if we could only study the history of arts and crafts from the point of view of larger historical relationships.

From the numerous manuscripts beautifully copied, now preserved in the Shoso-in treasury, we come to know that Japanese literature also felt the creative urge of that great age. The oldest anthology of Japanese poems, the Manyōshū or "Ten thousand pages" was compiled about 750 (translated by J. L. Pierson—Leiden, 1929). It contains the immortal pieces of early Japanese poets like Hitomaro, Akahito and Prince Aki who excel even their poetic contemporaries of the Tang period. Indian music and dramatic motives also came to enrich the soul of the Japanese people who, while they considered Chinese as the "centre of civilisation" now looked upon India as a "heavenly kingdom."

KYOTO AND THE ART OF THE HEIAN PERIOD

In 794, Emperor Kammu removed the capital from Nara to Kyoto which remained the imperial capital up to 1868. But the period of its best artistic activity was from 794-889. The priests of Nara were as usual demoralised by power and glamour. So the

emperor backed the reform movement initiated by Dengyo Daishi (767-822) who visited China and introduced therefrom a sort of an Advaita doctrine of the Tendai sect which believes that all human beings are destined like Buddha to reach the perfect Illumination. In 804, Dengyo's pupil Kobo Daishi (744-835) also visited China and introduced the mystical doctrine of Shingon sect which came to believe that the Buddha's "body, word and action make up the life of the Universe, both as a whole and in everyone of its parts."

Thus as Prof. Aneseki has demonstrated in his *Buddhist Art in its relation to Buddhist Ideals*, the whole Universe came to be considered as one vast symbol of the Divine or the Absolute, echoing thereby the Upanishad-Vedanta of India and their Chinese counter-part of Taoism. In 816 Kobo Daishi founded the grand spiritual colony on the Koyasan mountain. He himself was an artist, for several works of painting and sculpture are attributed to him. A special museum has been founded here recently and the Kokka Publishing Company has issued a volume entitled *The Art Treasures of the Koyasan Temple*. Here we notice in Japan of this period as in the history of Tibetan Buddhism an invasion of the tendencies and principles of medieval Hindu art exemplified by the Ellora and Elephanta Schools (757-900 A.D.) and of the Pala School (750-1060 A.D.). The multiplicity of arms and heads and such other features of Tantric Buddhist art of India suddenly came to disturb the pure anthropomorphism and moderation of the Japanese. Japan, however, conserved better than Buddhist China the sense of proportion and moderation. But Japan definitely ceased henceforth to be the simple "Child of the Sun." She began to grapple with the problems of metaphysics. Japanese red Fudo of Koyasan is a spiritual descendant of the titanic Indian god Siva and Saivism came to be fused with Buddhism in the Shingon sect of Japan. This has happened in earlier epochs, as we have noticed in the art and iconography of Khotan, in the Wei sculpture of China as well as in the paintings of Tun-Huang. These elements in the Heian art somewhat foreign to Japanese genius have been analysed by Prof. Eliseev. In this epoch also the influence of Sassanian Persia came via Khotan and Kuch to Japan as we notice in the figure of war-like divinities like Vaisravana or Bishamon whose historical origin has been traced by Y. Matsumotto (Kokka, February, 1930).

The celebrated literary anthology of the Heian epoch (794-1192) is the *Kokinshu* or poems, ancient and modern, collected between

905-922. Though the literature of this period mainly depicts the court and domestic life, we find therein a happy fusion of the feeling for nature with the deep moral sensibility of Buddhism. The innate classical spirit and restraint of the Japanese took shape in a series of novels: the *Ise Monogatari* (about 900 A.D.) and the *Genji Monogatari* (about 1000 A.D.) composed by Lady Murasaki. Another poetess of the Court, Sei Shonagon, composed the *Pillows-ketches* or *Makura no shoshi* where we find an exquisite blending of humour and refinement. The court atmosphere was surcharged with "love-poems, Buddhist piety and caprices of fashion." But this polite society soon came to be disturbed by the bellicose spirit of the Fujiwara clan who are mayors of the palace and who introduced a new epoch in Japanese art and culture.

The Heian period means the epoch of "peace and ease" which will soon be followed by a period of wars and tumults, symbolised as it were, by the terrific incarnations of the Fudo or Achala with an awful straight sword on one hand and a pass of rope on the other. These like most of the Japanese sculptures are either in wood or in bronze. But an exception for the first time is found in the rock-cut stone images recently discovered. China as we know borrowed long ago from India the style of carving rock-cut shrines which, however, could not be naturalised in Japan for suitable rocks were not available. But the Tang dynasty introduced the style of carving Buddhist images on the open cliffs and it was introduced into Japan in the Heian period. Such images are numerous in the province of Bungo in the island of Kyushu which was always the first to receive continental influences. The colossal Buddha figure from Fukada is marked by a rare grace and serenity.

The veteran Japanese archaeologist President K. Hamada studied these rare sculptures in detail in a special monograph published by Kyoto Imperial University, 1925 (*The Rock-cut Buddhist images in the province of Bungo*). Prof. T. Ogawa has also discussed these sculptures coming from 9th-10th century A.D. (*Kokka*, Nos. 292-93). The Japanese scholars demonstrate that the Bungo images with its free naturalistic treatment in drapery and physiognomy were offsprings of the Tang art which often came to be degraded and schematised in the late Heian epoch. The Bungo images come definitely after the style of the six dynasties of China reflected on the images of the Suiko period with almond-shaped eyes, rigid drapery

and archaic smile. The influence of the Indian caves was obvious on the grottos of the six dynasties. But in the Tang epoch there was a new kind of rock-cut temple of the Lung-men type, open in front, with rock-cut images sheltered by wooden structures. This is exactly what we find in the Bungo province of Kyushu where suitable rocks were available. Rock-cut tombs were once common in the Yamato culture of pre-Buddhistic days. Rock-cut images were temporarily in fashion but disappeared after the Kamakura period. The influence of Tang art is also visible in the temples and palaces of Kyoto and the esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai and Shingon sects added new elements in the Buddhistic and Shinto architecture. The soaring five-storied *stupa* of the Muro-oji temple signified to the Japanese devotees all the laws of the Universe. Industrial arts as well as painting flourished under great artists like Kukai, Saicho, Kawanari, Kanoaka and others who painted religious as well as secular subjects.

FLIGHT

(*A Poem*)

BEJON KUMAR SEN GUPTA, M.A.

Let us go, dear, to some lonely place,
far, far away from the din of the world,
to some place where murmur of the ripples
and song of birds in the lap of green
will soothe our fevered souls ; that will be
the right setting for us, our love, our union.
It will be a tender, pathetically tender afternoon,
and you will don a pale blue dye.
The deep calm around will melt us down
and we will hum, hum, hum to each other,
as the sea in its depths does to the corals.
Slowly the night will creep on
and hide us behind its dark tresses.
till we be lost, lost blissfully to everything.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Outside.]

sixteenth P. E. N. Congress

The Indian P. E. N. writes: The Prague Congress was a great success. More than two hundred writers from most of the free countries of the world—India, we regret, was unrepresented this year—gathered in Prague. The great Czechoslovakian playwright and writer, Karel Capek, took a lively part in the discussions. No Germans but expatriated writers participated in the proceedings.

The Congress was opened in the Prague University by the Czechoslovak Premier, Dr. Hodza, who stressed the duty of literature to promote reconciliation of spirit and said the Government of Czechoslovakia regarded it as a duty to arrange for collaboration between constructive nationalisms. Princely hospitality was extended to the delegates and guests. There was an open-air performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, a performance at the National Theatre, excursions, games, parades. Prague was *en fete*, with flags flying.

Committees of the Congress discussed children's literature, ways and means to promote good literature as against so-called popular literature, and the relation of literature to radio, films and television, which M. Georges Duhamel in his *Defence of Letters* has pointed out are imperilling the life of the book. Among the resolutions adopted was one favouring the extension of an invitation to the P. E. N. Club to participate in the International Copyright Conference which will meet in Belgium in 1939 and recommending that one P. E. N. delegate from each country should be chosen by each Government represented at that conference. Other resolutions favoured foundations to aid living writers, affirmed the writers' right to freedom from political, religious and conventional domination in the service of his art; and condemned acts of violence against writers in countries under oppressive Governments. In the discussion on the last resolution Mr. Wells spoke with feeling against the brutal expressions of racial antagonism so prevalent to-day.

Youths to Tour the World

Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Dept., A. I. C. C., has issued the following statement:—

The World Youth Tour Committee of New York is organising a four months' world tour for representative young men. One young man from every nation participating in the World Youth Tour will travel round the world, under expert leadership, to study international economic problems. The object of the tour is to establish better international relations.

The World Youth delegation is expected to visit The Hague, Berlin, London, Paris, Copenhagen, Rome, Odessa, Istanbul, Alexandria, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Tokio, Honolulu, Baranquilla and New York. Ports of call will be chosen for their economic interests and the insight they give

into the problems of the hinterland. During the tour discussions under professors of economics and expert businessmen will take place in different countries. The results of these discussions will then be systematised and placed before the International Committee.

Selection of Delegates

(1) Each National Committee will organise an essay competition. The subject of the essay is "Opening of the Trade Routes of the World." The essay should not exceed 5,000 words.

(2) The competitor should be able to speak English and must not be above 30 years of age. The Competition is open to men and to women alike.

(3) The National Committee will select one Delegate out of the many competitors. The Delegate will be selected not only on the merits of the essay that he has submitted but also for his personal qualities and co-operative spirit.

National Committee

In each participating country, a National Committee composed of professors of economics, experienced businessmen and prominent citizens is to be formed. The Committee is to—

(1) Organise the essay competition, choose the National delegates and raise a scholarship fund of between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 2,500 to be granted to the selected delegate.

(2) Arrange to receive the world delegation in private homes on its visit to the country. Visits to places of interest are to be arranged and public meetings and discussions with experts are to be organised.

Nearly 20 countries have already formed their National Committees. The tour is expected to begin in January or May, 1939.

The advantages of Indian participation in the World Youth Tour are manifold. The selected delegate will have great opportunities of bringing into the foreground, both in private discussions and on the platform and the Press of the countries he visits, problems relating to India. His tour might open new routes to Indian trade. He will simultaneously add to the world awareness of the political and economic problems facing our country and of our struggles and aspirations. At the same time, the Tour of the World Youth Delegation in our own country will be organised by the National Committee and thus opportunities will be available to acquaint the world youth with real India. In the absence of a National Committee, the Delegation, either because of a disorganised tour or because of Governmental initiative, might obtain a partly distorted picture of India.

Purdah Gallery at Allgarh University

For the first time in the history of the Muslim University girls and boys will attend classes together in the Training College.

There was a large number of applications from Muslim women to take up the B.A. Course. The University decided to admit the girls as regular students of the Training College where they will attend classes from a "purdah gallery." About a dozen girls, mostly graduates of the Muslim University, have obtained admission.

Indian Historical Congress

The working committee of the Indian History Congress has decided to hold an exhibition of art and antiquities in connexion with the forthcoming Congress.

The exhibition will be divided into six sections, namely, sculptures and terra cottas ; epigraphy, including estampages, firmans, copper plate and other inscriptions, paintings, old and new ; manuscripts and calligraphy ; and numismatics and old records.

Arrangements for holding the next session of the History Congress at Allahabad on October 9, 10 and 11 are actively in progress. Scholars and research workers in Indian history from all over India will meet at the conference and exchange views in scientific historiography. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is the president-elect of the general session, and among the sectional presidents are Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, and Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishna-swamy Iyengar.

Most of the Indian Universities and Rangoon University have already nominated their official representatives to the Congress, and nominations of representatives from various learned societies in India, most of the Provincial Governments and from several of the leading Indian States have also been received.

Allahabad University

Replying to the questionnaire issued by the Government University Committee, the Executive Council of the Allahabad University has made the following answers :—

On the question of the adoption of Hindustani as medium of instruction in the higher stages of Education in Universities, the University of Allahabad was not quite clear how Hindustani could be made the medium of instruction at the University stage. But it was indicated that there was a section of University opinion which was in favour of the use of Hindi and Urdu as media of instruction.

The Council was in favour of retaining the present system of elections to various University bodies. The system of nomination or rotation seemed to the Executive Council to be an evasion of the responsibility of election.

The Council was of opinion that heavy work that the Vice-Chancellor had to perform necessitated the appointment of a whole-time man as an honorary incumbent.

The Council thought in spite of numerous assaults the examination system had retained its position as the only effective means of testing ability.

Patna's Vice-Chancellor

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, will, at the invitation of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, attend the *Dussehra* festivities in the State in the first week of October, as the representative of the University.

He will visit Calcutta and Nagpur on his way to Mysore.

World Youth Congress

Members of the British delegation to the second World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar College, New York State, returned to London from America.

The delegates were impressed with the proceedings of the Congress at which 700 delegates from 54 countries attended and which they regarded as a tribute to the enthusiasm of young people from democratic countries for building up peace.

The delegates deplored the absence of any Nazi representatives from Germany particularly as Baldur von Schirach, the Nazi youth leader, had declared 1938 to be a year of understanding for German youth.

One of the many recommendations of the Congress was a movement to further friendship and peace throughout the world.

Miscellany

GEOPOLITIK AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE: HAUSHOFER AND HIS COLLEAGUES

In *Japan und die Japaner* by Karl Haushofer, the founder of *Geopolitik*, the social dynamics of what may be described as creative disequilibrium is to be found in the pressure of population as well as the need for more space. Professor Haushofer's geopolitical sense is not monistic, i.e., is not all obsessed by the demographic factor. So in *Japans Verdegang als Weltmacht und Empire* we find him stressing the questions of the Pacific, the Pan-Asian movement, the Far Eastern complications, the Great Malaysian problem and so forth as the leading geopolitical urges.

In the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* edited by Haushofer there is a discussion by Hesse on the German boundary on the Maas River. Volz's "German economic structure with special reference to the colonization of the Eastern districts" is another paper on German *Geopolitik*. In Burgdörfer's "Biology of Germans settled in foreign countries" as well as Waldeyer-Holtz's analysis of the question as to whether the "geographical position of Germany forbids an expansion on the sea" the students of social science will get fresh applications of the geopolitical method.

Internationalism also has its *Geopolitik*. Wüst believes that the attempts to establish artificial world-languages, Esperanto, etc. have not been successful. His judgment on the Pan Europa, Pan-Islam, League of Nations, etc., is not calculated to strengthen one's faith in the efficacy of such super-statal, nation-transcending, higher units. Geopolitically, it is not internationalism but nationalism that is based on sound foundations. Kemal Ataturk's abolition of the Caliphate is, according to Wüst's *Geopolitik*, a move in the right direction.

A geopolitical urge, well calculated to foster creative disequilibrium in the South-Asian system of inter-human relations, is to be found in the new concept of Indonesia. This is a synthetic, regions-unifying, and solidaristic category and for nearly half a generation has been governing the thoughts and activities of the men and women in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, etc., which had long been in psychological isolation from one another.

NO GEOGRAPHICAL METAPHYSICS

A large part of *Geopolitik* is given over, as a matter of course, to the problem of space *vis-à-vis* man. The manner in which space has been expanded by man on account of sub-ways, submarines, air-navigation belongs also to the fundamentals of this science. Radio as an instrument of communication between long distances is another item in the world's technical reconstruction to which *Geopolitik* invites the keen attention of researchers.

The *Geopolitiker* under the guidance of Haushofer look upon Ratzel as one of their *gurus*, masters or founders of geopolitical science. Ratzel's *Anthropogeographie* and *Politische Geographie* are quoted by them very often. But it is to be understood that the climatological determinism, naturalistic monism and one-sidedness, or geographical "interpretation"

of history and culture, such as one generally associates with Herder and Ratzel, Buckle and Bagehot, Montesquieu and Demolins, Semple and Huntington are not the leading features of *Geopolitik* as cultivated at the present moment. Nor are the researchers in *Geopolitik* interested in the opposite school which, as in the works of Vallaux and Brunhes in French, emphasise the creative rôle of man, the transformation of the geographical factors by the human energy. The metaphysical problems of one sort or other are outside the scope of *Geopolitik*. It is prepared to make use of the two conflicting theories at random according to requirements. Researchers in *Geopolitik* are not geographical metaphysicians but are fundamentally realistic in their approach to the problems of space *vis-à-vis* man. The energies, ambitions, the divine discontents, the creative disequilibria of the diverse regions and races are analyzed by them as the data of human life functioning in nature. Geopolitics is thus turning out to be a fruitful although eclectic social science. It is seeking to be serviceable as a hand-maid to practical statesmanship and applied nationalism.

SPIRITUAL DRIVES AND CREATIVE DISEQUILIBRIA OF HUMAN GROUPS

Geopolitik cannot then be described as a physical or material science, although it deals with physical or material categories like space, natural divisions, raw materials, etc. It is essentially a human science and is interested in the fundamental mental and moral energies, the spiritual ambitions of mankind. It deals with the vital urges of life, the creative impulses by which men and women in groups are enabled to transform the physical surroundings, the ecological factors, space, boundaries, soil, mountains, rivers, seas, etc., in order to construct their fatherland, nation, sphere of influence or empire.

These urges or drives, as they are called by Pareto, the Italian sociologist, may be considerations of food at one moment and blood or race affinity at another. On certain occasions the forces impelling the men and women to the transformation of their geographical position in the Earth are perhaps the consciousness of linguistic or cultural unity. Besides, the pressure of population, dynastic ambition, colonizing chauvinism, imperialistic expansion, and so forth are also to be counted among the forces such as tend to inspire men and women towards the reconstruction of the Earth's surface into states, sub-states, federal states, super-states and what not.

But whatever be the urge or drive of the hour the geopolitical sense of mankind inevitably involves a reshuffling of a people's relation with the neighbours, next-door or far-off. The boundaries of a human group, people, nation or state are the most concrete and material objects affected by it. The boundaries are always mobile, flexible and dynamic, testifying as they do to their being the natural embodiments and symptoms of creative disequilibrium. It would be unscientific to treat the frontiers of a people as coincident with the spatial boundaries as established on maps for the time being. They are essentially temporary and conditional, being dependent on the world's conjuncture. For instance, even an insular people like the British does not consider its frontiers as identical with those of the British Isles. In pre-War years Belgium used to be regarded as the boundary of the British people. To-day it is said to be Czechoslovakia.

EXPANSION OF BENGALI PEOPLE

Discussing the geopolitical considerations about Bengal, Bengali people and Bengali culture, we have to observe as follows. A study of the *Geopolitik* of Bengal would imply an investigation into the diverse moral and spiritual energies that have contributed in the past to the creation of the home of the Bengali people and are contributing to-day to the remaking of its frontiers. The change in the boundaries of Bengal and their psychological foundations are the topics of profound interest in the researches into *Geopolitik* such as may be undertaken from the standpoint of the Bengali people.

The expansion of the Bengali people from the earliest times (from the Mohen-jodaro and Vedic epochs) on is the most signal fact in the achievements of Bengali culture through the ages. This is the historic destiny of the Bengali race or races. The Bengali people and its Bengal are still in the making. For, as much of the Earth's surface as can be created, remade or transformed by the men and women of Bengali culture is Bengal. The Bengali people continues to be fluid, assimilative, dynamic. The Bengalization of numerous tribes and races in the villages, valleys, border-regions, hill-tracts and so forth is as active to-day as it ever was. There can never be any last word to the boundaries of a living, growing and expanding human group like the Bengali people.

The unification of the Bengali people under one state is the urgent need of Bengali *Geopolitik* at the present moment. The *chariveti* (march on) of the Bengali people in such a manner as to utilize the *vishva-shakti* or world forces of to-day, both Indian and extra-Indian, e.g., those of Tibet, Siam, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, etc., and establish its rôle as a creative collaborator in the Asian culture-complex is likewise another important item in the applied geopolitics of contemporary Bengal. Researchers in history, geography, anthropology, politics and the other social sciences are likely to derive immense profit from an intensive cultivation of the dynamic discipline of geopolitics as is being developed by Haushofer and his colleagues.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

ASIA AS INDUSTRIAL POWER

"The East is manufacturing at prices attuned to agricultural incomes and in so doing appears as a menace to the great manufacturing countries of the West. The outstanding social and economic problem of the Orient, seen in its world setting, is how this difficulty can be solved"—this is one of the several important pronouncements made by Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office in the course of his recently published report entitled "*Problems of Industry in the East*" recording personal impressions of social and economic conditions gathered during his tour of India, French India, Ceylon, Malaya and the Netherlands Indies in the cold weather of 1937-38.

Asia, which used to be regarded primarily as a purveyor of raw materials, the report points out, has assumed a new economic significance because of its growing industrialisation. By dint of intelligent organisation, great application to the problems of scientific management and marketing and the careful training of a well-educated people in various skilled occupations, Japan has become an industrial state of the first magnitude,

Though the pace of industrialisation has been less rapid in India, the country with its tea plantations (860,000 workers), cotton mills (436,000) jute mills (279,000), collieries (173,000), railway workshops (125,000) and engineering workshops (103,000) and its large numbers of small factories and workshops employing many millions, it is pointed out, is fast developing industrially.

Dealing comprehensively with the complex labour, social and economic problems occasioned by such rapid industrialisation, the report endeavours to assess how far the standards of protection which have been embodied in the Conventions of the I. L. O. have been and can be applied in Asian countries; the relative efficiency of Eastern as compared with Western labour; the factor determining real and normal wages; and how far trade unionism or other influences are tending to raise the wage levels and improve the conditions of employment in Asia.

Reviewing labour standards in India, the report, points out that the conditions prevailing in large scale industry do not compare unfavourably with those in many European countries and that, except in respect of wages, employment conditions are in reasonable correspondence with the stage of industrial development reached by the country. Conditions in small factories and unregulated workshops, it is however held, leave much to be desired in respect of health, sanitation, lighting, ventilation, safety, etc. The report makes a forceful plea for the further reduction of hours in large and small scale factories and points out that a shorter period of more intensive work is more profitable from both the employers' and workers' points of view.

Discussing industrial unrest in India, the report while conceding that but for the reformist legislation of recent years the situation would have been more acute, emphasises that a peaceful atmosphere in factories cannot be ensured solely through the agency of law, and puts in a strong plea for development of trade unionism. Incidentally, Director Butler pays a tribute to the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, the joint conciliation and arbitration machinery devised by which under Mahatma Gandhi's advice has prevented serious strikes in Ahmedabad during the last 15 years.

Directing attention to the fact that the labour co-efficient in the Tata Steel Works, for example, is 75 per cent. of European or American efficiency, the report challenges the accusation of inherent industrial inefficiency often made about the Indian workers, and asserts that efficiency is largely determined by a combination of the factors of poverty, ill-health and illiteracy.

Discussing the conditions of agricultural workers and their low standard of living, the report points out that, while in Europe it is generally held that a square mile of land cannot sustain more than 250 persons, in India large agricultural districts contain over 600 persons per square mile. Such pressure of population lowers agricultural wages and this in its turn tends to depress industrial wages. The report takes the position that while the problem of improvement of living standards can be approached from a number of angles, underlying them all, specially in India, is the need for education in its broadest sense.

Finally, pointing out that the total value of international trade carried on by the 1,000 million inhabitants of the East is not appreciably greater than that of Great Britain with less than 50 millions, Director Butler asserts that for the adequate social and economic development of Asia it is essential that the regions should be further industrialised and that

the countries of the West should reconcile themselves to assigning to Asia a greater share of international trade. To discuss these and related problems the report urges that an Asian Labour Conference should be convened at an early date under the auspices of I. L. O.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

CONFLICTING POLICIES OF CENTRAL BANKS

If we compare the returns of various central banks for about the end of April with those of a year earlier we find some sharply contrasting movements. In the past year (1937) a number of countries have found their international position strengthened by the attainment or maintenance of a surplus on their balances of current receipts and outgoings, for merchandise services and interest. Their "international assets" have increased, but the noteworthy fact is that the proportion in which these increases have been taken in gold or in foreign exchange show wide variation, even among countries often regarded as closely associated. Thus, for example, the central banks of Denmark and Finland have been satisfied with a growth in their holdings of foreign exchange, scarcely any of which has been converted into gold; on the other hand, Norway and Sweden on a larger scale have converted a part of their added foreign exchange assets into gold; the Swedish Riksbank, moreover, has taken home a considerable amount of the gold which it formerly held abroad. Again, the central banks of Latvia and Estonia have received accessions to their foreign exchange assets while their gold holdings have remained stable; but Lithuania, with no appreciable change in the total and presumably, therefore, no net surplus on her current account, has converted some "Devisen" into gold. The same procedure of simple conversion has been followed by Poland, while Czechoslovakia, with substantial increase in her international assets, has taken a part of it in gold. Among far distant primary producing countries, whose balance of payments may now perhaps be running for the time being, on a deficit, India's central bank shows a heavy loss of sterling exchange over the year, with no change in her gold stock. Argentina, whose monetary affairs have been affected by complex influences on both current and capital account, took home last autumn a large amount of gold previously held in London, but over the year to April her holdings of external assets have heavily declined.

Turning now to two countries, Holland and Switzerland, whose monetary position has been dominated by capital movements rather than by current account operations, we find another striking contrast. In Holland a plethora of money has developed, mainly because of the repatriation of Dutch-owned funds. The resultant inflow of international assets to the Netherlands Bank appears to have been wholly embodied in gold, and practically all of it has been physically moved to Holland. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the plethora of funds has been due largely, perhaps mainly, to an inflow of foreign-owned money, and while the gold stock of the National bank has grown almost continuously, there has also been a big increase in its holdings of foreign exchange, the growth in this term having been concentrated in the second half of last year, that is the period after the "gold scare." Moreover, again in contrast to Holland, a large part of the additional gold acquired by the Swiss National Bank has been placed abroad, to be held under earmark.

The inferences to be drawn from these diverse procedures of central banks are clear. First, it is evident that the gold movements have had no "normal" or "automatic" association with changes in the external relations of individual countries with the rest of the world on current account. A surplus on current account may or may not increase the country's gold stock, and—we may add, on the basis of past experience—a deficit does ordinarily diminish the gold stock until the stock of foreign exchange has been nearly exhausted. Secondly, if there seems to be a closer association between gold movements and capital movements the recent experience of Belgium, which has lately lost gold, and of France since September, 1936 would lend colour to this appearance—that is only because capital movements are so much more powerful and erratic than current account factors that they cannot always be dealt with solely by drawing upon foreign exchange assets.—*Midland Bank Monthly Review*.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

FORESTRY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN RUMANIA

Twenty-two per cent. of the total area of Rumania is forest land, and the timber industry occupies a third place in the productive activities of the country. These facts explain the importance attached to forestry in the national economy. From the social point of view forestry plays an important rôle in providing the population of the mountainous districts with a livelihood.

The Rumanian forestry co-operative movement does not consist of associations of small owners of forest land; it is a workers' movement, whose object is in some cases to meet the timber requirements of its members and in others to provide them with a supplementary source of income.

The Rumanian forestry co-operative societies may be classified under three main heads:

(a) *Supply co-operative societies* consisting for the most part of inhabitants of the plains grouped together for the purpose of securing supplies of timber at a low price by working small forest areas in the neighbourhood;

(b) *Forestry co-operative societies without mechanical equipment*, which are more numerous, and which, owing to the lack of adequate equipment, engage solely in the rough working up of timber and its sale on the national market;

(c) *Forestry co-operative societies with mechanical equipment*, whose economic activity greatly exceeds that of the first two categories. These societies own factories for the working up of timber for building purposes, and in many cases tens of miles of narrow gauge railway line and rolling stock depots, locomotives and subsidiary buildings. Some of these societies engage chiefly in the export trade.

The two last-mentioned categories of forestry co-operative society are composed of inhabitants of the wooded mountainous districts. In some cases they include, besides workers, a few trained specialists who are responsible for the rational organisation of the business. Sometimes the affiliation of village co-operative societies is also admitted.

The development of forestry co-operative societies of these two types has been facilitated chiefly by a series of legislative measures, adopted

together with the agrarian reform policy which placed the peasants living in the plains in possession of small parcels of land. For the mountain population the intervention of the State assumed two forms:

(1) the provision, at low prices, of the wood needed for fuel and building purposes;

(2) the granting of facilities for the purchase of forest land and for its development by co-operative methods.

The Legislative Decree of 1918 concerning the sale of the State forests to co-operative societies provided that certain advantages (the right to sell by private agreement instead of by auction, facilities as regards the giving of security, the reduction of the price by 5% in case of sale by auction) should be granted to the inhabitants of the mountainous districts, on condition that they organised themselves on a co-operative basis.

This Legislative Decree appears to have attained its purpose of improving the lot of the mountain population and stimulating the formation of forestry co-operative societies among the workers. Whereas forestry co-operative societies had previously been formed solely with a view to providing their members with unworked timber, the period following the promulgation of the Legislative Decree witnessed the creation, by the workers, of real co-operative marketing undertakings.

The following table shows the difference between the situation as it was before the war and as it was in 1935:

1. Year	1912*	1935
2. Number of co-operatives	143	206
3. Number of members	8,200	24,800
4. Capital and reserves	40.5 (34.9+5.6)	151.9 (in millions) (59.5+92.4) of lei
5. Credit	58.5	163.8 do.
6. Production	14.9	119.4 do.
7. Buildings and equipment	6.0	69.5 do.
8. Balance sheet totals	102.2	388.7

(* Gold lei transformed into paper lei at the rate of stabilisation.)

The figures contained in this table relate only to those co-operative societies which supplied data. There are, in reality, about 250 societies, with a total membership of about 28,000. Thirty-one societies own works for the manufacture of building timber, with a total of 80 saw-mills and 150 kilometers of narrow-gauge track.

The state assists these co-operative societies through tax exemption and other forms of preferential treatment, and by prescribing simplified procedure for the recovery of loans.

The co-operative societies are exempt from stamp and other duties on their articles of foundation, registration dues, stamp duties on legal documents concerning transactions with their members, and all dues and charges connected with legal proceedings. The agricultural tax is reduced by 25%, dues for the legalisation of the accounts by 25%, and water charges for the floating of timber by 75%. Employers' contributions to the Central Insurance Fund are reduced by 50%. Forestry co-operative societies engaging solely in the supply of wood to their members are exempted from

the business turnover tax during the first three years of their activity, and pay only one-half of the normal tax during the three following years.

Forestry co-operative societies are given preference as regards the supply of timber to public welfare and other institutions and charitable institutions, even if their prices are 5% higher than those of private undertakings. They also receive preferential treatment in connection with the sale or concession of forests if their offers are not more than 10% lower than those of competing private undertakings or persons.

As regards the recovery of their loans, forestry co-operative societies enjoy the same privileges as public institutions.

The following system of surplus distribution has been adopted by the societies:

Ten per cent. of the surplus is placed in a reserve fund, 5% is devoted to co-operative institutions or to propaganda, 2% to the improvement of the land and re-afforestation, and 12% (maximum) to the remuneration of the board of directors, auditors and employees. From the remainder, interest is paid on paid-up capital, a maximum rate being fixed annually by the Central Co-operative Bank, and the balance is distributed among the members in proportion to their contributions to the work of the society or in proportion to the value of their purchases from it.

The forestry co-operative societies of Rumania have done much through their existence—in some cases dating back for as long as half a century—and through their vigorous growth since the promulgation of the Legislative Decree of 1918. to improve the material and moral living conditions of the population among whom they work. There is hardly a village in the mountain districts where they have not erected or repaired a school, a church, or a building for some charitable purpose.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE CONSTITUTION OF FASCIST ITALY

The list of 400 candidates is chosen by the Fascist Grand Council from three or four times as many names which have been submitted to them by Fascist Confederations all over the country. This list is the only one. It is headed by Mussolini and the rest come in alphabetical order.

At the last elections (1934) there were 10,526,504 registered voters, and 10,045,477 turned out to vote, all but 15,201 of them in favour of the list. There were 1,300 invalid papers. As the Deputies are elected for five years, there should be another election next year; but it is very doubtful, because the *Duce* explained at the last election that it was only being carried out because there had not been sufficient time to establish the "corporate" institutions.

Once assembled, the Chamber has the functions of a confirming body. It is not privileged to hear major pronouncements of national policy, which are given before the Fascist Grand Council. It is required to pass the Budget and a sheaf of other Bills which have, as a rule, already taken effect, and it deals with them in batches. The Deputies get 2,000 liras a

month and free railway tickets; a free buffet is maintained for them while the Chamber is sitting.

There is more life in the Senate, and the title of Senator still carries weight. But it cannot initiate legislation, and the disabilities of any Upper House cripple it. Senators are appointed for life by the King on the advice of the *Duce*. They must be over forty, prominent in some phase of national life, and taxpayers to the extent of at least 3,000 liras annually. As all appointments since 1922 have been Mussolini's, the Senate is about 95 per cent. Fascist.

The two bodies which have made preatest inroads into Parliament's powers are the National Council of Corporations and the Fascist Grand Council.

The National Council was set up in 1926, and took its present form in 1930, after modifications in 1927. It is made up of representatives of the twenty-two corporations and the nine syndical confederations (employer's and worker's bodies) which control the national economy. In addition, there are specialists in syndical organisation and corporative law designated by the Minister of Corporations, the Ministers of the various departments into which corporate life extends, and the *Duce*, who is the *ex-officio* president.

On the political side, the Fascist Grand Council, set up in 1923, exercises similar functions. Here, again, Mussolini summoned up the situation in November, 1933, as follows:

"When the Grand Council was set up, it may have seemed to superficial observers that just one other institute had been founded. No! On that day political liberalism was buried."

The Grand Council is the supreme co-ordinating organisation of the regime, and meets when its president, the *Duce*, deems it necessary. It has deliberative functions and can "give advice." Its meetings are secret and as there are only twenty-seven members, the proceedings are, in fact, secret. But it has some special powers. Its advice must be sought on all constitutional questions, which include the succession to the throne and the prerogatives of the Crown, the prerogatives of the *Duce*, the right of the executive to issue rules having force of law, syndical and corporate organisations, relations between Italy and the Holy See, and international treaties when they entail territorial modifications or renunciations of the acquisition of territory.

The Grand Council's rôle is particularly important in foreign affairs. The *Duce* has consulted it on every major foreign problem—disarmament, Ethiopia, the empire, leaving the League, and the British negotiations. The Council's decisions are communicated to the public, but not its debates.

The Chamber of Fascist Corporations, which is likely to be formed in the near future, as promised in November, 1934, must obviously be based on the existing and functioning organs.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Italian Studies. Dr. P. N. Roy, M.A., D.Litt.

The booklet under review consists of five articles which had already appeared in various monthly magazines. It deals with modern Italian culture, including modern Italian poetry, modern Italian ideology, and modern Italian politics. Dr. Roy is a devoted student of the subject, and his studies have led him to admire the country and its present culture. To be more precise, it is "classical culture"—the "noble classical culture"—in which he is a firm believer, and he will not stand any nonsense from romanticism and futurism. It is this which leads him to a partial admiration of Papini, to extol only the part the Italian writer had played earlier in his career, and agreeing (too often, the reader would exclaim) with the critic Cumillo, to reject the "maturity" of romanticism in the Italian artist. Dr. Roy is qualified for his work because he brings to it an enthusiasm not spoilt by his intimate knowledge of the country and the people, and he fully appreciates "the deeper spiritual life in Italy" and its attempt to re-establish in the world "its onetime imperialism of the spirit."

But, while feeling thankful to Dr. Roy for having initiated in our country a study of Italian culture at first hand, it is difficult not to feel that he holds partisan views which colour his judgment on literature and politics—in short, on culture. He would urge the Indian leaders to look up to Italy for guidance, to discard once for all the old and effete parliamentary system of government which can only lead to further discord and unhappiness in India, to learn from Fascist Italy lessons on discipline, unity, authority, strength. No doubt there are many in our country who will agree with Dr. Roy in his diagnosis and some will support him in the remedy prescribed. The poor reviewer can only interpose that there are ideas of "discipline, unity, authority, strength" other than in the fascist sense, and while there can be no two opinions on the subject that strength is the all-important national commodity that we want, its nature must be still open to question,—specially when we see it in many aspects round and about us.

Life's Shadows. By Kumara Guru. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1938. Price Rs. 2

There are shadow and sunshine in man's life—periods of brightness and gloom—each attractive in its own way. Of these the author has preferred gloom, not because he is of a sensitive temperament but because he is troubled about the shadow that has come over the Indian mind due to the conflict of ideals at the present moment. Indian tradition has been touched to the quick by the alien influence, and the most sacred ties,—those of brother, husband, son and friend,—are in imminent risk of being cruelly snapped asunder. The author, instead of discoursing on the subject through the essay form, has chosen to depict the situation by means of short stories, the main episode in each of them being the severance of such a sacred relationship,

and the misery it entails. He has thus critically examined the western influence in Hindu family life, and found it to be sapping the vital interests of the race. The *yuga-dharma* is strong, and our preference for the tradition is swept aside by the onrush of the coming forces. What remedy can the thinker prescribe for coping with the situation? It may be that the skilful diagnosis of the evil is by itself no mean achievement, and Kumara Guru's thoughtful analysis deserves all the credit that is its due.

The book is full of shrewd observations and we may confidently declare it will be fully appreciated on perusal by every thoughtful reader interested in the country's welfare and in the ultimate values of certain ideas.

Sakuntala. Prepared for the English stage by Kedar Nath Das Gupta in a new version written by Laurence Binyon, with an introductory essay by Rabindranath Tagore. Price Rs. 2. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1937.

This is a reprint of what had appeared in 1920 and the discussion of Kalidas's drama englished by a poet like Laurence Binyon, specially when it is a reprint, is of doubtful propriety. It is a treat to read it in its English garb, and the exotic air is carefully removed by the critic's excision, the poet's appreciation, and the player's adaptation. The *nāṇḍi* and the *bharata-vākya* are necessarily absent, but the reader does not miss them; he floats on along the current of music and poesy set forth by the great poet of India at least fifteen hundred years ago.

The introductory essay written originally in Bengali by Rabindranath explaining the inner significance of the play—that the permanence of beauty is due to its restraint or spiritual element—was translated into English by Professor Jadunath Sarkar; this will be appreciated by the reader, specially one who is not familiar with the Indian tradition.

Bangala Sahityer Navayug. Sasibhushan Dasgupta, M.A., P.R.S. Published by the Rasachakra Sahitya Sansad, 21-A, Raja Basanta Ray Road, Calcutta, 1938. Rs. 2.

This is an attempt to survey the new literature in Bengal that has grown up since the day when Bankimchandra preferred Bengali as his medium. The writer has, rightly for his purpose, concentrated on the most prominent literary men of the age,—Bankimchandra and Madhusudan, Dinabandhu and Hemchandra, Nabinchandra and Girish Ghose, Bihari Lal, Rabindranath and Saratchandra. These stalwarts had shaped the thought as well as moulded the form of the writing of other and lesser writers, though it is no doubt equally true to hold that they were themselves fashioned by the time-spirit.

There is a distinct emotional vein in the writer's dissertations, but that need not vitiate his findings, and we are sure it does not, in the present instance, though 'Modernity' is too cynical to trust to emotion. In his preferences for certain writers Mr. Dasgupta is not radical enough to exclude Hemchandra and Nabinchandra from his range, and he has thus made himself an object of attack from a section of the rising generation; but it is difficult to see how he could withhold his praise for the well-knit framework

of Hemchandra's epic, or from the stirring appeal of Nabinchandra's lyric. He has justified the claims of Nabinchandra to be considered a poet by the choice of an adequately poetic theme, and he has explained the poet's lack of excellence as due to his want of harmony and consistency, the presence of which would have made his great gifts more appreciated by the public. The background of universalism and the new connotation of literary terms and other essential features of the new art have been dwelt upon by the writer occasionally in course of his essays.

It is easy to detect that Mr. Dasgupta's interest lies in the philosophical treatment of literature, and he has successfully brought out Bankimchandra's viewpoint *re* the question of art *versus* morality, the new orientation that Vaishnavism has received in the modern age, the significance of the introduction of tragedy to the Indian reader. These will be no doubt read with great interest, and if there is disagreement in the matter of views, it can be confidently expected that they will provoke thought; and that would be no mean achievement.

The author is evidently in love with his subject, and this fact ensures a graceful, pleasant style capable of treating the new ideas with which he deals; though occasional misprints are a disadvantage. The book should prove a welcome addition to the critical literature in modern Bengali.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

"Psychology and Principles of Education". By Anjilvel V. Matthew, Lecturer in Education and Psychology, Kolhapur Training College. Published by the Arya Bhanu Press, Kolhapur. 355 pages. Price Rs. 3-12.

Educational Psychology is generally looked upon as a very dreadful and abstract subject especially by those among the Training College students who have no grounding in General Psychology. But on a careful perusal of the book by Mr. A. V. Matthew I have no hesitation in saying that it stands in a class apart from the common run of text books on the subject. Admittedly, the work does not belong to the scanty "Note-book series" which must needs be popular. Mr. Matthew's "Principles of Education" does not bid fair to be popular in that sense but it is destined, by virtue of its intrinsic merit, to be appreciated by our student-teachers. It gives a fresh and illuminating treatment of all the fundamental topics in such a way as to stimulate the interest of the readers and encourage them to go beyond the bare rudiments of theoretical principles in Education. It draws freely upon the scholarly treatises of the modern educational psychologists like Nunn, McDougall, Drever, Ragadale, Shand and the like, and it successfully tackles the intricate problems and controversies relating to the fundamental topics of Educational Psychology.

"Principles of Education" derive their materials not only from Psychology but from Biology, Sociology, Anthropology and such other allied sciences. All this has been kept in view by the author though the psychological approach to the subject has been made predominant and the treatise may thus be said to have justified its title.

The present volume has grown out of the lectures the author delivers to his students. As such it is planned and executed with an eye to the needs of the students of all our Training institutions. It is concise, informative and what strikes us most is this that it is 'non-technical', and as such will be of immense benefit to the students of education as well as to the general readers alike.

KAMALAKANTA MOOKERJEE

Practical Organic Chemistry. By A. J. Mee. Double crown 16mo ; 284 pages. Published by Macmillan & Co. Price 5 shillings.

Beginners in organic chemistry will find this little book very useful in the preparation of simple organic compounds and studying their reactions. The diagrams are neat and the methods suggested concise and to the point. The short introductory chapter on the methods of preparative organic chemistry contains all the information which a beginner in organic chemistry ought to possess.

P. C. MITTER

Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages. Translated from the Portuguese original of Monsignor S. Rodolfo Dalgado. By Professor Anthony Xavier Soares of Baroda College and published by Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936. The work is the Vol. LXXIV of Gaekwad's Oriental Series, pp. i-cxxv, 1-520. Price Rs. 12.

Monsignor S. Rodolfo Dalgado's *Influencia do Vocabulario Portugues em Linguas Asiaticas* was published by the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon in 1913. It was at once hailed as a very valuable contribution to Indian Linguistics. Barring English, Portuguese is the only European language that profoundly influenced the vocabularies of modern Indian languages. An exhaustive study of the Portuguese words that crept into these languages, therefore, had been a desideratum. Dalgado's masterpiece did full justice to the subject ; but being written in Portuguese it has been so long more or less inaccessible, and most of the Indian scholars could not utilize it to the fullest extent.

By making this English translation Professor Soares has rendered a great service to the cause of modern Indian Linguistics. The work under review, we hope, will be a welcome addition to the library of every serious student of modern Indian languages.

SUKUMAR SEN

Ourselfes

[I. The Late Professor J. R. Banerjee.—II. Welcome to the New Vice-Chancellor.—III. Doctorate for Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.—IV. Our Representatives on the Council of the Imperial Library.—V. Our Representative on the Provincial Text-book Committee.—VI. Mr. R. Wolefnden Retires from the Syndicate.—VII. A New Fellow.—VIII. Mr. K. K. Bhattacharyya.—IX. A New D.Sc.—X. Mr. Nripendranath Chatterjee.]

I. THE LATE PROFESSOR J. R. BANERJEE

By the death of Professor J. R. Banerjee Bengal has lost one of her leading educationists and a teacher renowned for his eloquence and powers of exposition.

The late Mr. Banerjee had a distinguished academic record. He graduated from the General Assembly's Institution in 1889 with first class Honours in English and Philosophy, standing first in English. He was offered a Government Scholarship for higher studies abroad but he could not accept it owing to his father's ill-health. He took his M.A. Degree at the age of nineteen, standing first in first class in Philosophy. Soon after he obtained a professorship at the General Assembly's Institution, which he served for two years. He joined the Metropolitan College at the end of this period and was associated with it for forty years as professor, vice-principal and principal, retiring in 1934. At the time of his death he was teaching at the Ripon College as a professor of English.

Since 1911 he had been connected with the Post-Graduate Department of our University as a Lecturer in Philosophy. He was besides a Fellow of the University for 25 years and a member of the Syndicate for a long time. He was also for a term the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Mr. Banerjee was a leader of the Indian Christian community and was connected with various Christian organisations. He had represented his community on the Calcutta Corporation, having been nominated a Councillor of the Corporation. Mr. Banerjee was 67 years and a few months at the time of his death, which took place at his residence in Calcutta on the 6th September last, following an attack of influenza. He is survived by his widow, three sons and a daughter to whom we offer our sincere condolences.

A reference was made to the death of Mr. Banerjee at the meeting of the Senate held on September 10, 1938.

* * *

II. WELCOME TO THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR

At the meeting of the Senate held on the 10th September, several speeches were made, welcoming the new Vice-Chancellor and recalling the tradition of the University of which he had now become the appointed guardian.

Mr. S. P. Mookerjee was the first to speak. He said that Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Huque had very good means of becoming acquainted with the activities of the University and the educational needs of the province as Fellow of the University and as Minister of Education in the last Cabinet. It was during the time that he was Minister that the conditions attached to the Government grant enjoyed by the University were revised. The grant was still inadequate but it must be admitted that the terms and conditions under which it was made had been suitably altered through his active support and the sympathy of the then Vice-Chancellor of the University.

"You are," Mr. Mookerjee said, "the second Mohammedan to occupy the office of the Vice-Chancellor of this University. It makes no difference to the University whether the holder of this office is a Hindu or a Mohammedan or a Christian so long as he protects the legitimate rights and privileges of the University.

"We recall with pleasure that during the term of office of the first Mohammedan Vice-Chancellor, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, an atmosphere of peace and goodwill was established between the Government and the University, which, I believe, will be continued during the term of your office. The University of Calcutta is an institution which is loved by our countrymen. They are proud of its achievements.

"Although our written constitution is old-fashioned and rusty, this University more than any other Indian University has zealously fought for the maintenance of its integrity and independence.

"In your efforts to further the activities of the University as a seat of learning and to uphold and maintain the sacred traditions of your office, you may rest assured of our willing and spontaneous co-operation."

Mr. Justice Biswas said that there were misgivings in some quarters that the duties of the Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and those of the Vice-Chancellor might not possibly be reconciled. It might be that the activities of the University would come in for criticism on the floor of the Legislative Assembly and as the

Speaker of the House, Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Huque would have to sit in judgment over the speeches made in the House. He would take it that those who were responsible for his appointment as Vice-Chancellor felt that by placing him in that office they were ensuring the shaping of the policy of the University in such a manner that there would be no occasion for any adverse criticism on the floor of the Assembly. He trusted that this hope would be realised, for it was in the best interest of the University and the Government that the relations between the two bodies should be one of utmost cordiality.

Among those who welcomed the new Vice-Chancellor with their speeches were Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Rev. Allen Cameron, Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, and Mr. Pulin Behary Mullick.

Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul Huque replied to the welcome speeches by saying: "There is no doubt about the fact that one who is a graduate of this University is justly proud of its position and I can assure you that I shall work constantly keeping in view the interests of the University, its academic status and its integrity.

"It shall be my constant endeavour to feel within myself that I have a duty not merely to the University but to the educated people of this province.

"On behalf of the University of Calcutta I can also assure the University of Dacca, whose Vice-Chancellor is present here as a Fellow of this University, that I shall always maintain the best and cordial feelings as we have done in the past.

"I thank you for your very kind and encouraging words of co-operation and I can assure you that I shall always work up to the ideal which has been kept in view by the great Vice-Chancellors who adorned this Chair in the past."

III. DOCTORATE FOR MR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

The Senate at its meeting held on the 10th September last, unanimously resolved to confer *Honoris Causa* the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., Ex-Vice-Chancellor, as he was, in its opinion, "by reason of eminent position and attainments, a fit and proper person to receive such a degree."

* * *

IV. OUR REPRESENTATIVES ON THE COUNCIL OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., and Professor M. Z. Siddiqui, M.A., PH.D., (Cantab), have been appointed members of the Council of the Imperial Library for term of three years with effect from the 1st August, 1938.

V. OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE PROVINCIAL TEXT-BOOK COMMITTEE

Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., Secretary, Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science, has been re-appointed to serve as the University's representative on the Provincial Text-book Committee on the expiry of his term of office on the 31st August, 1938.

VI. MR. R. WOLFFENDEN RETIRES FROM THE SYNDICATE

Mr. R. Wolfenden has resigned from the Syndicate as he is shortly going on leave preparatory to retirement. He represented the Faculty of Engineering on the Syndicate, of which he was the Dean last year. He was the President of the Board of Studies in Engineering. The Syndicate placed on record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the University particularly in the shape of wise decisions relating to the courses of study in Engineering.

VII. A NEW FELLOW

Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, B.A., O.I.E., has been appointed an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Maulvi A. F. M. Abdul Kadir, resigned. He has been attached to the Faculty of Arts:

VIII. MR. K. K. BHATTACHARYYA

Mr. K. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A., LL.M. (Lond.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, Reader, Allahabad University, will deliver a course of six lectures on the 'Indian States and the Federation' as an Honorary Extension Lecturer of this University. The dates of the lectures will be notified to the public in due time.

* * *

IX. A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Ranjit Ghose, M.Sc., will be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science of this University at the next Convocation. His thesis which has been adjudged worthy of the honour is in three parts—(1) On the Synthesis of Jaborandi Alkaloids, (2) Studies in Phenanthrene and (3) A New Synthesis of Carmic Acids.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Ghose.

* * *

X. MR. NRIPENDRANATH CHATTERJEE

Mr. Nripendranath Chatterjee, M.A., who was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in literary subjects for the year 1935, has submitted his final report and will be awarded the Mouat Medal at the Convocation to be held next year.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



The Late Dr. S. C. Bagchi, B.A., LL.B., LL.D., Barrister-at-law.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1938

BENGAL GOVERNMENT AND AGRICULTURE : ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.
Calcutta University

THE problem of improving cattle is daily growing more insistent. Local breeds are both poor plough cattle and poor milkers. The result is that we have to import the better class of cattle from other provinces.

It has been stated authoritatively that Bengal spends annually Rs. three crores for the purchase of cattle and also that the economic value of cattle to this province is Rs. 200 crores annually. This province is suffering economic loss in three ways: first, by the purchase of milk products from outside Bengal; secondly by the purchase of cattle also from outside Bengal; and thirdly, by its almost universal inability to use improved ploughs on account of the poor physique of its draft animals.

Improvement in stock can be expected only from scientific breeding, the beginnings of which were made by the Agriculture Département. In 1933-34, there were 15 bulls in the different Government district farms for stud purposes. 67 bulls were issued for a similar purpose. There were only 2 Live-Stock officers, one at Rajshahi who supervised 160 bulls and issued 2½ lakhs of Napier grass cuttings in the Rajshahi and Malda districts, and the other at Chinsurah who

supervised 118 bulls in Nadia and Hooghly districts and issued 2½ lakhs of Napier grass cuttings. These two officers spent most of their time with cultivators in the villages and gave expert advice on animal husbandry, dairying, growing of fodder and mixed crops. As compared with the other districts, we find that only in the four districts supervised by these two officers had any appreciable advance been made in animal husbandry and the growing of fodder crops.

The Agriculture Department had all along realised the very important part destined to be played by better cattle in the introduction of improved agricultural methods but its hands had been tied by want of funds. As a result of careful investigations, it has been found that every year Bengal was spending no less a sum than Rs. 50 lakhs for importing bullocks from outside and also that this method of meeting the needs of the province in spite of its costliness to the poor cultivators had not yielded satisfactory results. As soon as the first grant for rural uplift had been received from the Government of India, a part of it was earmarked for the initiation of an All-Bengal scheme for animal husbandry and improvement of fodder supply. The first definite step in this direction was taken in 1935 when arrangements were made for the appointment of part of the staff required for the purpose. In the first instance, ten out of the 27 districts of Bengal have been selected for an intensive campaign for improving the cattle. Only ten districts have been selected because want of means does not allow the distribution of free bulls in all the 27 districts of Bengal, and also, because it is not possible at present to meet the cost of maintaining a staff to supervise the animals and to castrate the scrub bulls in all of them. It has, therefore, been decided that in order to obtain more satisfactory results, the bulls available should, as far as possible, be concentrated in those selected districts. This may, therefore, be regarded as the first methodical beginning to improve the live-stock in Bengal. It is hoped that it may be possible to take up similar work in the other districts of Bengal when subsequent grants are received from the central government.

The scheme as put into operation aims at encouraging the maintenance of better stock by the peasantry of this province by the free supply of the best bulls procurable for breeding purposes, by teaching the cultivators to rear only the best stock for a similar purpose, by castrating scrub bulls as a preventive against the breeding of bad stock and by inducing the people to grow larger quantities, and

improved, varieties of fodder crops by feeding all good animals properly, giving them the kind and amount of food which would keep them in health and vigour, by demonstrating to the agriculturists the desirability of keeping only the number of cattle which they are in a position to feed properly and by more efficient handling and utilisation of manure.

With a view to achieving the above results, Government, in the first instance, increased the number of officers of the animal husbandry department. As stated already, formerly there were only two such officers, one of whom had charge of the two districts Rajshahi and Malda and the other of Nadia and Hooghly. With effect from the 1st May, 1935, three additional officers were appointed. These five Live-Stock officers were posted to five centres, each being in charge of two neighbouring districts, *e.g.*, Nadia-Murshidabad, Dacca-Faridpur, Tippera-Noakhali, Rajshahi-Malda and Hooghly-Bankura. With effect from the 1st April, 1936, ten assistant Live Stock officers were appointed, each being in charge of one of the ten districts mentioned above.

The work entrusted to these officers consists of giving advice on animal husbandry and dairying, distribution of Napier grass cuttings, propaganda for growing improved fodder crops and for more rational feeding of cattle and practical demonstration in the preservation of fodder silage. The selection of trustworthy cultivators who would keep the bulls free took up much of the time and energy of the Live-Stock officers while their assistants had to look after the distribution and supervision of these animals when they became available. As no appreciable improvement in our live-stock can be looked for till breeding by stunted and unhealthy scrub bulls is stopped, an important work conducted by the Live-Stock officers and their assistants consisted in intensive propaganda to convince the peasantry of the necessity of improving their stock by the elimination of scrub bulls. As a result of this campaign carried on in 1935-36 in the interior of the ten districts mentioned previously, about 14,000 scrub bulls were castrated last year, though here and there some opposition was encountered from ignorant people. With the same end in view, *viz.*, the improvement of stock, the officers of this department organise cattle and poultry shows, bull shows, exhibitions, etc. and also deliver lantern lectures to teach the people the necessity of using good bulls for breeding purposes, etc.

In spite of the fact that there are at present five Live Stock officers and ten assistant Live Stock officers in the ten districts where intensive work in the improvement of cattle is sought to be concentrated, the writer feels that the staff employed is inadequate. In addition to the other work which engages their attention, we are told that very often District Magistrates and Chairmen of District Boards requisition their services for giving lectures to cultivators and doing other kinds of propaganda work. As stated already, the cattle population of Bengal numbers approximately 33 millions and surely 15 officers in all is too small a number to be able to make any appreciable impression in the work of convincing the owners of even a third of them as to the desirability of improving the animals. We have also to remember that this work from its all-Bengal aspect could be greatly accelerated if such officers were appointed for all the 27 districts. No one can deny that some bulls which came up to the standard demanded by the Agriculture Department are to be found in those districts which have not as yet come under the operation of this scheme. If these districts are provided with Live-Stock officers, they can supervise the animals, and even more so if encouragement is given to the owners by the system of offering premiums as has been the case in the ten districts mentioned more than once already.

It is further found that even in these specially selected districts, the work of the officers in question is greatly hampered by want of adequate funds which hinders proper supervision of bulls and propaganda which are contingent on adequate allotment for meeting travelling expenses. For instance, we find that in the year 1935-36, the five Live-Stock officers toured on the average 129 days and in the year 1936-37, they toured on the average 165 days only. Surely in view of the expensive arrangements made for cattle improvement in this province, it is not wise to do anything which has the effect of curtailing the activities of the supervising officers.

In the opinion of the writer it is desirable that there should be at least one Live-Stock Officer in every district of Bengal and an Assistant Live-Stock Officer in each sub-division. Their efforts should be unremittingly directed towards the carrying out of the policy laid down by the Agriculture Department. This should be done even in districts where the free distribution of bulls has not as yet come into operation. In addition to this, there ought to be a properly qualified and efficient publicity officer provided

with a loud speaker and a cinema whose only duty should be to attend all cattle fairs and exhibitions and, if possible, also agricultural exhibitions which are being organised in different parts of Bengal, in order to carry on propaganda work. The writer feels confident that if his suggestions are accepted and given effect to, the work of cattle improvement would not only be expedited but also that within a few years we would see Bengal exporting dairy produce and cattle instead of importing them from other provinces as done at present.

The appointment of the additional staff in the animal husbandry department referred to above was followed by the free distribution of 1,000 pure bred good Haryana bulls in the ten districts mentioned previously at the rate of 100 bulls per district. Suitable people who were willing to keep the bulls at their own expense had been selected by the officers and the bulls were distributed among them. In order that these expensive animals might not suffer from want of proper food in adequate quantities, 35 lakhs of Napier grass cuttings were distributed among those who had agreed to keep the bulls. It has been proposed to distribute about double the number in succeeding years.

Formerly the Agriculture Department allotted Rs. 120 per annum to owners of approved bulls. In 1935-36, the premium was reduced to Rs. 60 per annum, probably because Government was desirous of assisting a larger number of owners of bulls without being compelled to increase the grant under this head. It has been stated authoritatively that of late the Agriculture Department was receiving more applications than could be granted out of the sum placed at its disposal for this purpose. This competition would naturally have the effect of raising the quality of the bulls maintained for stud purposes. Under Government orders the premium system was abolished with effect from the 1st April, 1936. It was found that, as after the free distribution of the Haryana bulls, there were approximately about 1,400 really good bulls worthy of assistance in the shape of the premium of Rs. 60 per year mentioned above Government would be faced with an expenditure of Rs. 84,000 for the ten districts specially selected for intensive work in cattle improvement. The premium system was, therefore, substituted by the system of awarding prizes for the best bulls. Funds were provided for giving 26 prizes in each of the ten districts, one of Rs. 60 and twenty-five of Rs. 25. Thus the total cost of prizes for the ten districts was Rs. 6,850. It is stated that this

system has given satisfaction by encouraging the peasants to properly feed and look after the animals.

The writer would, however, point out that the premium scheme had proved its worth in the past as can be seen from the encomiums lavished on it in old reports of the Agriculture Department. Government would do well to consider favourably the desirability of introducing the premium system in the 17 districts till such time as those are not supplied with free stock for breeding purposes. To neglect their interests for any appreciable length of time is neither equitable nor fair. This tried system ought to work satisfactorily so long as premiums are awarded only to bulls of a certain standard no lowering of which should be permitted.

According to the experts of the Agriculture Department, it is expected that if there is no set-back in the form of epidemics, etc., within a period of seven years all the ten districts mentioned previously will be stocked completely with half-bred bulls and within ten years all the bullocks will be improved half-bred animals capable of carrying large loads and ploughing with heavier improved ploughs. What the writer, however, feels is that the propaganda work carried on by the officers of this particular section of the Agriculture Department would become more fruitful if they had the backing of the executive in the same way as the Jute Restriction scheme.

It is a matter of satisfaction that at last the public are realising their responsibility in the matter of improving both draft and milch cattle. For instance, when the Haryana bulls were available for distribution in the selected districts, the District Boards concerned provided funds to meet the cost of transit of stock within the district. It is understood that the best of the cross-bred male progeny from the Haryana bulls already distributed will have to be selected and purchased from their owners and kept with suitable people so that they may be reared carefully till fit for stud. Funds will have to be provided for this purpose and it has been stated that certain District Boards have already signified their willingness to provide funds for the purchase of selected male progeny for free distribution. In response to an appeal from H.E. the Viceroy, substantial contributions in the shape of cash as well as offers of stud bulls has also been made by a fairly large number of public-spirited well-to-do gentlemen.

The Live-Stock Expert points out that in some parts of East Bengal, milk is sold at such a low price as nine pies per seer during

certain months of the year. Here the fat from this cheap milk is made into ghee, but the process of manufacture is so crude that there is "a heavy loss in the butter fat." In Calcutta as well as in other towns of Bengal, there is a constant demand for pure milk and pure milk-products in the form of butter and ghee. Up to now, this demand is being almost universally met by importing them from other provinces. On one occasion, the writer personally found 20,000 tins of ghee each containing about five seers unloaded in one day at the Howrah Station. No one will deny that the major part of the ghee used in Bengal is adulterated. Those who can afford, are always prepared to pay the proper price for unadulterated milk, butter and ghee. The difficulty is that though very often a high price is demanded and cheerfully paid, the buyer does not always get the kind of stuff for which he pays. The low prices now paid for some money crops like jute and sugar-cane must ultimately compel the agriculturists to find other ways of increasing his income. The writer is of opinion that as the easiest way of supplementing his earnings, the peasant will most naturally turn to dairying if he is a Hindu and to dairying and poultry keeping if he is a Moslem.

Facilities should be created for giving practical training in dairy farming to educated *bhadralok* young men. The kind of training in dairying now being imparted at the Dacca Agriculture School while praiseworthy cannot by any means be regarded as a complete practical course in this branch of practical rural education. The equipments are inadequate, the facilities defective and the accommodation very poor. Very few of our young men can afford to go to Allahabad or Bangalore where scientific training on modern lines in dairying is available. The expense stands in the way. It is also possible that there might be difficulties in securing admission. Bengal needs a small fully equipped dairy farm very badly. Young men of the right type trained in a local institution and under local conditions could easily earn a decent livelihood and really help the country by supplying unadulterated milk and milk-products. The woeful waste of good milk now going on, with millions of young children lacking pure milk, could easily be prevented, to the ultimate health and prosperity of the nation. The writer would draw the particular attention of the Agriculture Department to this need of our province.

But the mere starting of a model dairy farm for practical instruction will not be enough. Organisations and marketing facilities for

the sale of the products must be brought into existence. It might even be desirable for a number of properly trained, enterprising young men to settle in places close to large towns in batches so that the marketing of their milk and milk-products may be done easily and economically.

Years ago, Government recognised the necessity of maintaining cattle farms. At one time there were two such farms, one at Rangpur and the other at Dacca. In an unfortunate moment, the Retrenchment Committee suggested the closing down of the Rangpur cattle farm which was carried out in January, 1934. The cows were sold by auction, surplus stock issued for stud and the best of the stock transferred to Dacca. Breeding work, therefore, is now confined to Dacca. The aim of the authorities is to evolve a type of cattle, the females of which will be good milkers, and the males good bullocks able to stand the climate and the feeding of Bengal. The writer has visited the Dacca farm a number of times and was informed that by using pure-bred stud bulls on all the stock, the crosses are approaching more and more towards the pure breed. The experiments in feeding too are yielding very valuable results of practical utility to the agriculturist. But it has to be admitted that one Cattle Farm in a province with an approximate area of 80,000 square miles and a cattle population of 33 millions is less than nothing. Other Cattle farms should be started and that without any delay. A beginning may be made with one Cattle Farm in the headquarters of each division and, later on, in the headquarters of each district and money for this purpose should be provided by those responsible for the finances of the province.

Till knowledge regarding the proper feeding of cattle is more widely diffused, paddy straw will continue to remain the principal food of live-stock. Experiments carried on at the Nutrition Section of the Dacca farm have proved beyond doubt that paddy straw by itself is not a satisfactory or even a maintenance ration and also that, mixed with a little green fodder, it meets the dietary requirements of cattle.

The custom in Bengal is to use Aman paddy straw as fodder. Aus paddy is harvested in the rainy season and difficulty is experienced in preserving wet straw. This can be obviated by storing it in silage-pits. Experiments at the Dacca farm have proved that Aus paddy straw which is now wasted is of higher value than Aman paddy straw

and also that the former makes excellent silage. Propaganda among the peasantry in this direction is necessary and may be done by the Live-Stock officers.

Heavy yielding varieties of fodder crops are grown in all the Government farms, the best results in nearly all cases being obtained from Napier grass. In almost all of them, the process of preservation of fodder as silage is demonstrated to the public. This is specially true of the Dacca farm where about twenty thousand maunds of silage were made in 1935-36, nearly all of which had Napier grass as its basis.

The cultivators of Maldah and Rajshahi in the Northern circle and of Nadia in the Western circle also make silage on a small scale for their own use. The progressive step taken by the Bengal agriculturist is due to the propaganda work carried on by the Live-Stock officers stationed in those areas. There does not seem to be much doubt that the growing of green fodder as well as its preservation as silage will be popularised with the increase in the number of Live-Stock officers.

The Second Economic Botanist carried on a series of experiments on juar, maize, mixture grasses, leguminous fodder and Napier grass. The results obtained tended to show that, taking into account all circumstances, the last is the best of all varieties of green fodder. It gives a very high yield, in some cases approaching the high figure of one thousand maunds without and over two thousand with irrigation. In addition, being a perennial, it can be grown on land round the homestead and, as such, is always available for use. It is, however, found that cultivators do not like to utilise the land, which can be used for money crops, for growing green fodder. This proves that they have not as yet come to realise its utility as a satisfactory though an indirect means of increasing their income both by providing good and sustaining food for the bullocks as well as for their milch cows. It is obvious that the cultivation of Napier grass will become more popular as soon as the peasantry are taught to take to dairy farming as a means of supplementing their income from paddy, jute, sugar-cane and other food and money crops. For this, propaganda work is absolutely necessary. Even so, the demand for Napier grass is steadily on the increase. In the two years 1933-35, the Agriculture Department distributed five lakhs of cuttings of Napier grass through the Live-Stock officers while many were also supplied by the different District

Agricultural officers. In 1936-37, 35 lakhs of Napier grass cuttings were distributed free.

The cattle population of Bengal has been estimated at over 33 millions and the area under fodder is approximately one hundred thousand acres, so that for each head of cattle, fodder has to come from 1/110 bighas or 2/11 cottah, which is absurd. While the growing of money crops is an economic necessity the growing of crops which the cultivator can use himself profitably is equally essential, specially crops the utilisation of which would increase the efficiency of his work. As stated already, Bengal buys annually Rs. 3 crores worth of draft and milch cattle from other provinces. The efficiency of Bengal cattle would improve not only by the introduction of better breeds but also by their rational feeding. It is the opinion of some that bad feeding is one of the causes of the deterioration of our cattle. To prevent this we have to grow fodder. The Agriculture Department has been doing excellent work by the distribution of Napier grass cuttings and jowar and by popularising them through propaganda. It is hoped that in this way there will be a material increase in the area under fodder.

The landlords of Bengal do not appear to have as yet realised their responsibilities fully. Their position demands that they should show the way in this as well as in other directions. If they would only bestow a little more attention on the growing of heavy yielding fodder crops, their popularity would increase by leaps and bounds. Among these, the Napier grass stands prominent for ease of cultivation and cheapness, its estimated cost being two annas per maund. The yield even in the most unfavourable circumstances is never less than two to five times that of ordinary fodders, added to which is the fact that it can be grown without much difficulty in every part of this province.

The writer would also venture to draw the attention of the authorities to the fact that improvement in the breeding of goat and sheep is desirable. The poor man's cow, as the goat has been called, is popular as a milch animal in many a poor household. Its flesh is widely used by all classes. Mutton also is gradually growing in popularity, specially in the larger towns. Nearly all the better class goats and sheep have to be imported from other provinces. A little attention paid to the breeding of these animals would be to the economic advantage of this province. It is interesting to note that in 1936-37, the Live-Stock Department distributed 12 he-goats for breeding purposes.

With the progress of education and the partial relaxation in the rules regarding food, there is a gradual and an appreciable increase in the demand for eggs and chicken for the table in Calcutta as well as in some district towns. This is in addition to the demand for them by non-Hindus which has existed all along. The poultry farmer, however, has not hitherto been a gainer on account of the large number of middlemen who stand between him and the actual consumer. It is believed that larger eggs and better chickens specially bred for the table would command not only ready sale but also higher prices.

If Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and Ireland can sell eggs to England, the writer fails to see why India too should not export her eggs. This presupposes that the eggs will have to be graded properly and that they should be 2 ounces or more in weight and be properly packed. These are not insurmountable difficulties and can be easily solved by the right type of enterprising experts. Even if the exporting of egg is regarded as too ambitious a project for the time being, the cultivator may very well keep 20 hens of the type evolved by the poultry section of the Agriculture Department and increase his income to the extent of about Rs 40 per year selling his eggs at the average price of six annas per 20 which is about 50 per cent. of the retail price. That this is not too sanguine an estimate is proved by the fact that the poultry section of the Agriculture Department has by cross breeding evolved hens which on the average lay 125 eggs per year, one of them laying as many as 242 two-ounce eggs in one year. Hardy birds of this type can be easily fed from the leavings after each meal and chitta grains available in the home of every agriculturist.

The demand for superior hens has not yet manifested itself extremely among poultry rearers. In the year 1933-34, out of 8,158 eggs the poultry department used 892 eggs for hatching and sold 698 eggs for the same purpose to private parties, making a total of 1,590 or about 19.4 per cent. used for hatching purposes, 320 eggs or about 3.8 per cent. were used for feeding chickens while as many as 6,260 or about 76.7 per cent. were sold for table purposes. In the year 1934-35 out of 13,763 eggs, the poultry department used 1,065 eggs for hatching, sold 1,543 eggs to private parties for the same purposes, making a total of 2,608 or about 18.9 per cent. for hatching purpose while 10,661, or 77.8 per cent. of the eggs were sold for table purposes. In the year 1935-36 out of 3,726 eggs, the poultry department used 827 eggs for

hatching and distributed 1,092 eggs to cultivators for the same purpose, so that about 22 per cent. was used for hatching purposes. The rest numbering 5,935, that is, 78 per cent. was sold for table purposes. Next year, that is, in 1936-37, out of 9,361 eggs the poultry department used 1,175 eggs for hatching and distributed 2,578 eggs for the same purpose among cultivators while 5,608 eggs were sold for table use. This works out at approximately 40 per cent. for hatching. If all the eggs sold for the table were less than two ounces in weight, there is but little justification for maintaining the work from 1927. On the other hand, if they were up to the mark, this is sheer waste of very valuable and expensive material. The writer feels certain that extensive propaganda work carried on through newspapers would have the effect of stimulating the sale of eggs for purposes of hatching all through Bengal and would invite the attention of the Agriculture Department to this suggestion. A type of chicken suitable for the table would also be useful to the poultry farmer. Perhaps the time has also come when some work should be done with ducks, geese and turkey.

In 1936-37, a scheme financed out of the Government of India grant for rural uplift, for the improvement of poultry, was sanctioned. Twenty cockerels from the poultry section of the Dacca farm were distributed among selected cultivators in each of the ten districts where free stud bulls have been supplied. These cultivators have given an undertaking that they will totally get rid of their old male stock. Here also we find the same policy of concentration of effort followed, but the number of cocks supplied was so inadequate as to be practically devoid of any utility so far as improvement of stock to any appreciable extent was concerned. It has been said that as the result of free distribution of mating birds and also of eggs, the department is experiencing an increased demand for both stock and eggs.

What is required to make poultry farming a financial success is the organisation of marketing, preferably by co-operation. If the middleman could be eliminated, the income of the poultry farmer could be increased appreciably. It might even be possible to reduce the price of both standard eggs and chickens to some extent without cutting into the profits of the producers seriously. One way of solving the difficulties of marketing would be to combine dairying with poultry farming, and another to have the dairy and the poultry farmers settled close to one another, having a common selling agency.

JOHN MOORE (1729-1802).

A Forgotten Favourite of the 18th Century.

S. N. RAY, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON)

TIME is the ruthless judge of literature. Contemporary popularity is no criterion of the greatness of a writer. Every age had its favourites on whose lips it hung. Samuel Rogers was the oracle of English literature in the first half of the 19th century. Lord Byron flattered him, Shelley was afraid of his ill opinion, poor Keats looked forward to his acquaintance, Carlyle was proud of his friendship. But how many of us to-day read his *Pleasures of Memory*, his magnum opus?

A similar fate has overtaken John Moore though his contribution to English literature does not justify it. Like Horace Walpole and Henry Mackenzie, he represents a special phase in the development of the English novel. But he is known only to scholars who make 18th century literature their special study, and to most of them he is known solely as the author of *Zeluco*.¹ Saintsbury, who says in his *Peace of the Augustans* that Moore was one of his favourite authors, calls him "Zeluco Moore." Moore's *Travels* which was as popular as *Zeluco* in their day have been forgotten. He was the eye-witness and chronicler of the French Revolution and was the leading spirit of a group of young English intellectuals who popularized the cause of the Revolution in England, but to the students of European history he is known not for these but as the father of Sir John Moore of Corunna. Dowden in his *French Revolution and English Literature* and Gooch in the *Cambridge Modern History* are practically silent about him, though they have so much to speak about Parr, Helen Maria Williams, Jerningham, the Dellacruscan, Rogers and Campbell, his admirers.

There can be no doubt that Moore was a very popular author in his time. In depicting the closing years of the 18th century, George

¹ John Moore (1729-1802)—Author of *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (1779); *View of Society and Manners in Italy* (1781); *Zeluco* (1789); *Edward* (1796); *A Journal During a Residence in France, etc.* (1798); *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution* (1796); *Mordoun* (1800); and other works.

Eliot in her *Adam Bede* makes Captain Donnithorne, the hero, who calls the *Lyrical Ballads* a "twaddling staff," anxious to finish *Zeluco*. Gibbon welcomed Moore as the "writer of the best philosophical romance of the age." Burns wrote to Mrs. Dunlop: "To say it is an excellent performance is but echoing the opinion of the world," and thought of writing a comparative study of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Moore. Crabb Robinson, the well-known diarist, requested by Mrs. Pattison, a 19th century novel-reader from the country, to choose for her some novels, sent *Zeluco* among others. Anna Seward, the "Swan of Lichfield," and Mrs. Piozzi, the favourite of Dr. Johnson, were among the enthusiastic readers of Moore's writings. Moore's books went into several editions. At least three were translated into other languages. Nearly all the contemporary periodicals hailed him as a delightful writer, reviewed his works very favourably, and cited his opinion in support of their arguments. To *The Critical Review* his *View of Society and Manners in Italy* was kindled by a "kind of Promethean fire." *The European Magazine* in January, 1790, gave up the chief article to an interesting account of his life and works and stressed the importance of the "justly celebrated author of *Zeluco*" by inserting his portrait. *The Monthly Review* admired his lively pictures of the French, German and Italian societies, laughed with him in his pleasantries, and made large extracts from his books for the benefit of its readers. *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Analytical Review* wrote eloquently of his merits.

He was the first among the ideological novelists of the French Revolution and, like his successors Bage, Holcroft and Godwin, used the novel as the platform for propaganda. His *Zeluco* is the first psychological novel in England in as much as it gives us the study of a mind under the influence of environment. Moore was the friend and biographer of Smollett, fifteen of whose letters to him have been published. He brought out in 1797 the works of Smollett with a critical review of his novels and an essay on the growth of the English novel. Burns looked up to him as a patron and teacher, and confided to him the story of his life with all its secrets and lapses. Moore in his turn helped the poet financially, introduced him to his friends, and increased the interest of the London public in him by drawing attention to his poems, and explaining what appeared obscure in them on account of their Scottish allusions and vocabulary. Like a teacher, he repeatedly urged him to prepare

himself in such a way as to be able to produce something that would place him with the greatest poets of England. Byron knew Moore's works intimately, called his *Childe Harold* "a poetical *Zeluco*," and Moore's history of Venice suggested to him his drama, *Marino Faliero*.

Even towards the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, Moore's works were well known. Robert Anderson brought out a complete edition of his works with a life in 1820. C. S. Arnold of Chiswick published for the Whittingham Novelists' Library Moore's three novels along with the works of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett—an honour already paid to him by Mrs. Barbauld in 1810 when she issued *Zeluco* side by side with the works of the great masters.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, when the 18th century writers gradually went into the background, Moore too suffered. But he was never completely forgotten. Carlyle drew upon his *Journal* for his *French Revolution* (1837), and upon *A View of Society and Manners in France*, etc. for his *Frederick the Great* (1858-1865). George Eliot, as mentioned before, remembered him in *Adam Bede* (1859). Even as late as 1878, Taine made abundant use of his *Journal* for his *Origines de la France Contemporaine*.

If the remarks of the *Dublin University Magazine* (1872) are to be regarded as the general opinion of the day, Moore, in the seventh decade of the century, had already become a back number. For, the *Dublin University Magazine* asks, "Are there any novel-readers in this age of novel-writers, who read *Zeluco*? We suppose there may be somebody venturesome enough to explore the upper shelves of the circulating library, where the three volumes repose with their dead contemporaries."

Towards the end of the century attention was called to Moore's works by Sir Walter Raleigh in the *English Novel* (1894) and two years later, Saintsbury gave prominence to Moore in his *History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (1896). Once the inertia was broken, others followed them. C. H. Herford in the *Age of Wordsworth* (1897), Helene Richter in *Geschichte der englischen Romantik* (1911), Professor Elton in his *Survey of English Literature* (1780-1830), published in 1912, Lord Erle in the *Light Reading of our Ancestors* (1927), Miss. J. M. S. Tompkins in her *Popular Novel in England* (1770-1800), published in 1932, and finally Dr. Ernest Baker in his *History of the English Novel*, Vol. V (1934), noticed Moore's works with due attention.

But in most of the above works, Moore's memory chiefly rests on his *Zeluco*. Saintsbury, Helene Richter, Dr. Baker, and Miss Tompkins touch upon some of his other writings too. But since 1820, when Robert Anderson published his book with a biography and a critical review, no attempt has been made to study him as a philosophical traveller, novelist, historian, poet and letter-writer.

It is not for his writings alone that Moore deserves to be honoured. He was the friend of Smollett, patron of Burns, Campbell, Charlotte Smith and Helen Maria Williams. His friendship was sought by Holcroft, Rogers, Jerminham and Merry, the Dellacruscans, Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Dunlop. He was in friendly intercourse with Burke, Lord Melville, Wilkes, William Smith, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale and the Duke of Devonshire, men who played memorable parts in contemporary history. His lovable personality has been immortalized by Maria Edgeworth in "Dr. X" in her *Belinda*. Like Sir Walter Scott, Moore raised a family and his sons rose to distinction in life. Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, still lives in our memory as an ideal soldier. Graham became an admiral and a Knight of the Bath. Francis served as Under-Secretary for War. James was well known as a biographer and medical writer, a fellow worker of Jenner. An ideal husband and father, Moore lived and died in the esteem of all.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF KANĀDA

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THAT ancient India had her distinctive civilisation and culture is now admitted by even the most unsympathetic Westerner. The brilliant research work of the renowned Western Indologists coupled with the assiduous labour of a galaxy of Indian veterans has placed in the hands of the posterity records which clearly testify to the superior texture of the fabric making up that civilisation. History tells us that India has been, from a very early historic period, the dumping ground of various peoples who brought with them civilisations distinctive of their own. More than once has she been threatened with the sword of cultural conquest. But a complete cultural conquest was not to be.

While that is happy for us and goes to prove the strong foundation of our civilisation, we regret that the one handed down to us is almost hopelessly adulterated. For, in some cases the adulterating material is so very prominent that the original pure stuff is altogether suppressed and cannot be traced out at all. Attempts have progressively been made, both by westerners and Indians, to separate the wheat from the chaff; but notwithstanding that ancient Indian culture has been only partially revealed and, what is more, even less understood and popularised. While the explorers of the field of Indian Philosophy have excavated brilliant gems which have heightened the prestige of India in the estimation of the world, a vast area of the field of other branches of knowledge remains almost untouched. The richness of the explored regions seems to suggest the existence of an invaluable treasure hidden underneath the plain unassuming soil of the untrodden area. To-day we in India, not very infrequently, come across various ancient institutions which are not fully comprehended from a modernist's point of view. These institutions, which may have their roots imbedded far deeper in the soil than the penetration limit of our present-day knowledge, are very often brushed aside by the ultra-moderners as being absolutely meaningless and primitive. Such a hasty decision only helps to discredit them by betraying their unscientific ways of looking at things, and cannot be rationally commended on that score. Remembering that

these institutions draw their life blood from an ancient cult of a very high order, they should put on a truly scientific outlook, and keep their minds open and unprejudiced; and moreover, as some among them are sufficiently optimistic, they should look hopefully to the futurity in which the power meaning and significance of these institutions will come to be fully revealed and appreciated.

In an article introductory to the Philosophy of *Kaṇād* it is necessary to examine, with such a spirit, the rôle played by it in the general culture of ancient India. Historians and antiquarians inform us that ancient Indian culture in general evolved in three distinct stages in three successive periods. The first of these—the Vedic period, covering a little less than a thousand years, from 1500 B.C. to 600 B.C.—built up a literature consisting of the four *Vedas*, along with the *Brāhmanas*, the *Āraṇyukas* and the *Upanishadas*. These are the most ancient world-renowned scriptures of India and constitute the basis of the Brahminical religion which, being set against a background of spiritualism, swayed the land. In the period that followed—the Epic period extending over 800 years from 600 B.C. to 200 A.D.—men had become more or less sceptic about spiritualism, so that it had to meet a formidable rival in materialism which had already gained a firm footing in the mind of the people. In later years spiritualistic Brahmanism was more or less completely dominated by materialism which drew its sap and strength from the Buddhistic and Jaina literature of the epic period. The period was characterised by the predominance of *Rājasiḥ* element, and so we learn from the great Indian epic poems which were then composed. Buddhism triumphed over the heart of India, and Vedic Brahminism, which was now almost gasping, was not only relegated to the background but was also threatened to be wiped out of existence. Happily, however, the cataclysm was averted by the dawn of a new era—dating from 200 A.D. onward—in which spiritualistic Brahminism was once more established in its full glory in the heart of *Āryāvarta*. In the early years of this period flourished a great number of sages and *Rishis* who interpreted the Brahminical religion in a manner which suited the needs of a progressive society. These interpretations are contained in the *Śaddarshana* or the six systems of Indian Philosophy. These are the *Vaiśeṣika*, the *Nyāya*, the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Yoga*, the *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Vedānta* system. All of these are estimated to have developed in post-Buddhistic times as they exhibit distinct marks of Buddhistic

and materialistic influences. School of oriental scholars accept this opinion about the last four systems, but they differ with respect to the first two. They hold that the *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Nyāya* system are of pre-Buddhistic origin and are absolutely free from Buddhistic analysis and scrutiny. However that may be, these six systems are supplementary to each other and, taken as a whole, represent the totality of the philosophical knowledge of the Hindus of that time.

There is a divergence of scholarly opinions about the precedence of the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* systems which are very much allied to each other. Some Western Indologists, Garbe for example, maintain that the latter is of greater antiquity than the former. However that may be, there is little doubt about the fact that the time distance of the compilation of the two systems can not be very considerable; for, *Kaṇāda*, with whom originated the *Vaiśeṣika* system, and *Gautama Akṣhapāda*, the author of the *Nyāya* system, were contemporary and co-disciples, their common preceptor being *Śhivāvatār Somasharmā*. However, these historical controversies are not of any great importance to us. But it is worth noting here, that the precedence of the *Nyāya* system presents a better sequence to a student of Indian Philosophy, although it may not, as we have seen, present sound chronology. Sequence of subject-matter is a better guide to us than chronology of events, because our object is to study *Kaṇāda* in the light of modern science and to extract scientific truth therefrom, if possible.

The *Vaiśeṣika* system is also known as *Aṭhukya* system after the name of the author who was known by a variety of designations such as *Kaṇāda*, *Kāṇabhuj*, *Kāṇabhaksha*, *Ulūka* etc. These names were more or less symbolical and the real name of the author seems to have been *Kāshyapa*. It is somewhat customary with the scholars to read significance in the symbolical names of the author. While some hold the view that the great author, accustomed to plain living and high thinking, used fragments (*Kanā*) of rice grains for dietary purposes, there are others who maintain that the name *Kaṇāda*,—which means atom-eater—was due to the complete digest which he had made of the physical universe as being made up of the ultimate ever-abiding atoms.

The system derives its name from the word *Viśeṣa* which means "particularity" or "individuality." The main current of thought running throughout the length and breadth of the system is that the

true individuality is to be traced back to the individuality of the atoms and the souls making up the animate and inanimate world. The entire treatise is divided into ten chapters, each chapter again being subdivided into two sections called *Ahnikas*. "The first chapter deals with the categories of substance, quality, action, generality and particularity. The second and the third chapter deal with different substances and examine the nature of the inference. The fourth chapter deals with the atomic conception of the universe. The discussion of the nature and kind of action and of the ethical problems is contained in the fifth and the sixth chapter. The seventh chapter discusses the questions of quality, self and inherence, while the last three chapters are mainly logical, and treat of the problems of perception, inference and causality" (Prof. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, Vol II, p. 179—Allen & Unwin.). The system starts with an analysis of the world which can be conceived in thought and perceived by senses. The objects of thought and sense which go to build up world with its limitless variety are called *Padārthas*. *Padārthas* again are divided into six different categories: (1) *Dravya* or substance, (2) *Guṇa* or attributes, (3) *Karma* or motion, (4) *Sāmānya* or generality, (5) *Vिशेषa* or particularity and (6) *Samabāya* or inherence. The first three of these categories have a real objective existence while the last three are the results of intellectual subjectivity. With this basic classification of *Padārthas*, the author, by logical steps of analysis, conceives the atomicity of *Dravyas* or substances. The atoms, of all things, possess the ultimate reality and abide for ever by withstanding all forces of destruction. This appears on the surface to be the central meaning of the whole treatise.

The first atomic conception of the universe is thus due to *Kaṇāda*, although in later years it was realised, only partially of course, in an independent manner in Western countries. For this monumental work alone, if not for anything else, *Kaṇāda* is entitled to be placed at least in the same, if not in a higher, rank with Democritus who conceived the atomicity of matter in Western countries for the first time. It is worth noting here that the range of *Kaṇāda's* atomicity is far more penetrating and extensive than that of Democritus, for, the latter's atomicity was with reference to matter only, while the former's conception soared much higher than that and penetrated into the field of energy and soul as well. (Cf. *The Monad Theory of Leibnitz*.) Prior to the closing years of the last century atomicity of energy was

regarded by scientists as an absurdity, or rather, to put it in more accurate words, was not thought of at all. But the bare conception at least, if not much of its details and applications, was there in *Kanāda* who taught the people of *Āryāvarta* about two thousand years back. Twentieth century Physics admits of the atomicity of energy on the authority of Max Planck who, during the opening years of the century, put forward his Quantum Hypothesis, according to which radiant energy in space is not continuous in structure, but consists of discrete bundles or packets of energy called Quanta. Classical Physics of the nineteenth century has been almost revolutionised by the introduction of this quantum conception, and while we look, with our eyes beaming with wonder, at the rapid progress that New Physics is making on the horseback of quantum conception, we cannot help recalling to our mind, with pride and reverence, the thought that our *Kanāda* taught the same basic principles in this very land of ours in remote historical times. That *Kanāda's* atomicity has still a deeper significance than the atomicity of the modern scientists with regard to matter and energy is substantially borne out by the fact, to some extent at least, that twentieth century Physics is exhibiting a tendency of extending the range of atomicity. The shooting out of an electron from a bombarded atom is now an established experimental fact. These electrons are the electric atoms, and so atomicity has attacked the field of electricity and conquered it. And not very long ago, Einstein postulated the light-dart hypothesis in order to explain Photo-electricity, and introduced the idea of the possibility of interaction between an electric and an energy atom. Under this set of circumstances it is, however, yet to be seen if, out of the womb of futurity, emerges the day when the atomicity of the soul, as conceived by *Kanāda*, becomes comprehensible from the point of view of the future scientists.

There are various outstanding Sanskrit commentaries on the *Vaisheshika Sūtras*, some of the important ones being the *Upaskāra Tīkā* by *San̄kara Mishra* who flourished about four hundred years back, *Jagadisha's Tarkamṛita*, *Jayanarāyaṇa's Vivṛiti* etc., all of which were written after the *Upaskāra* on which they are more or less based. There are also, side by side, Western studies on the system by distinguished Indologists like Keith and Cowell, and contemporary Indian studies by Indian veterans like Dr. Gangānāth Jhā and Mahāmohopādhyāya Pañcānan Tarkaratna. These again are based on

Saṅkara's commentary, but presented in a popular and more comprehensive fashion. All of these commentaries and studies, although they are sufficiently learned and leave hardly any room for improvement so far as the philosophical aspect is concerned, seem to have looked at the system from a particular point of view and been indifferent to the possibilities of others. They all appear to converge to a common point of spirituality and metaphysics, and in doing so, seem to have, in some cases, distorted the meaning of the texts to adapt them to their preconceived philosophical notions. As a result their commentaries are often at variance with the scientific truth, although the original texts, in some cases at least, splendidly conform to it. A student of modern science is inclined to think, after handling the text, that a change of the stereotyped angle of vision is not altogether impossible, and, who knows, may even be fruitful in the long run. In the series of articles which are to follow a thorough examination of the whole system in its details is intended in the light of modern science, and it remains to be seen what invaluable gems are sifted out of the fathomless depth of the system of *Kaṇāda*.

With this mission ahead the task may be approached with either of the two radically opposite attitudes. In the first place, out of our boundless adoration for the veteran author of the system, we may proceed with the notion that the system realised all the truth and wisdom attained by the scientific world of to-day at least in the subject with which it deals. And then in the alternative we may attack the field with a truly scientific spirit and, taking the texts as such, subject them to a rigidly critical and scientific analysis. The former way of approach, although very popular in our country, results from an excess of blind faith very often divested of reasoning. The latter, however, represents a more rational way of approach and automatically guards against over-estimation as well as under-estimation. For these reasons and others we decide to take up the latter attitude in our future work of examining the texts. If by the application of that process nectar is extracted, we shall share it with others and drink to our heart's content; but if only the husk comes out of the operation and the grain is missed, we shall be satisfied by concluding that, so far as the materialistic aspect is concerned, the system only represents a primitive, or at best, an intermediate, stage of the development of human thought and analytical method.

We proceed to conclude this introductory article by putting for-

ward an apology for the title, by examining the philosophical bearings of *Kaṇāda's* writing. The word "Philosophy" being of Greek origin ($\phi\sigma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ = Love, $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ = Knowledge) literally means *love of knowledge*. It is only natural, therefore, that in the early years of the evolution of human thought, Philosophy meant knowledge and culture in general. But in the subsequent stages of thought evolution the term "Philosophy" became restricted to a particular domain of knowledge. We trace the beginning of this limitation in the Platonic definition of Philosophy, according to which a philosopher is one "who struggles to penetrate into the essence or reality of things as opposed to the man who dwells in appearances and external shows." And still later the restriction of the sphere of Philosophy is all the more perceptible when Aristotle's methodic intellect differentiated between Natural Philosophy on the one hand and Moral and Mental Philosophy on the other. The gross details of the former, in later years, were abandoned to the specialists and afterwards developed into the positive sciences. But the study of the relation of the physical universe (which is the subject of study of natural sciences) to the ultimate author of things was retained by Philosophy. The former, according to modern nomenclature, is called Metaphysics and includes Theology as a part. In this way Philosophy came to embrace Metaphysics including Theology, Ethics including Aesthetics and Rational Psychology—dealing with the three chief problems of human thought—God, World and Soul.

The rôle of *Kaṇāda's* ideology in the above scheme is the same as that of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy embodying in itself the treatment of the gross details of the physical universe together with the relation of these with the ultimate Author of things which *Kaṇāda* calls *Adiṣṭa*. *Kaṇāda* believes that the true knowledge of the *Padārthas* which constitute the universe ensures Supreme Bliss. That shows the scientist-philosopher who flourished in an age of reconciliation of Brahminic spiritualism with Buddhistic materialism. He is thus a philosopher-scientist in the sense in which Aristotle was one, and his writings are, like those of Aristotle, partly philosophical and partly scientific. But for that reason if we do not deny the name of Philosopher to Aristotle, is there any earthly reason why we should do so in the case of *Kaṇāda*? *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* is thus pure philosophy in the early sense, but, looked through the modern angle of vision, it is a specimen of an admixture of Philosophy and Positive Science.

ROUSSEAU AND HIS THEORY OF EDUCATION.

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JEAN Jacques Rousseau is an outstanding figure of the eighteenth century in European history. He may be said to have ushered in a new era in every department of life. In every branch of human intellectual activity—in politics, in religion, in literature and in education, modern age seems to have begun with Rousseau. True it is that he simply voiced forth the ideas current in the atmosphere of the day ; but he was the first man to feel most strongly the burning problems of the age, to think most definitely over them and in the right direction, and to act with a strong determination.

In the earlier part of the eighteenth century Europe outgrew the ideas of the middle ages, but the society was even then left in a moribund condition. In the field of education, especially, this period may be marked as one of stagnation. Dominance of arbitrary authority, orthodoxy in religion, traditional classicism and the disciplinary conception of education as handed down by the bad tradition of renaissance dominated the spirit of the age. As a necessary consequence a revolutionary reaction followed in the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau.

Voltaire's ' illumination movement ' was aristocratic and indifferent to the rights and needs of the general mass. Soon it deteriorated, therefore, into mere formality and artificiality, and its rationalism became a tyranny for the mass. Rousseau came at last to preach the gospel of the common man and gave to him an education as a right of birth. The fermenting ideas of the age which overflowed in his theories, as Morley says, " cleared away the accumulation of clogging prejudices and obscure and inveterate usage which made education one of the dark formalistic arts ; and it admitted floods of light and air into the tightly closed nurseries and school-rooms."

In politics Rousseau was a sincere and convinced republican. It must certainly be acknowledged that he had no great tincture of learning—he was by no means a profound logician, and that he was

impulsive and emotional in the extreme. He saw that under French monarchy the actual result was the greatest misery of the greatest number and he did not look much further. Still it is accepted on all hands that his *Social Contract* is an epoch-making work which greatly influenced all subsequent political thinkers. And his political creed, as we shall see later on, exerted a considerable influence on his educational reforms.

Rousseau found that artificiality had choked the good, beautiful and truthful nature of humanity, customary and mechanical classification had forced the beauty of the human nature to fade away; hence he glorified the 'noble savage.' He boldly declared: "Do precisely the opposite of what is usually done, and you will have hit on the right plan." His advice in this case does not seem to be reformatory but rather revolutionary.

In education, the influence of Rousseau has been powerful beyond measure. He may fairly be called the father of modern pedagogy, even despite the fact that most of his positive teachings have had to be rejected. Comenius, Locke, Bacon and others had, indeed, done good work before him; but it was he who first with his fiery rhetoric made the subject of education a burning question, and rendered clear its connection with all human welfare. The whole gospel of modern education lies in such a passage as this: "It is from the first moment of our lives that we ought to learn to deserve to live, and as, at our birth, we share the rights of citizens, the moment of our birth ought to be the beginning of the exercise of our rights. If there are laws for man's estate, there ought to be laws for children, teaching them to obey others; and in seeing that we do not leave each man's private reason to be the sole judge of his duties, we ought to be all the more reluctant to hand over to the notions and prejudices of the fathers the education of their children, that it affects the state more than it does them."

The old conception of education "aimed to remake the nature of the child by forcing upon him the traditional or customary way of thinking, of doing and even of emotional reaction." It took care not for the natural reactions of the child but for the artificial reactions developed through many generations of religious, intellectual and social formalism. As a reaction to this dismal outlook of life Rousseau discovered: "Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the author of Nature; everything degenerates in the hands of man." These are

the opening lines of *Emile* and constitute the key-note of Rousseau's philosophy of education.

The educational theories of Rousseau may be supposed to have been greatly influenced by his own life and character, and in fact most of his views on education owe their origin to his early upbringing. His parents were both unbalanced and died while Rousseau was still a young boy. He was then brought up by his aunt whose affection for him exceeded her wisdom. He was sent to a school but had to be expelled several times since he was simply uncontrollable. Later on he was apprenticed to a trade but here he learnt more vice than anything else. He became an out and out vagabond and loved to live 'according to nature.'

This early life had a great influence on his later writings, and he started to give his views on education. But we shall be far from truth if we always describe the educational theories of Rousseau as most unpractical and destructive and understand him only as a wild visionary knowing nothing of reality. On the contrary, we are struck with wonder when we come across some of the most constructive and practical views on education in the midst of the apparently destructive and paradoxical thoughts of Rousseau, and those principles are now applied in the educational methods propounded and practised by the great psychologists and educationists of modern times. The Rousseauistic influence is seen in the writings of Pestalozzi, Froebel, Madame Montessori and all other reformers of education, in some form or other.

In *Emile* Rousseau aims to replace the conventional and formal education of the day by a training that should be natural and spontaneous. On the intellectual side education was largely traditional and consisted chiefly of a training in Latin grammar and words. Rousseau scathingly criticises these practices and applies his naturalistic principles to an imaginary pupil named *Emile* "from the moment of his birth up to the time when having become a mature man he will no longer need any other guide than himself." Indeed, *Emile* has justly been called the *gospel* of childhood. If it had no other claims to consideration, it would deserve the homage of parents and teachers by reason of that sacredness with which it invests the personality of every child. "In what other book of human origin can we find such compassion for the weakness of childhood, such tender regard for its happiness and such teaching pleas for its protection and guidance"? *Emile* has made the ministry of the school-room

as sacred as the ministry of the altar ; and by unfolding the mysteries of his art and disclosing the secret of his power, it has made the teacher's office one of honour and respect. The power of the book lies in its general spirit rather than in any doctrine and method which it embodies. If read with kindly feeling and without prejudice, it cannot fail to inspire our teachers with the noblest ambition and to quicken their methods with living power.

According to Rousseau we are educated by *three* kinds of teachers, viz., nature, man and things, acting in co-operation with one another. Rousseau points out that since the co-operation of these three kinds of educators is necessary for full perfection, it is to the one over which we have no control that we must direct the other two. While we may have control over man and thing, we cannot bring nature under control. Education of the child, therefore, must conform to nature, that is to say, it must be natural. It must come through the natural instincts and interests. Education was no longer a procedure, artificial, harsh, unsympathetic and repressive of all natural inclinations, but through allowing natural forces to have their way, it is the process of development into an enjoyable, rational, harmoniously balanced, useful and hence natural life.

Rousseau found that ordinary education sacrificed childhood to the acquirement of knowledge. Children had been treated as if they were made for school books and not their school books for them. The old and traditional teachers would think it a clear gain if they could anyhow drum into the ears of the children some forms of words, declensions, history, geography, astronomy and so on. Education was regarded as a preparation for a future state. As Quick observes: "... Childhood has been treated as troublesome and unimportant through a necessary stage." The educators were very little anxious to know what children were capable of learning. The child was considered but a 'miniature adult,' moved by the needs and interests similar in kind to those of the fully formed individual. Rousseau lays down that we must no longer as in the past pay the principal attention to the demands of the adult community as to what they consider it necessary that the child should learn ; that is, the curriculum which always expresses the social demands of the time must no longer dominate the education of the child. The educator, therefore, whether parent or teacher, must endeavour to know and understand the nature of the child—his needs, his instincts, his natural

interests ; for these must be the starting point for all our methods of teaching. As Prof. Hudson puts it: "Rousseau seized the truth that education should be progressive: that a real system of education must adjust itself to the unfolding needs of mind and character and that the common habit of treating the child from the first as if he were an empty adult to be filled up with information was a ludicrous and a fatal mistake." Hence we should pay more attention to and take greater interest in the study of the mental life and development of the child and we must endeavour to understand and classify the natural instincts and interests in their progressive order of development. But formerly the child was modelled on the pattern of his seniors. Monroe humorously remarks: "Previous to Rousseau's period the child was merely the adult viewed through the wrong end of telescope." Rousseau advised for the first time: "Study the subject you have to act upon." That is to say, in imparting education to a child the first and foremost duty of the educator should be to know the child.

Now-a days in New Education it has become almost proverbial—'Magister Johannem Latinam docuit' (The master taught John Latin). The verb of teaching governs two accusatives, one of the person and another of the thing. Here 'John' should by no means be regarded as less important than 'Latin.' He should be brought into the position of prominence receiving full share of the teacher's attention and he should not be relegated to the background, because the child factor is more important than the subject-matter. This was fully realised by Rousseau and all other reformers of education. Hence Rousseau may be called, as Beatly says, "the Copernicus of the educational universe for he transferred the centre from the elder to the child." Rousseau remarked long ago: "Nature wills that children should be children before they are men . . . Childhood has ways of seeing, thinking, feeling peculiar to itself. Nothing is more absurd than to wish to substitute ours in their place." Although his knowledge of children was defective and his recommendations were marked by unnatural breaks and filled with sentimentality, he was the first man to see the need of studying the child as the only basis for education. For instance, in the Preface to *Emile* he declares that "We are always looking for the man in the child, without thinking what he is before he becomes a man. This is the study to which I have devoted myself, to the

end that, even though my whole method may be chimerical and false, the reader may still profit by my observation." As a result of such appeals, the child has become the centre of discussion in modern education. Despite his limitations and prejudices, this unnatural and neglectful parent stated many details of child development with much force and clearness and gave an impetus to later thinkers and reformers.

Rousseau revolutionized the idea of education. He maintained that education was life itself and not a preparation for a future state of life which was remote in interest and characteristic from childhood. Thus the aim of education, according to Rousseau, should be *complete living*. It has for its purpose the development of the innate powers and capacities of the child and that instruction or acquisition of knowledge is a means to this end.

With Rousseau, as afterwards with Froebel, education was 'child-gardening.' "Plants are developed by cultivation," says he, "and men by education." The governor, who is the child-gardener, is to aim at three things: First, he is to shield the child from all corrupting influences; secondly, he is to devote himself to developing in the child a healthy and strong body in which the senses are to be rendered acute by exercise; and thirdly, he is, by practice and precept, to cultivate the child's sense of duty. Education is a development from within and not an accretion from without and as such should never be thrust from outside. One of the first requisites in the case of the young is to provide for the expansion of their activity. "There must be no other book than the world," says Rousseau, "and no other instruction than facts."

The guiding principle of Rousseau's theories is 'education through doing'—a very sound scheme no doubt, for a child is naturally more impressed by knowledge gained through experience. Emile is to 'learn by doing'—he is to be taught nothing except through his own personal experience. The boy is left to amuse himself with anything he pleases, and has long talks with Rousseau about what he observes.

The present system of education was all wrong in being positive as Rousseau declared. He substituted in its place 'Negative Education.' Now by this negative education Rousseau did not maintain that there should be no education at all. It does not imply a period of idleness, but it rather means that there should be the provision for an education

very different in kind from the accepted educational practices. If a child is by nature good at birth, if the instincts, impulses, inclinations and feelings of which he is constituted, are good, why should any restrictions be placed upon his free development? Intellectually, therefore, negative education implies that there should be no verbal lessons; the pupil should be taught by experience alone. Reading is characterised as the curse of childhood, whereas, if the desire to know is awakened in the child, he will learn of itself. "*Present interest*—this is the motive power—the only motive power which takes us far and safely." "We learn nothing from a lesson we detest." Hence it has been said that until the child is twelve years of age he should be given no direct instruction but be left free to play with nature. "I call a positive education one that tends to form the mind prematurely and to instruct the child in the duties that belong to a man. I call negative education one that tends to perfect the organs that are the instruments of knowledge before giving this knowledge directly; and that endeavours to prepare the way for reason by the proper exercise of the senses. It does not give virtue, it protects from vice; it does not inculcate truth, it protects from error. It disposes the child to take the path that will lead him to truth, when he has reached the age to understand it; and to goodness, when he has acquired the faculty of recognising and loving it." As this time of childhood is the most critical interval of human nature when vice and error take root without our being possessed of any instrument to destroy them, the first education of the child should be purely negative, as opposed to the old conception of positive education. Rousseau prescribes physical exercise for the child. Because, intellect is based on the senses. He says: "Exercise the body, the organs, the senses and powers but keep the soul lying fallow as long as you can. Let childhood ripen in children . . . childhood is the sleep of reason." While the old conception of education held that the senses were utterly untrustworthy and could not be made the basis of knowledge, Rousseau held that the first reason of human being is the reason of sensations.

In the early stages, a child should be left free to do whatever he likes, and should be brought into contact with nature, because a child learns more if he finds things out for himself than if he learns it from books or from conversation. Rousseau began with the presupposition that the child is born with all his instincts and impulses good. He

has come into the world 'trailing clouds of glory'—his soul is a 'sheet of paper white.' At this period he should be left entirely to himself. 'The only habit that he should form is to form no habit at all.' The child must be allowed to grow and develop naturally, and any tendency to thwart his inclinations and instincts might interfere with his natural growth. He should gain his knowledge from the natural environment and his morality should be left to the 'discipline of natural consequences.' "A burnt child dreads the fire" goes the proverb. Rousseau firmly believed—and rightly so—in the free activity of the children and a good environment for the gaining of healthy impressions and knowledge.

Even the first incentive to reading comes to Emile when Rousseau is out one day and a letter arrives for Emile. The poor boy does not know that the letter is for him since he is unable to read and is perhaps not very curious about the contents of the letter. Rousseau returns, reads the letter and tells Emile that it was an invitation to eat strawberries and cream at a friend's house that morning. Emile is sorely disappointed at having missed the feast, and then Rousseau tells him that it is a pity that he is unable to read. Emile now begs to be taught and henceforth whenever he wishes to give up learning he is reminded of the incident of the strawberries and cream. By way of criticism we might, however, point out that Rousseau here gives the child an entirely material outlook—there is no urge to learn for learning's sake or to better appreciate the beauty of good literature; the appeal is made to the baser and not to the nobler feelings of the child.

Emile must learn about his environment how to act when he is lost anywhere. The chief object is to make him independent of any one's aid, to teach the boy to depend on his own self for everything. To this end Rousseau takes the boy for a long walk, and when they are in the midst of a vast wood, Rousseau declares that they are lost. Emile, tired and dispirited, begins to cry but stops when Rousseau tells him that that will not help. Emile is certain that he can recognise a farm house if he happens to see it. How are they to get a glimpse of the country side? The expedient of climbing a tall tree is hit upon, a farm house is recognised at some distance. What would have happened if they were in a foreign country? Emile learns how to guide himself by the stars and the sun. In this way he learns the rudiments of Astronomy, and knows the direction finding and the use of the compass.

Emile is quite a big boy now and is taken to live in town where he meets with dishonest people who strip him of all he has. He learns then how to defend himself against tricksters and not to trust any one. He associates with evil companions, and his own innate goodness is supposed to make him turn away from evil in disgust. He is now sent on a tour for the widening of his experience and to complete his education. On his return, he is married to Sophie who has been trained just as carefully as he, but in the opposite direction. She has been repressed so as to make her entirely dependent on her husband. This is supposed to make Emile bring all his efficiency to the fore—he must direct and decide everything. He is a perfect specimen of what man ought to be, knowing the remedy for every possible difficulty and capable of carrying it out successfully.

Rousseau divided the human development into four well-marked stages. The *first* stage is from the age of one to five. This stage must develop the senses of the child and give him a wide experience of out-door life. Great stress is to be laid on the physical development of the child and on the use of sports and games. "The weaker the body, the more it commands; the stronger it is the better it obeys. All sensual passions find lodgment in effeminate bodies. All wickedness comes from weakness. A child is bad only because he is weak; make him strong and he will be good." For the purpose of sense-training and sense-experience the child must be taken to the country and made to observe the natural surroundings in detail and allowed free activity of all his natural inclinations and desires.

The *second* stage (from five to twelve) is 'the most critical period of human life' and is to be controlled by two principles that education is to be negative and that moral training should be imparted through natural consequences. Here even the child will know nothing of books and his mind should be allowed to be passive. The boy is yet to be free—he should be taken to the country far from the contaminating influence of the town. He should be allowed to go bare footed, with his head uncovered and with scanty clothes. No morals should be taught to him, because the child is incapable of abstract thinking. All we should aim at is to see that the boy develops into a 'healthy animal' as he words it. At this stage also the child is to develop a full control of his muscles by games and healthy amusement of all

kinds and open-air exercises by being left free for the greater part of his time. He will thus naturally develop to his full capacity and by questions and answers and by means of story-telling to gain knowledge of the world.

The *third* stage deals with the child from twelve to fifteen years. This stage sees the child eager to mix up with his fellows and companions. The 'herd' instinct is very strong at this stage and the child must be allowed to act and think with his community. His social development must be guided on right lines. At this stage of adolescence his instinct of curiosity is highly strong, and hence satisfactory outlet must be given for it by teaching him subjects like Geography, History, Literature and Science. Geography must be taught by the observation of his environment in the fields and the woods. History is to be taught by means of stories chiefly to do with travels and adventures. Astronomy may be studied by the watching of the heavenly phenomena, Botany by the seeing of plant kingdom, Physics and Chemistry by observation and experiment, Literature by conversation, and so on. Rousseau's idea of teaching these subjects was indeed very correct. Subjects, he said, should be based on the immediate and past experience of children. Rousseau says that hitherto Emile's muscular powers have far exceeded his intellectual powers and now will begin the training of his intellect. But, of course, the unnecessary studies should be discarded and only the essential thing is to be taught. Now may also begin the social training of the boy. Among other things, Emile must learn a trade mainly for social and economic reasons, for providing a livelihood and enhancing the dignity of labour, developing skill and keeping the body sufficiently exercised. Locke and Froebel also advocated the learning of a trade on the part of a child, not for the sake of earning bread but mainly for its recreational, artistic and expressional value.

The *fourth* stage ranging from the age of fifteen to twenty is the period of late adolescence and is the stage for the formation of heart and intellect. Hitherto, Emile's body, senses and brain have been developed and hitherto he has been trained solely by himself and for himself—self-love, self-perfection and self-development have been the ruling principles. "Now the youth is to be educated for life with others and is to be educated in social relationships. Love for others becomes the controlling motive; emotional development and moral

perfection the goal. Emile should learn to consider the motives and properties of other people. He should learn such subjects as will be useful in later life—his liberty ought not to be restricted and he should be guided by reason. Moral training should be by the results or consequences of acts. If a child does anything wrong he should correct himself by seeing the results of his acts.

So far Rousseau had the boy Emile in mind but in this fourth stage he introduces the girl Sophie. Sophie should be kept under control and should be taught such subjects as will be useful to help her to keep the house. Rousseau, while he believes in 'negative education' for the boy giving him as much freedom as possible, believes that the girl's education must be rigid; Sophie must be trained in domestic work—she must have just enough knowledge to be of help to her husband. She must be trained to meekness and obedience and must do things whether she likes doing them or not, and must be brought up under stern discipline. Rousseau vehemently opposed female education saying: "A woman of culture is to be avoided like a pestilence: she is the plague of her husband, her children, her servants, everybody."

We shall now consider the values of Rousseau's educational scheme and estimate its moral bearings and see whether it could properly lead to the results claimed for it. That the influence of Rousseau's ideas upon educational theory and practice is great, no one will deny. In education as in other things his passionate rhetoric and his scorn for the conventional, as contrasted with the ideal simplicity of Nature, roused men from their slumber, and made them reconsider all they had so long blindly taken for granted. So far his work is invaluable. His bitter sneering condemnation of the corrupt hypocritical and fashionable life of his time and his eloquent plea for a return to a life of nature and a life truly and simply human, and to an education based upon the principles of human nature were righteous and well-trained. His purpose was thoroughly right and he knew how to make himself heard in giving expression to it. But when he came to inform the world in detail how this purpose was to be carried out, he undertook a task for which he was not fitted either by natural endowment or by education.

Dr. Graves at the very outset of his discussion remarks: "The inconsistencies and contradictions of Rousseau were almost proverbial." While Rousseau holds that society is thoroughly corrupt,

he has great confidence in the goodness of all individuals. In the matter bringing up of the model child (Emile) he neglects parents, brothers, sisters and young companions; and though he maintains that the needful qualities of a master may be expected only in 'un homme de genie,' yet he makes over his Emile to a governor to live an isolated life in the country. This sort of anti-social education is absurd, for children cannot be reared up in a 'social vacuum.' As Quick puts it: "It would be to write a treatise on the rearing of a bee cut off from the hive." In this connection we might, however, point out that the times and the cause had need of such an extreme doctrine. The bad traditions had to be broken down. Rousseau 'set everything ablaze.' He himself frankly admitted: "I shouldr ather be a man of paradox than prejudice."

Rousseau was absolutely opposed to book-learning and exaggerated the value of personal observation and inference. By doing this, as Dr. Graves says, he robs the pupil of all experience of his fellows and those who have gone before. We may meet this objection also by saying that Rousseau emphasised physical activity and self-effort as a means to growth and intellectual development of children at a time when observation in elementary education was not considered to be important.

Another point of criticism raised against Rousseau is that he after settling Emile and Sophie into their homes wishes to leave them. But Emile with tears in his eyes begs him to remain. "Who will train the children?"—he asks. So we find that Emile in spite of his training is incapable of rearing up his own family and children, and remains ever dependent on Rousseau.

'Each child must have its own tutor'—was Rousseau's idea. What would have become of the present generation had this idea been put into practice? The tutor had to keep the child with him always and be his guide in all matters. The world would have, indeed, been a sorry place had this idea had any weight.

Rousseau's ideas are supposed to be purely theoretical and sentimental but never practical. In spite of this objection we may note that it is for Rousseau that education finds its purpose, process and its means wholly within the child-life. All of the pregnant reforms of Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel owe their origin to Rousseau. Of Rousseau's educational demands at least three have been responded to: (i) the demand that children should from the

moment of their birth be allowed complete freedom of movement ; (ii) they should be educated through direct experience and not through mere information derived from books ; (iii) they should be taught to use their hands in the production of useful articles. For these reasons Rousseau may be said to be the intellectual progenitor of Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Spencer and many other modern reformers. He points the way for the Herbartians in that he advocated that curiosity and interest are to be used as motives for study. It is likewise due to him primarily that we have recognised the need of physical activities and sense-training in the earlier development of child as a foundation for its later growth and learning. To these recommendations may be traced much of the object teaching of Pestalozzianism and the motor expression of Froebelianism. Thus Rousseau may be said to be father of modern psychological movements in education. And in fact the methods of Maria Montessori, one of the greatest educationists of our times, may be said to be entirely based on Rousseau's doctrines. The principles underlying her methods may be traced to what Rousseau preached two hundred years ago.

It must be admitted, however, that it takes time to find for great thoughts the practice which gives effect to them. Rousseau's theories of education also were not practised or appreciated during his time. "The course of great thoughts," as Quick says, "is in some ways like the course of great rivers." They are most romantic near their source but not useful. They must leave the mountains and must flow down smoothly along the plains among the dwellings of common men. But it takes time. Rousseau was the forerunner of modern education, and he had followed in the trails he blazed until they have become the broad highways of common travel. Monroe says : "Made theory by Rousseau, made practice by Pestalozzi, sympathy with the child—intellectually, morally, personally—has come to be recognised as an essential element in education."

As the author of *Emile*, the great epoch-making work, as the father of French Revolution, as the most prominent reformer in the field of education, Rousseau's genius is undenying. His is one of the original voices that go on sounding and awakening echoes in all lands. In the history of education, this much-despised revolutionist—a vagabond without family-ties, with no literary training—an exile from home till death, will hold the most sublime and supreme position for ever.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE ENGLISH WITH OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS IN INDIA FROM 1620 TO 1661, AND THE ACCENTUATION OF A EUROPEAN FEELING

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“ [N January, 1618, the English factories in the dominions of the Great ” Mughul “ numbered five in all: Agra, Ahmadábád, Burhampur, Broach and Surat.” Robert Hughes and Francis Fettiplace were directing exports and imports at Agra in that year. On July 3, 1620, Hughes arrived at Patna to establish an agency there, and thus extend and promote direct commerce with Bihar and also to a certain extent with Bengal. In November of the same year, Rodant Crape gained from Raghunátha Náyaka of Tanjor “ the cession of the port of Tranquebár.” On December 28 hostile European relationships led to an action between “ a Portuguese fleet of twenty-one sail ” and the Company’s ships “ near Jask in Persia.”¹

On May 29th, 1660, “ his birthday,” Charles II “ entered London, all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people, and exclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered.” “ Under Charles II,” says Prof. Khán, “ commerce and industry became the chief ends of foreign policy.” So far as intercourse with the East went, Prof. Muir is of opinion that 1660 marked the end “ of the period of experiment and settlement.” His reign “ saw the definite organisation of a clearly conceived imperial policy.” A new era dawned in. “ Upon the king’s first arrival in England he manifested,” says Clarendon, “ a very great desire to improve the general traffic and trade of the nation.”²

¹ The English Factories in India (Foster), 1618-21, p. v, etc. ; Burgess : The Chronology of Modern India, (1913 ed.) p. 77 and 78 ; Calcutta Review, 1919, p. 92.

² Ramsay Muir : The Expansion of Europe, p. 24 and p. 41 ; Khán : The East India Trade in the 17th Century, p. 66 ; Clarendon : The History of the Rebellion, etc. (1849 ed.), Vol. VI, p. 264, etc., Book XVI, pp. 245-247.

The "Old Company" had been granted charter by Cromwell on Feb. 10, 1657, and "on the faith of that grant had embarked a large capital on the East India trade." The Company had therefore "to secure another Charter from the restored king," "and thus make themselves safe." On April 3, 1661, the General Character, "of which the original" still exists in the India Office, was granted "into the Governor and Company of Merchants trading into the East Indies" "for ever hereafter.....the whole, entire and only trade and traffick" "to and from the said East Indies." Charles, we may notice incidentally, received during this transaction plate worth 3,210 l., and the Duke of York gifts costing 1,062 l.³

So far as English relationship with other European nations in India were immediately concerned, the signing of the marriage treaty between "our Royall king" and Catherina of Braganza, "the Infanta of Portugall," on June 23, 1661, was a momentous happening, because "it threw the shield of English protection over the Portuguese," and exasperated the Dutch. The "Exaggerated rumour" that "had reached the Dutch at Batavia in October, viz., that the dowry of the Princess was to include all the Portuguese possessions in the East," "served to stimulate the Dutch to push on more energetically with their campaign against the Portuguese, in order to secure as much as possible before being brought to a standstill."

The importance of these years and the development of certain peculiar features of importance during this period, consequently justify (to a certain extent) a student of European relationships in India, who is conscious of the need for specialisation, to separate the period from 1620 to 1661, from the other ages of Modern Indo-European history.⁵

But inspite of this justification of division, one must not forget that this relationship was a legacy from the earlier period, and consequently factors of the age preceding our own have to be taken into account for full comprehension of our present topic. We find, to take an instance (if we must take one), English trade hesitating to expand, to come into Bengal, during our period. Among other things

³ The corner of the Character has been cut away. Relics of the Honourable East India Co., p. i, p. 18, p. 14 and plates facing p. 14; Burgess p. 103.

⁴ English Factories, 1661-1664, p. 20; Batavia Dagb Register 1661, p. 330; Burgess, p. 107.

⁵ The relationship between Greeks, Romans and others with Indians is of course within the scope of Ancient Indo-European History.

a cause of this hesitation lay in the earlier age which witnessed the activities of the Portuguese in that part of the country. Even this hesitation cannot be stereotyped between 1620 and 1661. A letter of August 2(6) 1919, *e.g.*, says, "As for trade in Bengala, our masters have often required (the?) attempte. in expectation, it seems, of some profitable commodities thence for England, butt as the case standes, we see not how it can as now be undertaken."⁶

Again this quotation from an earlier document has to be read along with, *e.g.*, "there are some Portingalls at presant in towne, and more are latlye gon for their portes in Bengala" of July 12, 1620;⁷ "there are latlye come up divers frigitts of the portingalls from Sutgonge whose merchants buye up all they can lay hand, of," of August 6, 1620;⁸ and "the Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with their friggitts from the bottom of Bengalla where they have two porttes, one called Gollye; and th' other Pieppullye"⁹ of Nov. 30, 1620.

The not infrequent hostility of various Asiatics in authority towards the English trader, many a murderous rising and a ravaging war, the cost and difficulty of transporting merchandise to and from many parts of the country—which were rendered heavier (in some cases) because of the monsoons, the climate of certain parts of India decidedly unsuitable to the health of the average Englishman, exactions on and limitations of the Company's trade by the authorities in Britain which were not economic alone,¹⁰ "a most undoubted prejudice"—private trade; encroachments (so far as the Company was concerned) in diverse ways by "interlopers," indiscreet and inefficient administration of the Company's affairs by some of its servants, rampant piracy in Eastern and Western waters, plundering raids by robber—barons and freelances, and (last but certainly not the least) hostile relationships with other European powers having Eastern ambitions, were some of the cardinal factors which directly or indirectly hampered the growth of organised English commercial relations with India during the period under review.

⁶ Eng. Fac., 1618-21, p. 116.

⁷ P. 195.

⁸ Factory Records, Patna, Vol. I p. 4; E. F., 1618-21, p. 197.

⁹ E. F., 1618-21, p. 212 and p. 213; Fac. Rec. Pat., Vol. I, p. 16.

¹⁰ A "proposition" (recorded on March 8 1643), *e.g.*, had been made by the "Committee of Parliament for the Safety of the Kingdom" for the loan of some of the Company's ordnance (Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Co., 1640-1643, p. 303). In March, 1644, the Company, to take another instance, was asked to provide thirty men and arms "at Blackwell. (Foster: The East India House, etc., p. 15.)

On December 31, 1600, Queen Elizabeth declared, "Whereas our most dear and loving cousin, George, Earl of Cumberland and our well beloved subjects " " Sir John Harte, Sir John Spencer " and others " have of our certain knowledge been petitioners unto us for our royal assent and license to be granted unto them "....." know ye therefore that....." they from henceforth be one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."¹¹ This body was commonly known as the " Old Company." The United Dutch East India Company was formed out of a number of small companies, the Pre-companies, and " in 1604-9, came the attempts of Henry IV to set up a French East India Co." In 1612, the Danes formed their East India Company at Copenhagen.¹² The Portuguese were already there.

There are also other Europeans in Eastern waters during this period. We find the Spaniards, for example, at Manilla where the English also wanted to trade. A letter of Jan. 25, 1647, says that the " profit of " the Manilla busines " is such " that the English " heartely " wished " the trade might be confirmed " " unto " them by the King of Spain.¹³ " Might the trade be freely enjoid without interruption or restraint, it is thought " wrote Breton, Merry and Pitt, " double the quantity of goods here inlisted would vend, and to much more advance." Some saltpetre which was purchased, we find in a letter from Swally Marine of April 5, 1649, was to be sent to Bantam " for sale at Macassar to the Spaniards.¹⁴ Spain seems to have grown later on into a market for calicoes and her plantations also absorbed Indian goods.¹⁵

" In the year 1648, some private Genoese and other merchants under Letters Patent from the Duke and Senate of that city, equipped two large ships:" for trade with the East and discovery of new lands. Writing from Swally Marine of Jan. 31, 1649, Merry and others say that they were aware of the despatch of two ships from Genoa to India or " some other destination." On April 5, 1649, the English

¹¹ Patent Roll, 4 Eliz., part 6; Prothero: Select Statutes and Constitutional Documents, etc., (IV ed.) p. 448 *et seq.*

¹² Relics of the Hon. East India Co., p. 1; Burgess, p. 61, 62, 70, etc. *Gen. History of India*, Vol. V, p. 654, p. 80, p. 61, etc.; Khán: East India Trade in the 17th Century, p. 5.

¹³ O. C., 2029; E. F., 1646-50, p. 80 and p. 81.

¹⁴ O. C., 2121; E. F., 1646-50, p. 262.

¹⁵ Khán: East India Trade, p. 277 and p. 278.

at Swally Marine declare that they were even then unaware of the movements of the "Jennoway" vessels. On Jan. 11, 1650, a Bantam letter tells us that they were seized by the Dutch.¹⁶

Broadly speaking, the normal relationship of the English in India with these other Europeans was one of hostility and competition, rivalry and jealousy. But I am of opinion that a distinct feeling of European solidarity is now and then, clearly discernible in the background of the Indo-European History of this period.

Divergent national policies, clashing commercial interests, sometimes even personal likes and dislikes, and selfishness, weakened, if they did not succeed in negating, this European feeling in India. But it appeared time after time, and received fresh strength from the contrast between the Indian and the Asiatic outlook.

The History of Modern Europe records, though incidentally, the conflict between Nationalism and Europeanism. The fight has been carried on to our day. Shouts of fraternity however mingle with the ringing of the tocsin and bloodcurdling threats of various groups tocsing the liberty pike and wearing the bonnet rouge. Both are again drowned in the din of the Wars of Liberation which hurl even the mighty Napoleon into St. Helena, the Balkan Wars, the Great War of 1914-18, and its not so notable successors. But a Concert of Europe and a League of Nations answer the slogan of the Balance of Power voiced so dramatically just at the interval of a century—1713, 1815, 1918—though perhaps feebly.

The "Hellenistic" Roman Empire, a "fusion of Greek and Oriental" in its origin, had "first stamped upon Europe" "the impress of unity." In the Middle Ages "the feudal class was homogeneous throughout Western Europe; the clerical class was a single corporation through all the extent of Latin Christianity; and the peasantry and the townsfolk of England were very little different from the peasantry and townsfolk of France." There "was the Respublica Christiana; whose spiritual head was the Pope, whose Councils were occumenical, whose monastic and military orders were international, whose language and law were the same throughout all lands, whose creed, ritual and mode of government were uniform and universal." Advent even of the Reformation "did not destroy the

¹⁶ Danvers: *The Portuguese in India, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 294 *et seq.*; Burgess, p. 97; E. F., 1648-50 p. 249; p. 260; p. 274; *Lisbon Transcripts* (at L. O.), Doc. Remett, bk. 58, f. 55; *Factory Records, Java*, Vol. III, pt. III, p. 1, etc.

idea of the oneness of Christendom ; and efforts continued to be made both by political theorists and by practical statesmen to establish some sort of a Concert of Europe." The " Grand Design of Henry IV " was probably conceived either within or close to the period under review. It laid down principles on which the " Government of this Christian Republic " of Europe was to be carried on. The Grand Design " has " " a great interest," because it is " the first scheme in modern times for the peaceful organization of the European world."¹⁷

During the period under review, the 'Thirty Years' War was being fought in Europe. Non-Germans and Germans were killing one another; English volunteers went over to Germany, and England fought against Spain and France. The English Government " had actually entered " into an agreement " with the States General for the recovery of the Palatinate." The Bishops' Wars, the Irish Rebellion, the Ten Years' War in England, Scotland and Ireland, ended in the consolidation of Cromwell's power. But there were " risings of Royalists in England, of Scots, of Levellers . . . of Fifth Monarchy men." In 1650, Lisbon was blockaded. Blake attacked the Portuguese fleet from Brazil, " sank three ships, and captured seventeen with a rich cargo." The war which broke out between the English and the Dutch brought the European conflict nearer India. Throughout our period fights in Persian, Indian and other Eastern waters between the English and other European powers continued. But " in spite of " " Wars " " the conception of a community of Christendom," says Prof. Hearnshaw, " the Christendom of the Middle Ages together with its modern offshoots—continued more and more firmly to establish itself, and increasingly to extend the sphere of its influence."

Charles II expected that " the general distraction and confusion which " was " spread over the whole kingdom " would " awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds " might " be bound up."¹⁸ English solidarity, to take an example, survived the Civil War. In the same way, we may say—though with much less

¹⁷ Barker: *Church, State and Study*, p. 1, p. 51, etc.; Hearnshaw: *Main Currents of European History*, etc. (1920 ed.), p. 15 *et seq.*; Methuen's *History of Mod. and Mod. Europe*, Vol. V, p. 515 *et seq.*; Sully's *Memories*, etc.

¹⁸ See the Declaration of Breda (April, 1660), quoted in Clarendon, Vol. VI, p. 232 *et seq.*

emphasis—that a European feeling survived all these clashes in the Continent and elsewhere.

Firstly therefore one finds the reflection of the European feeling existing in Europe on the Europeans in India during the period we are studying. Secondly, I am of opinion that this consciousness becomes stronger (than what it was in contemporary Europe) because of the fact that the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the Danes, the French and other Europeans in Indian waters, were discovering that very often in religion, colour and cultural outlook, and always in original manners, customs, habits and dress, even in the selection and preparation of daily food—they differed widely from Indians and other Asiatics domiciled in India. This discovery also reminded them that in these very things and ideas they had much in common among themselves. Acts of friendliness among Indians and Europeans can certainly be found during this period. But this contrast succeeded in drawing the European away from the Indian and in attracting the Europeans of different nations to one another, though only to a certain extent.

In a letter of Andrew Cogan and others dated Sept. 20, 1643, we find this contrast referred to. While complaining against various inconvenience suffered by himself and others, Cogan says, "Whither your Worships have imployment or no, men cannot goe naked, as the Gentews doe." In a letter from Fort St. George of Sept. 8 1645, the scarcity of English sailors is deplored, and the opinion seems to be expressed that the employment of "Jentues saylors" was not very desirable.²¹ In the same letter we find mention of "40 Dutch musketeirs and 150 blacke souldyers,"²² and thus a careful distinction between Indians and even non-English Europeans in the English mind is indicated. A defeat of the Dutch by the "Jentues" referred to in the same page was thought to be one of "their great disgrace and shame" by the English. When "Jos. de Brito," "whose family" lived "in Goa," "a meistizo,"²³ was sent by Pearce, Breton and Mentell to interview the Spanish governor at Manilla "to obtain premission for their landing," de Brito was not allowed "to go into any howse or speake with any friend, but" "a soldier" "put him

²¹ O. C., 1792 ; 1799 ; E. F., 1642-1645, p. 54.

²² p. 282.

²³ Dagb Register, 1644-45, p. 356 ; E. F., 1642-1645, p. 279.

²⁴ p. 166.

out of the towne." There were other reasons. But the governor was "in great displeasure" "especially" because "a negro should be sent unto him." The emissary of "Don Joan Lopis"—the governor—stated that the governor "tooke it unkindly that having white men of " "the English," "nacion on board shipp," the English "wold send a Portugall negro to treat with him about trade."²⁴

One of the main props of this European feeling in the East was the common religion—Christianity.

In pursuance of an agreement that some of the English had made with the Khán of Shiráz, an agreement protested against later on by the Surat authorities, an English fleet appeared off Ormus "where the Portuguese squadron" "rode under the shelter of the castle," on Jan. 22, 1622. In April, 1622, the Persians and the English took Ormus which had been a Portuguese possession as early as 1514.²⁵ In connection with these transactions so deeply connected with the Indo-English History of this period, we find, firstly, that one of the reasons that made the captains of the fleet, Blyth and Weddell, to hesitate, was the inadvisability of aiding a "heathen" power against a "European prince." "As to the Ormus affair," wrote Rastell and others from Surat to Pulicat, on April 29, 1623, there was among other deterrents, the consideration of "the dishonour of supplanting a Christian to establish a heathen."²⁶

Secondly, the last part of the agreement with the Khán ran thus:—"And if Christians shall come or flie tow Mussellmen, they shall accordinglie restore them to the English." We also come across:—"And conserninge the captives . . . if Christians they shall accordinglie be theares." On the whole, "Christians captured" were to "be at the disposal of" the English.²⁷ Thirdly, when the Portuguese garrison "found its situation desperate," they decided "to surrender to the English." "The defendants," says a Surat letter of December 10, 1622, "surrendered both the castle and themselves into the hands of our English."²⁸ Fourthly, the English who attacked

²⁴ p. 218 and p. 219.

²⁵ C. H. I., Vol. V, p. 12, p. 81 and p. 82; Burgess, p. 8; E. F., 1622-1623, p. VIII *et seq.*; Purchas's second volume; Valle's Travels; Lisbon Transcripts, etc.

²⁶ E. F., 1622-23 p. VIII; Factory Records, Masulipatam, Vol. IX, p. 25; E. F., 1622-23, p. 227.

²⁷ E. F., 1622-1623, p. IX; Factory Records, Java, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 301; E. F., 1622-23 p. 13 *et seq.* But some special provisions regarding Ruy Freire and the Captain of Ormus were laid down.

²⁸ E. F., 1622-23, p. XI; p. 165; Factory Records, Java, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 228.

Ormuz "provided for the conditioned safetye of above 3,000 men, woomen and children of the Portingalls."²⁹ Monnox, Blyth and Weddell writing to Surat on April 27, 1622, pointed out:—"Such hath beene the Christianlike care of them (that) wee have not laboured only with the Persians to spare their lives but wee have alsoe fitted them with shippinge and other meanes to carry them away."³⁰ Miles and Dod write on Nov. 12, 1623, from Masulipatam:—"Indeed (to speake truth that enterprise was not well entertained on our partes, exept upon more ceartaine grounds and better conditions to have enjoyed the comaund thersof, and not to dispossess Christianitie (although our enemies) to place in faithless Moores, which cannott but bee much displeasinge to Almightye God."³¹

Similarly, President Methwold writing on April 28, 1636,³² criticises some English piracies adversely, and says:—"So that all put together must needs spell out some decayed captain who would repaire himself with the ruines of the East India Company, though the honor of the English Nation should fall with them to the scandall of Christianitie amongst the multitudes of heathens (and) Mahumitans which inhabit these great kingdomes of Asia."

To take another instance, President Berton found out that Joshua Blackwell had ceased to be a Christian. It affected him deeply. Writing to the Company on April 5, 1649,³³ he and others say, "And heere we wish our penn might bee sylent; but to our greife it must imparte unto you a sad story...far sadder and more displeasing than the "intelligence of a gunner named William Griffin being "stobbed to the heart " "with a dagger," and three other Englishmen wounded in a fight with some Indians ;"³⁴ "itt not only tending to the losse of a man but the dishonour of our nation, and (which is incompeerably worse) of our Christian profession; occasioned in Agra by the conversion "of one of your factors Josua Blackwell." They promised to do "their best to regain him."

In a long letter of President Fremlen and others from Swally Marine on Dec. 29, 1640,³⁵ we find that "the President" had

²⁹ E. F., 1622-23, p. 165.

³⁰ p. 77; Factory Records, Persia, Vol. I, p. 42.

³¹ Fac. Rec., Surat, Vol. CII p. 463; E. F., 1622-1623, p. 312 and p. 313.

³² O. C., 1658; E. F., 1634-1636, p. 203 *et seq.*; p. 214.

³³ O. C., 2121; E. F., 1646-1650, p. 257 *et seq.*; p. 260 and p. 261.

³⁴ Information which he had imparted earlier in his letter.

³⁵ O. C., 1764; E. F., 1637-41, p. 270 *et seq.*

already been "advised" "in mediating between the Moors and the Portuguese."³⁸

The "Letters Patent" granted by Charles II of April 3, 1661, vests the Company among other things with the right to commission their officers "to contynue or make peace or warr with any prince or people, that are not Christians, in any places of their trade, as shall bee most for the advantage and benefitt of the said Governor and Company and of their trade." At the same time, "Christian" princes, Christian "states" and "the possessions of Christian States" "in league with His Majesty" were specially protected.³⁹

Specific acts of friendliness and co-operation of the English in India with other Europeans in Eastern Waters were not at all uncommon. On June 12, 1620, James Cartwright was sent to Masulipatam in the Dutch ship; *New Zealand*.⁴⁰ Co-operation with the Dutch is referred to in a letter to Surat of Oct. 23, 1621.⁴¹ A letter from Burhampur Nov. 7, 1621, says:—"With the Dutch factors here wee finde noe discorde."⁴² Another of April 25th, 1622, was carried "by a Dutch frigate."⁴³ Another of May 12, 1622, says:—"For building of a howse the Generall⁴⁴ tells us hee will give order that you shall have a place appointed to build a warehouse and lodging some sufficiente for your accommodation." Mills "supposed" on Oct. 21, 1622, that "the new Dutch chief at Masulipatam" would "not prevent the English sending any small matter by the Dutch ships."⁴⁵ A letter of Sept. 8, 1623, from Duke and Mills at Masulipatam says that a "Dutch shipp arrived on this coast out of Hollan." "She reporte(d) of a hopefull agreement between our master and theirs." These agreements, truces and treaties in Europe and India, so far as they affected the relation of Englishmen to other Europeans in Eastern waters, are to be thrown in the balance against fights—both official and unofficial—which we come across during our period. The same letter says that "the Dutch Tortel" brought letters from Batavia on the 5th.⁴⁶

³⁸ P. 281.

³⁹ The first and sixth sheets are reproduced in the *Relics of the Hon. East India Co.* (Griggs Birdwood and Foster): Plates facing, p. 14; A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc. of the East India Co., 1660-1668, p. 104 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ O. G., 884; E. F., 1618-1641, p. 196.

⁴¹ P. 810.

⁴² O. C., 1048; E. F., 1622-1623, p. 83.

⁴³ The Dutch authority.

⁴⁴ P. 84 and p. 184.

⁴⁵ P. 326.

⁴⁶ P. 280.

On March 28, 1624, Predeint Brockedon and Council at Batavia point out that "the Dutch should be asked to bring the small parcel of English goods remaining at Pulicat to Masulipatom."⁴⁵ On Feb. 6, 1626, Hawley and Council say that "they received by the Dutch letters from Masulipatam, Achin and Surat."⁴⁶ The Dutch also sometimes sent their goods by English ships. A document of March 28, 1625, says:—"At the request of the Dutch it is agreed that a hundred tons of their goods be carried to Batavia for them in the James."⁴⁷ A document of Nov. 1652, points out that Kerridge "kindly entertained" the Dutch at Surat by about the beginning of our period.⁴⁸ On Sept. 8, 1631, the Danes carried letters for the English. On Dec. 7, 1640, another letter reached Swally Marine by a Danish ship.⁴⁹ Between 1634 and 1636 we have also many instances of the Dutch shipping letters and goods for the English. A letter of March 6, 1636, says that news of the loss of some of the "Speedewells Company" had been conveyed to the authorities by a Dutch ship.⁵⁰ Rice was "borrowed" from Dutch ships according to a letter of April 17, 1636.⁵¹ The President and Council at Surat "suggest the purchase of some of the mace and nutmegs brought by the Dutch" by about the same time. The same letter refers to some "civilities shown to certain Portuguese."⁵² At the same time, the desire to remain at peace with the English was one of the chief reasons which led the Dutch to reject the very tempting offer Sháh Jahán made in April, 1635, "to take the place of the English in India."⁵³ A Surat letter of Jan. 2, 1636, speaks of the "truce" "concluded with the Portuguese" and an application "through Father Paulo to the Captain of Damán" who permitted two English "frigates" to be built at Damán, and also promised to "assist with materials and workmen." As a result "two dainty vessells...of very good capacity," named the Michael and the Francis "in compliment to the Viceroy and Captain of Damán" were "nearly finished" by that date. Methwold and his Council "heartily" hoped that peace with the Portuguese would be confirmed.⁵⁴ Frømlene's letter of Jan. 28, 1640, mentions that a passage was granted to F. M.

⁴⁵ Fac. Rec., Java, Vol. III, pt. II, p. 266; E. F., 1624-1629, p. 12 and p. 18.

⁴⁶ P. 118.

⁴⁷ P. 73.

⁴⁸ Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Co.

⁴⁹ E. F., 1630-33, p. 183; 1637-1641, p. 270; 1650-54, p. 201 and p. 202.

⁵⁰ E. F., 1634-36, p. 180.

⁵¹ p. 189.

⁵² P. 189.

⁵³ P. xii and xiii.

⁵⁴ P. 186 *et seq.*

de Silva accompanied by a Franciscan friar and three other Portuguese " by the London."⁵⁵

Between 1646 and 1650, to take another example, letters were carried by the English for the Dutch. A long despatch to the Company of January 3, 1646, enclosed " letters, etc., from the Dutch factors for transmission to Holland."⁵⁶ In the letter from Gombroon of Oct. 19, 1648, we find again some letters from the Dutch " forwarded " by the English.⁵⁷

We find in the letter of 24th Dec., 1631:—" At the instant request of the Danes Generall wee have given licence to two of his cheefe people " (Nicholas Rutter and another) " to take their passage for Bantom by the Hopewell."⁵⁸ The Danes also offered the English " the benefitt of " their port and " their best industry for investing whatt " the English " should desire."⁵⁹ " It hath bin a usuall thing," says a letter of Jan. 11, 1661, which refers to the " apprehension " of " Capt. Knox, Mr. John Loveland and 15 more " in Ceylon by the " Chingulaes,"⁶⁰ " for ships to goe in there and refresh and trim, both of ours and the Danes."⁶¹ A letter from Batavia of Dec. 14, 1623,⁶² says that " an Englishman named Johnson " come out master of one of the first Danish shippes." President Breton however in a letter of Jan. 25, 1647,⁶³ says:—" One Johnson, a deboist sot who, when the Danes were in trouble at the Manielies (discovered to be spies emloyd by the Dutch General)...would have brought your estate, ship and servants to the same condition." Another, Robert Wright was also employed by the Danes. He was taxed by Netlam with wronging him and the Company in Bengal." On his " arrival at Fort St. George " " Greenhill called him to account, but could not find any proof of guilt."⁶⁴ The letter of Dec. 1, 1644, also says that Daniel Jones—" an Englishman, but passing here as a Fleming"—was in the employment of the Spaniards at Manilla, as " the Governor's Chamberlain." Again we find a " Portugall-Marepar " named Augustin Perez with the English at Amboyna. The Dutch arrested him with ten Englishmen on February 17, 1623, on a charge

⁵⁵ E. F., 1637-1641, p. 230.

⁵⁶ O. C., 1970; E. F., 1646-1650, p. 1 *et seq.*; p. 21 *etc.*

⁵⁷ P. 219.

⁵⁸ E. F., 1630-1633, p. 184.

⁵⁹ E. F., 1642-45, p. 156 and p. 157.

⁶⁰ Symbalees.

⁶¹ Fac. Records St. George, Vol. xiv, p. 5; E. F., 1655-1660, p. 395.

⁶² O. C., 1180; E. F., 1622-23, p. 394 *et seq.*

⁶³ O. C., 2023; E. F., 1646-50, p. 75 *et seq.*; p. 85 and n.

⁶⁴ P. 274.

of conspiracy, "to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and to expel the Dutch from the island."⁶⁵

"Three Dutchmen," according to Rastell's letter, dated April 22, 1631, were "permitted to take passage in" English ships.⁶⁶ Portuguese "passengers, goods and letters" were also sometimes "carried on English ships." "The Francis was sent to Damán," according to a letter of Jan. 13, 1638, for example, "to transport to Goa the family of the Captain."⁶⁷ Middleton and others reported on Oct. 6, 1658, that their vessel had been "cast away on the Maldives." Some of the survivors were helped by some Dutchmen (in Ceylon) to reach Manar "whence they were sent on to Jaffnapatam."⁶⁸ "There the kindness of the Dutch governor" "provided them with a boat in which they got to Porto Novo."⁶⁹ Bateman writing from Balasore in Aug. 1658, speaks of "the carousing Dutchmen" who were able to drive away "those melancholy thoughts that assant the solitary."⁷⁰ When the whole of Ahmedabad was "full of tumult, curses and exclamations against" the English, their President cast into prison, and the "thunderclape broke upon" them at Surat, it was a Dutch factor who gave the information that the pass given by the pirates had been "brought to the Dutch house for translation." The Indian skipper had refused to produce it to the officers of the Company.⁷¹

Again when the soldiers of "Molay"⁷² defeated the Dutch "to their great disgrace and shame," the English gave shelter to a Dutch "marchant." "The Agent hath upon a letter from the Governour of Pullicatte to him, ingaged himself unto Molay for the payment of the mony or the returne of his person."⁷³

The Dutch similarly, deplore the fate of the English prisoners in Ceylon, "from Rebert Knox's Ann" and Vassall's Persian Merchant who have been referred to above.

"Your Excellence," writes Ryckloff Van Goens, the Governor of Ceylon, to Jacob Hustaart on Dec. 26, 1663, "also knows how unjustly

⁶⁵ O. C., 1902; E. F., 1642-45, p. 218 *et seq.*, p. 225; Bruce: "Annals of the Hon. E. I. Co.," Vol. I, p. 246 *et seq.*; E. F., 1622-1623 p. 260; Fac. Records, Surat, Vol. cii, p. 372, etc.

⁶⁶ Factory Records, Java, Vol. III, pt. ii, p. 535; E. F., 1630-33, p. 145 *et seq.*, p. 147.

⁶⁷ O. C., 1614; E. F., 1637-41, p. 38 *et seq.*; p. 42.

⁶⁸ In North Ceylon.

⁶⁹ Known usually as Jaffna (N. Ceylon).

⁷⁰ E. F., 1656-1660, p. 182 and p. 183.

⁷¹ P. 194; Yule's Diary of William Hedges, Vol. III, p. 192.

⁷² E. F., 1634-36, p. XIX *et seq.*, p. 196, p. 215, etc.

⁷³ Malaya Chincama Chetti was known by this name. E. F., 1642-45, p. 50, n. I.

⁷⁴ P. 279.

he⁷⁵ detains in his territory the English who have never done him any harm." "His attempts," he says later, "to secure the friendship of the English are also due to no other cause, but I am of opinion that the English will not allow themselves to be deceived by him in the manner that for so many years past he deceived us in with respect to the Portuguese and the Portuguese with respect to us."

Goens also expresses his sympathy, we may notice incidentally, with an ambassador "from the Prince of Bengale" and "his people" "who reduced to beggary, perished miserably."

The European feeling is however quite apparent when he says "I should like in this connection to make some suggestion for rescuing the poor English prisoners who belong to the same faith as we... I can suggest no way except that when writing to him above our own people, we should intercede for the English as well" "thus also discharging our duty as Christians." The original passage runs thus:—

"Hire soude nu oock wel vougten een middel te raden, om d'arme Engelsee gevangens. als onse geloofsgenoten, Van daer te krygen, near dewyl' wy van ons eygen volck soo kleyne hope somtyts hebben, weet ick geen nader middel te bedencken, dan dat wy aen hem schryvender, soo wel voor d' Engelsen interceduren, als voor ons eygen volck ende waer mede onse Christelke plichte achten Voldaen te weesen."⁷⁶

On the whole, I may conclude that there was some sort of a feeling of oneness in Europe during this period, a vague consciousness that was carried with them to Eastern waters, even by the insular English. This European mentality affected the relationship of the English in India with the other Europeans in the East during the period from 1620 to 1661. Secondly, the occasional patent and latent, actual and supposed, hostility of some Indians of this period, the contrast between the Indian and the Western outlook of those days, and other causes strengthened the European feeling of the English. Rivalry, jealousy, greed, competition were checked (though only to a limited extent) by truces, treaties and agreements, and this strengthened European feeling of the English showed itself not only in general expressions of solidarity, but also in friendly acts and sympathetic gestures.

⁷⁵ "Rada Singa" Rajasinha II; the transliteration given in the footnote of Reimers' Translation requires modification.

⁷⁶ Selections from the Dutch Records of the Ceylon Government No. 8, Translation and Text, pp. 21, 22, 73, etc.

EMPLOYMENT PLANNING AND DEMOGRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION *

DR. BENAY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), DR. GEOG. H. C.
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IN the Indian Census of 1931 a "working dependant" is a person who contributes to the family maintenance by an occupation which is of a subsidiary character. Such a person is sharply distinguished from the "non-working dependant" who does not follow any occupation. The category "worker" includes (1) the "earner" who is a wage receiver or subsistence obtainer in either principal or subsidiary occupations, and (2) the "working dependant" as defined above. The total population, then, from the standpoint of gainful employment, is to be conceived as follows:—

- I. Worker—(1) earner ;
(2) working dependant.
- II. Non-working dependant.

But formerly the Census categories were different. Neither the category "earner" nor the category "working dependant" was used. For the purpose of comparing the 1931 figures with those of 1921 and 1911 one has, therefore, to be specially careful in regard to the items in question. In the previous Census only two categories were made use of, namely, "workers" and "dependants."

For three dates we find the following proportions between the economic "actives," "gainfully employed" or "workers" (*i.e.*, earners *plus* working dependants) and the "supported" or dependants, as follows:—

Census year.	Actives.	Supported.	Total.
1911	47	53	100
1921	46	54	100
1931	44	56	100

* Paper for the Second All-India Population and First Family Hygiene Conference, Bombay, 1938.

¹ *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India—Part I, Report (Delhi 1933), pp. 273-275; Part II, Imperial Tables (Delhi 1933), p. 206.*

We notice that the employment-coefficient went down from 47 per cent. in 1911 to 44 per cent. in 1931.

The diminution in employment-coefficient is partly to be explained by the fact that there was a growing tendency to keep the women away from agriculture, at any rate, not to report them as being employed in out-door agricultural work. Another factor is to be seen in the increasing number of children reported as dependant, i.e. workless.

Be this as it may, let us now envisage the occupational structure of India (British as well as Indian) for the year 1931 as follows:—

I. Workers.	Persons.	Men.	Women.
(1) Earners	125,270,827	97,415,536	27,855,291
(2) Working Dependants	28,615,063	7,644,575	20,070,488
II. Non-working Dependants	196,643,667	75,560,501	121,083,166
Total	350,529,557	180,620,613	169,908,945

In this scheme 44 per cent. of the total population was "gainfully employed" (153,885,890).

It is possible to get such coefficients from many countries of the world. But, unfortunately, the comparability of statistics between region and region in this field, as in others, is very questionable. In the first place, the figures for one and the same date are not available. Secondly—and this is from the statistical standpoint the most crucial consideration—the data about occupations, subsidiary occupations, etc., are collected by different countries in different ways. Consequently, when one and the same grouping is used it is doubtful if one can take the same grouping from two different countries in one and the same sense, i.e., as composed of the same classes of occupied or unoccupied individuals. These limitations of international employment statistics must never be lost sight of.

In an analysis of the occupational structure of the world, then, we find the proportion of the "gainfully employed" in relation to the total inhabitants as follows for twenty-three countries¹:—

¹ *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin, 1928), p. 26; *Annuaire Statistique* (Paris, 1932) pp. 214-215; *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations* (Geneva, 1932), pp. 34-48.

Occupational Changes in Japan (Liberty of Trading Bulletin No. 9, Tokyo 1931), pp. 9-11, and the *Thirty-third Financial and Economic Annual of Japan* (Tokyo, 1933), p. 3.

I

Above 50% of Total Population

1. Latvia	...	...	...	...	61.0
2. France	...	...	...	...	56.0
3. Austria	...	...	...	...	55.1
4. Bulgaria	...	...	...	...	53.7
5. Poland	...	...	...	...	52.4
6. Russia	...	...	...	...	51.7
7. Germany	...	...	...	...	61.3

II

Between 40% and 50% of Total Population

1. Switzerland	...	...	...	...	48.0
2. Italy	...	...	...	...	47.6
3. Finland	...	...	...	...	47.2
4. Hungary	...	...	...	...	45.8
5. England-Wales	...	...	...	...	45.3
6. Czechoslovakia	...	...	...	...	44.2
7. Sweden	...	...	...	...	44.1
8. India	...	...	...	...	44.0
9. Belgium	...	...	...	—	43.3
10. Japan	...	...	...	...	42.6
11. Australia	...	...	...	...	42.4
12. Denmark	...	...	...	...	41.2
13. Norway	...	...	...	...	40.4

III

Under 40% of Total Population

1. Holland	...	...	...	...	39.7
2. U. S. A.	...	...	...	...	39.4
3. Spain	...	...	...	...	37.4
4. Canada	...	...	...	...	36.1

The employment-coefficient of 44.0 for India is not low. It is slightly higher than that of Japan. The fact that 44 per cent. of her total population is "gainfully employed," thereby belonging to the

class of "actives," indicates that men and women in India are, generally speaking, not lazy or workless. And yet the country is notoriously poor, no matter what be the definition of poverty, destitution, or low standard of living. Poverty in the midst of or rather inspite of considerable employment is the signal feature of Indian social economy. In other words, employment in India is not "paying" enough.

Naturally, from the standpoint of economic plan-makers, the problem should appear to be one of rendering each unit of employment relatively more paying. That is, one might proceed with the hypothesis that, other circumstances remaining the same, the earning per hour or "dose" of work ought to be increased in order that poverty might diminish. To the poverty-doctor this aspect of employment-planning should appear to be the chief consideration.

But a no less important question might at the same time raise its head in view of the fact that there are today certain countries in which the employment-coefficient is much higher than in India. And some of these countries are known to be rich also. Ignoring England-Wales and Italy, in which employment-coefficients happen to be just a few points above India, we may take the countries of the first group, *i.e.*, those with employment-coefficient above 50% of the total population for comparison and analysis. It is clear that although quite substantial in national wealth and income per head of population Germany has on the list of economic "actives" 51.3 per cent., Austria 55.1 per cent. and France 56.0 per cent. of the total inhabitants. This fact of comparative statistics forces upon us the idea that for a country like India an important line of advance should perhaps have to be found in raising her employment-coefficient to a somewhat higher level than 44%. And this consideration is to be treated as in no way a substitute for but as an addition to the question previously touched upon, namely, that of increasing the earning per unit of employment.

The proportion of economic "actives" or "gainfully employed" in India, then, requires to be raised. This implies, first, that more workers have to be placed on the employment-market, and secondly, that, perhaps, more work has to be done by each active, *i.e.*, crudely speaking, each gainfully employed has to work longer hours. We ignore, for the present, the consideration that labour power and economic energism or occupational activism might be augmented,

other circumstances remaining the same (1) by the adoption of improved technique, i.e., better tools, implements and machineries, (2) by the investment of more capital per worker, as well as (3) by improved business organization, and therefore even with the curtailment of hours and discharge of hands.

In other words, to have a relatively low employment coefficient, i.e., the existence of a comparatively large number of jobless, workless or "non-working dependants" as in the U.S.A., England-Wales, etc., is not necessarily a mark of poverty. The bearing of this consideration we shall notice later.

But, for the present, let us assume arbitrarily that it is the French employment-coefficient, namely 56.0%, that India should strive after as a sufficiently high level. We should, then, have to be prepared for a gainfully employed population of nearly 196,000,000 in the place of the present number, namely, 154,000,000. It is very interesting to observe that the adoption of the French coefficient in India would lead to the conscription of every man and woman between the ages of 15 and 60 years in one or other employment.

The total Census population of India in 1931 between the ages of 15 and 60 years was as follows (in nine different age-groups) ³ :—

Age-group.	Persons.	Men.	Women.
1. 15-20	31,937,792	16,040,278	15,897,514
2. 20-25	33,009,771	16,314,675	16,695,096
3. 25-30	30,190,648	15,466,083	14,724,565
4. 30-35	27,027,522	14,217,036	12,810,486
5. 35-40	21,633,271	11,548,383	10,084,888
6. 40-45	18,411,820	9,852,087	8,559,733
7. 40-45	14,221,408	7,632,488	6,588,920
8. 50-55	11,381,206	6,025,595	5,355,611
9. 55-60	8,083,945	4,155,676	3,928,269
	<u>195,897,383</u>	<u>101,252,301</u>	<u>94,645,082</u>

From 154 to 196 millions the rise would involve the creation of employment for additional 42,000,000 men and women.

³ *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India—Part II, Imperial Tables (Delhi 1933), p. 120.*

To induct into employment every man and woman between 15 and 60 is Herculean but theoretically not inconceivable as long as there are one or two countries on earth endowed with this experience. Let us, therefore, assume again arbitrarily, of course, a somewhat modester coefficient, somewhere nearer the German level, more precisely, 50 per cent. In order to see, say, 175,000,000 men and women gainfully employed we shall have to visualize as "actives" either everybody between 15 and 50 or everybody between 18 and 60. We are confronted with the question of creating jobs for additional 21,000,000 men and women.

There is an important item to be considered. The proportion 44 or 56 per cent. is merely an arithmetical category. It should not mislead anybody as being a really high rate of gainful activity. It is to be remembered that the work of this entire active population in India is in the main technically primitive, relatively unskilled, and virtually unorganized so far as marketing is concerned. The French coefficient of 56.0 per cent., the German coefficient of 51.3 per cent., or the British coefficient of 45.3 per cent. might be an adequate ideal for India provided she had at her command the French, German or British tools, technical schooling, business organization, and last but not least, capital *per capita*. But as long as India cannot command these technocratic, pedagogic and capitalistic instruments of "efficiency," she should really have to strive after an even higher than the French proportion in employment from the standpoint of mere numbers. Evidently, this would be, humanly speaking, almost inconceivable. It is not necessary to indulge in such chimerical notions.

We understand, then, that although India does not apparently seem to be lazy or jobless, i.e., unoccupied, at 44 per cent. employment-coefficient, she might still strive after the 50 per cent. level. In other words, another 21,000,000 men and women would have to be placed in the sphere of economic actives if she would have a somewhat decent living *per capita*. The assumption is being made that in the meantime the technical apparatuses, vocational training, organization and finance, etc., of the Indian people do not change for the better.

The creation of jobs for additional 21,000,000 workless men and women would tax to the highest the capacity of any set of poverty-doctors and employment-specialists. In order to control and combat poverty the economic planners will have to prescribe, in the first place,

perhaps a course of emigration. India ought to be relieved of a large part of these job-seekers by extra-Indian colonisation, as suggested by the present author in the paper on "*Quozienti di Natalita, di Mortalita, e di Aumento naturale*," etc., at the International Congress of Population, Rome, 1931.

Secondly, the problem of industrialization, implying not only the promotion of large, medium and small industries but also comprising, as it should, (1) internal colonizing or migration within the Indian area,¹ (2) agricultural reconstruction and (3) modernization of existing arts and crafts (the rural or cottage industries), is bound to loom large in the programme. Here we encounter the positive and specific item in the problem of raising the employment-coefficient for a region. This would involve automatically the question of liquid capital in large doses such as in the last analysis can only be derived in adequate quantities by imports from abroad.²

And finally, in the interest of long-range planning with a view to a higher standard of living *per capita*, the scheme of economic development may have to comprise a regime of birth-control as an item in social rationalization and demographic futurism. And this is independent of the scientifically vague question as to whether India is over-populated or not.

The first and third items³ are negative in character, involving, as they do, a curtailment of the supply of labour for the employment market. It is curious that while formulating a plan for raising the employment-coefficient, *i.e.* creating jobs for more hands, economic statesmanship has to devise methods *pari passu* for relieving the employment market of prospective work-seekers. This is a paradox in the domain of societal planning such as can hardly be avoided as soon as we begin to plan out employments with an eye to the control of poverty and elevation of the standard of living.

¹ For inter-provincial migrations see *Census of India, Vol. I, India—Part I, Report* (Delhi, 1931), pp. 62-67; Sarkar : *Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 29-31, 55-59.

² Sarkar : *Economic Development*, Vol. I (Madras, 2nd Edition, 1938), chapter on "A Scheme of Economic Development for Young India"; "Economic Planning for Bengal" in the *Insurance and Finance Review* (Calcutta), March, 1938.

³ In regard to these two items see Sarkar : "Comparative birth, Death and Growth Rates" in the *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* (Calcutta, May, 1932), section on "Population Policy for India."

TEACHING OF SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS

A. GANGLI

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THE introduction of Elementary Scientific Knowledge as one of the subjects in the New Matriculation Syllabus of the Calcutta University has opened out a new chapter in the history of education of this country and will ever remain a monumental achievement of our late Vice-Chancellor Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law.

Those who are sceptic about the utility of science teaching in schools may read with profit Herbert Spencer's famous article "What knowledge is more worth?" While many in this country agree that scientific education is the basis of technical education, very few appreciate its value as a part of liberal education. Science has been responsible not only for industrial revolution but also for radical changes in the realm of thought and scientific method has been a powerful instrument in the pursuit of other branches of knowledge.

The neglect of science teaching in schools has resulted in the appalling ignorance of fundamental principles of science shown by many of our educated men. Again, the scientific education that is being imparted in colleges is rather academic and cannot be fully utilised for national benefit. As a consequence of this our industry could not be developed, our agriculture remained stagnant and our mental sluggishness could not be cast off. Many of our Science Graduates are shy with machines and show lack of scientific outlook. It has been observed that machine-sense can only be developed if one comes in contact with machines in boyhood. Hence practical teaching of science will be helpful in this direction. Again sense-training is best done if the child learns to cultivate the faculty of observation, since the instinct of curiosity or exploration remains keen at the early stage. If the causality relationship in every-day phenomena be brought home to the young mind then only a rational outlook will be developed. Hence better results are expected if boys are initiated to science in schools and follow this up in colleges.

In order properly to carry out teaching of science, as Huxley observed, the following points may be considered:

The first of these is the proper selection of topics, the second is practical teaching, the third is practical teachers, and the fourth is sufficiency of time.

Science teaching should not be confined to the top classes only and hence suitable curricula should be drawn up for children of different ages. At a very early stage, boys as in Montessori Schools may be used with advantage to create a lively interest in simple mechanics. Children are very curious about moving machines. The writer has actually seen a boy take a time-piece to pieces to see how it worked. A young nephew of the writer when presented with a toy steam-engine was anxious to know all about it. The 'Meccano' is a favourite with many inquisitive young boys. Sense-training so much emphasised in Montessori system is also the basis of Science Teaching. Let the young ones make observations for themselves and record these. At the stage, however, the psychological rather than the logical methods should be adopted.

Children may be taken to Museums and Gardens, such that they may get opportunity for nature study. Thus the Project method can be put to practice. Of course, in our schools at present in lower classes science and hygiene are taught but these are done in much the same fashion as say history and language. There is no arrangement for excursion or practical demonstrations. This sort of science teaching is to be discouraged.

In schools in rural areas, there may be attached plots which may be cultivated by the pupils with the help of their teachers and this will give them a practical training in scientific agriculture. This system has been successfully worked out in the Punjab. Bengal is primarily an agricultural country and it is desirable that our secondary education should be given an agricultural bias. Boys trained in scientific agriculture would be able to remove the stagnancy that prevails in our agrarian methods. They will be taught simple methods of irrigation, of reclaiming waterlands, of increasing yield of crops and of controlling pests which destroy plants.

In urban areas, on the other hand, more stress may be laid upon the use of machineries. The schools in these areas should have attached workshops, such that the pupils should have opportunities to handle instruments and prepare simple instruments themselves. This will be paying in the long run.

In the top classes, general principles are to be introduced and pupils should be encouraged to develop a rational outlook. Again those topics which we come across in our every-day life, should be taken up and the reality in teaching the subject should always be brought home.

We have already pointed out the utility of practical teaching. Teaching of science in schools without experiment is useless. Not only should there be demonstration classes, but the pupils themselves should also be given facilities of performing experiments. The Dalton Plan can be put into practice in Science Laboratories. While carrying out experiments pupils should be taught to be critical in their observations and honest in recording these faithfully. They should be accurate in their statement and careful in their work. They should draw sketches of the instruments which they handle. Neatness should be observed. Instead of depending upon their memory, they are to record their observations at the time of performing experiments. This will make them systematic and will keep their mind alert. Laboratory work should be an indispensable part of science teaching.

We next come to practical teachers. Teaching of science takes up more time and energy than that of any other subject. Hence the teacher must be painstaking and should not avoid showing experiments. He must be ingenious enough to devise simple apparatus and models in order to give a clear conception of the subject matter. Technical terms should be properly selected and profuse illustrations are to be shown. Examples from every-day life should be given wherever practicable.

Teachers intending to teach science must be properly trained. It is preferable that there should be two teachers, one who has specialised in Physical Sciences and the other in Biological Sciences. It must be remembered that elementary science cannot be taught by one who has only an elementary knowledge. It is more difficult to give a clear conception of elementary things in lower classes than teaching science in higher classes. Hence one who is 'soaked' with the subject must undertake to teach elementary science. This is not very often realised in this country. Teachers undergoing training sometimes ask what is the use of such and such a thing since that particular thing is not to be taught in schools. In most cases Science and Hygiene are taught in lower classes by those who have not specialised

in these subjects. Consequently, often young children get wrong impressions which are difficult to unlearn in later years. In order to avoid this, ' practical teachers ' should undertake to teach the lower classes as well.

Lastly we come to the sufficiency of time devoted to science teaching. In schools more time is devoted to teaching of English than to any other subject: next perhaps comes Mathematics. It should be remembered that practical teaching of science requires more time than any other subject. The pupils are to perform experiments which cannot be finished within one period. Again they are to work in batches in the Laboratory, hence there should be proper provision for theoretical classes as well as the practical classes of all the pupils. Besides, science teachers should be given enough leisure in order to enable him to fit up experiments for demonstration as well as for practical classes.

From what has been said, an objection may be raised against science teaching as it is costly. That it is so, cannot be helped. If we are to have real science teaching we must be ready to spend money on equipments. It is preferable not have science teaching at all, if it is not practical teaching, for such teaching will be dis-service to the cause of science as well as of education.

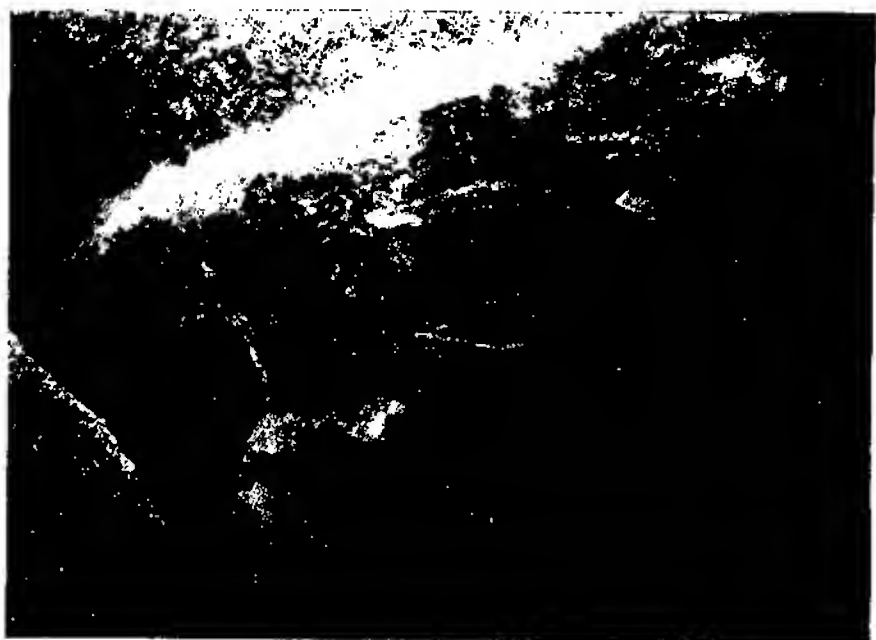
It is often stated that science makes one irreligious. If religion means dogma, creed or communalism then surely science is antagonistic to these. All sorts of superstitions and supernaturalism are denied by science. But as Huxley has said : " True religion and true science are but twin sisters." Einstein believes that it is the study of science alone which makes one truly religious. The religion which science teaches is cosmological and not communal. The marvels of the microscopic world within an atom or a spermatozoa amazes the student of science. Again the study of the great Cosmos with billions of stars of magnitude equal to or greater than that of the Sun, this earth of ours being a mere speck in the Universe teaches us humility. The love of truth which science infuses is the highest form of ethics. It is this cosmic religion which will bring about a better understanding between man and man and bend the senseless squabbles of communalism and class war.

As Bertrand Russel has said, the two things which can bring salvation are love and knowledge and scientific knowledge will surely play an important rôle in the evolution of a better world.

EXCAVATION AT BANGARH

BY KUNJAGOBINDA GOSWAMI, M.A.

THE Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this University owes its origin to the versatile and constructive genius of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As provision has been made in this department for the study of Archaeology (including palaeography, epigraphy, numismatics, art and iconography), it was keenly felt that firsthand knowledge of the practical side of Archaeology would be desirable in students. Now, while the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, was modified in 1932 and subsequent years, the new amendments gave scope to the Universities and other learned bodies to secure licence from the Government of India and take part in archaeological excavations independently. After the modification of the Act, only one non-Indian body 'the School of Indic and Iranian study' under the auspices of several Universities of America, availed itself of this opportunity and carried on excavation at Chanhudaro in Sind for one season (1931-35) only, but none of the Indian Universities or Associations came forward to take advantage of the new arrangements. University of Calcutta is always alive to all progressive measures and in 1936-37, Mr. (now Dr.) S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University, who takes a keen interest in everything that concerns the advancement of higher studies and research in this great institution, personally wrote to the Government of India and arranged for the training of a scholar in archaeological excavations. Thereafter correspondence was carried on with the Director General of Archaeology in India for the selection of a promising site in Bengal, where archaeological excavation was likely to yield satisfactory results so that students of the Post-graduate classes of the Department of Ancient Indian History might get practical and firsthand knowledge of field work. The Director General of Archaeology suggested in reply that work at Bangarh in the Dinajpur district might be undertaken by the University as some antiquities of considerable importance were previously recovered from that site. The University accepted the suggestion and further correspondence for the grant



(a) A structure of large sized bricks. Gupta Period (?)



(b) One of the rooms of the large building (trench 5)

of a licence was in progress. But since the area could not at the time, be notified as protected under the Ancient Monuments Act, and the working season was well advanced, arrangements were made with the Government of India, through the Archaeological Superintendent, Eastern Circle, for an experimental digging in the area for about a month. In this connection the kind help rendered by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Eastern Circle, is thankfully acknowledged. He lent the services of his photographer and surveyor, and a few tents and implements also were received from him on loan for the working season. Our thanks are due to the Maharaja of Dinajpur also for the loan of some materials in connection with camping.

Before giving a detailed account of this year's excavations, it will not be out of place to give a brief sketch of the site and its antiquities.

According to local tradition this place is said to be the capital of the demon King Bāṇa, son of Bali. The city variously called Devikoṭa, Umāvana (or. Uśhāvana), Koṭivarsha, Bāṇapura and Śoṇitapura in Sanskrit lexicons like the *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra and the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha* of Puruṣhottama is supposed to be identical with the ruined site of Bangarh. The word Koṭivarisiya (Skt = Koṭivarshīya) denoting a class of Jainas of Eastern India is found in early Jain literature.¹ The city Śoṇitapura is mentioned in the *Vishṇupurāṇa*,² the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*³ and in Nārāyaṇa's commentary on verse 32 of Canto I of Śrīharsha's *Naishādhā Charita*. According to the *Vāyupurāṇa*,⁴ Koṭivarsha is called a town (nagara). Mention of Koṭivarsha is also made in the *Bṛihat Samhitā* (6th cen. A.D.). In inscriptions⁵ of the Gupta period Koṭivarsha is called both a town (adbiśṭhāṇa) and a district (vishaya), which formed part of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti. Under the Pala Kings of Bengal, Koṭivarsha, it appears, continued to enjoy the status of a vishaya⁶ (district). In the *Rāmacharita*⁷ of Sandhyākar Nandi (11th cen. A.D.) Śoṇitapura is mentioned as a very prosperous

¹ Kalpsaūtra of Bhadrabāhu, ed. Jacobi, p. 79.

² Vishṇupurāṇa, XXXIII, 11-12 (Bangabasi edition).

³ Śrīmad-bhāgavata, X, 63.2 (Bangabasi edition).

⁴ Chap. XXII, verse 209.

⁵ Dumardpur Copper Plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

⁶ Maitreya—Gaudatekhamālā—Bangarh Grant of Mahipala I (p. 91 f); Amgachi grant of Vigrahapala III (p. 121 f) and Manabali grant of Madanapala (p. 147 f).

⁷ Mem. A. S. B., Vol. III, Rāmacharita, p. 47 (verses 9-10).

and magnificent city. It continued to be in a flourishing condition till the invasion of the Turks in the 13th century A.D. The place was known to the invaders as Devikot or Dev-kot, and it possesses some Muslim records of 13th to 16th century. Dr. Bloch supposes that this place was an important frontier post in the Muslim period. He writes 'thus Debikot near the Gangarainpur Police station was an important frontier post in the Mahammadan period, and the remains found at this place, which is now called the Fort of Ban Raja, show that it was in existence already in the time of the Hindu kings,'¹

The extensive ruins on the site of Bangarh lie on the eastern bank of the Punarbhaba river. This vast area (measuring about 1,800' x 1,500') is full of a number of mounds of different sizes. The ruins of the citadel or fortress surrounded by a ditch on three sides, viz., north, east and south, occupy a considerable area. The place was full of thick jungle when Sir Alexander Cunningham visited it about 60 years ago (A.D. 1879-80). He writes thus in his report 'The citadel which the people call Devikot is about 2,000 ft. square, and is so filled with dense jungle that it is quite impossible to penetrate any distance inside except in the very hottest weather, when the grass and underwood have been burnt and the tigers and leopards have sought shelter elsewhere.'² The thick jungle referred to by the Nestor of Indian Archæology is no more visible, although the Rajbari mound and the ramparts do yet contain some thickets and thorny creepers. Tigers and other ferocious wild beasts are now things of the past. The Rajbari mound is surrounded by a high rampart of bricks. In the centre of the area is the highest mound which is said to represent the site of the royal palace. On the eastern side there will be found a gate and a causeway about 200 ft. long leading across the ditch into the city. Buchanan Hamilton³ visited the place more than a century ago and made the following observations:—

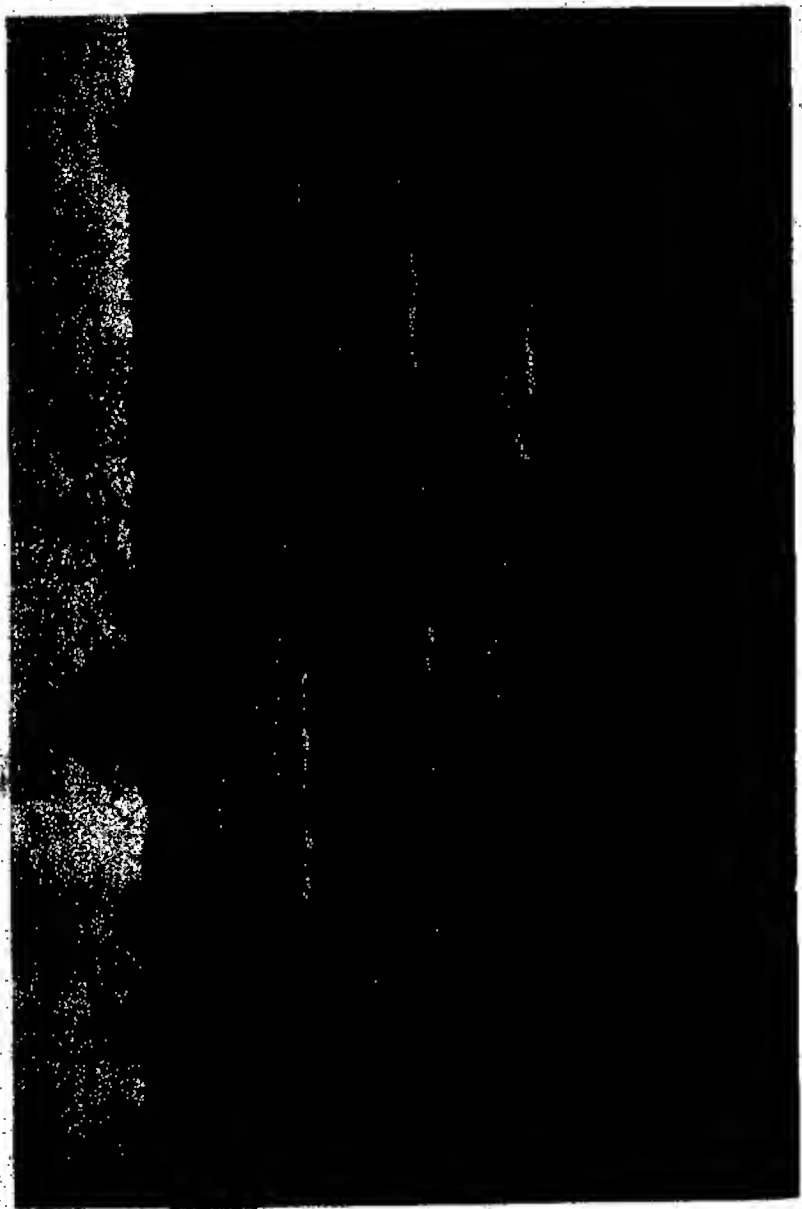
"The ruins of Bannogor occupy the east bank of the Punarbhaba, which here runs from the north-east to south-west for about two

¹ Annual Report of Arch. Sur. Eastern Circle, 1900-01, Appendix A, p. v.

² Cunningham, A. E. B., Vol. XV, pp. 95 f.

³ Buchanan (Hamilton)—A Geographical, Statistical and Historical description of the district of Dinajpur (published 1838), pp. 60-63.

Martin, Eastern India, Vol. II, pp. 681 f.



Structures of different periods and a ring well (trench 5)

miles beginning a little above Dumdumah. I first examined the citadel, which is a quadrangle of about 1,800 feet by 1,500 feet surrounded by a high rampart of bricks, and on the south and east by a ditch. The remainder of the ditch has been obliterated or destroyed by the Punarbhaba which in the time of Ban Raja, is said to have passed to the north of the present course of the Brahmani, and many large water courses which are to be seen in that direction, render the tradition probable. On the west face of the citadel is a large projecting part, probably the out-works before a gate. In the centre is a large heap of bricks, said to have been the Raja's house and on the east face is a gate and a causway about 200 ft. long leading across the ditch into the city which has been square of about a mile in diameter and has been also surrounded by a rampart of brick and by a ditch. * * *

A little away to the south-east there are two pools called the Jivat Kuṇḍa (or the pool of life) and the Amṛta Kuṇḍa (or the pool of immortality). In the Amṛta Kuṇḍa or pool of immortality Buchanan found a projecting stone which after being brought out proved to be an image of a bull or Śiva's vehicle *nandin*. He found also at Dinajpur an image of Gaṇeśa which was picked up from Bangarh. He, moreover, notices 'the great number of stones in these ruins and a vast many, that have been removed by the Dinajpur Rajas to construct their works, show that Bannogor has been a place much ornamented and its walls show that it was of considerable size and strength. The people here allege that all the stones, which are to be found in the buildings of this district, have been carried from it and that Gaur owed its most valuable materials to the ruins of Ban Raja's edifices.'

As regards other antiquities of the place mention may be made of several important pillars, architectural stones and images which were taken from Bangarh and are at present found at the Dinajpur Rajbari. The inscribed basalt pillar of the Kamboja King, whose date is yet a disputed point, the sand stone pillar crowned by a black basalt image of Garuḍa, a miniature shrine with a śikhara (spire) of the East Indian type, beautifully carved doorway and door-jambs of stone and a collection of images are some of the very interesting objects from Bangarh, now in possession of the Maharaja of Dinajpur. Mr. K. N. Dikshit during his visit to the site in the year 1921-22 picked up a fine terra-cotta head (height 9") of the early Pala period (8th-9th

cen. A.D.) from a modern Siva temple of Bangarh.¹ Besides these and the inscriptions already mentioned, a stone image of Sadāśiva with an inscription of Gopala III also has recently been discovered.

The University excavation party² arrived at Bangarh on the 4th March, 1938. This place is about 18 miles away from Dinajpur and nearly 2 miles from Gangarampur Police station. There is a *kachcha* road of the District Board from Dinajpur town to Gangarampur via this place and the main means of conveyance is the bullock cart. Our camp was pitched in the western part of the Main Mound or the citadel.

The excavation was started on the 6th March, 1938, in the highest mound called the Rajbari within the citadel area. As the local coolies were superstitious and afraid of some ill-luck befalling them in case they disturbed the ruined palace of Ban Raja, none of them was available for the purpose of digging for a few days, and the work of excavation had to be carried on only with the help of a few trained coolies recruited from Paharpur. As the local people watched and found that none of the workers vomitted blood or died, some Muslims, Santals and Paliyas began to join in numbers with the result that most of the new-comers had to be sent back for want of work on every Monday—the day of recruitment.

First of all the pick was placed on the Rajbari which was full of jungle and thorny creepers and it took some time to clear the area and make it fit for digging.

A trial trench 100 feet long and 20 feet wide was dug from north to south in the western part of the so-called Rajbari area and at the top, structures (*viz.*, foundations of walls and pavement) of a late period (Muslim period) were brought to light. At the north eastern corner of the trench about 1 ft. below the surface there appeared rough blocks of stone arranged in two courses upon pavement of bricks which probably served as basement of a pillar. Similar things had been exposed just to the west 9½ ft. apart from the above. About 68 ft. south from this a large block of roughly dressed stone (3'9" × 3'9" × 1'7") was found with one of its corners pointing upwards. The stone does not contain any decoration nor writing. In the northern

¹ Arch. Sur. Rep., 1921-22, pp. 83-84.

² The Excavation party consisted of the following:—

Mr. K. G. Goswami, Officer-in-Charge.

Mr. S. K. Saraswati.

Mr. T. C. Ghoshal

Mr. S. K. Bose } Post-Graduate students.



(a) Interior view of a big hall and a number of pillar-bases (trench 5)



(b) Ornamental bricks

part of the trench a spot (25' × 20') was selected for deep digging. At a depth of about 13½ ft. traces of a wall of large-sized-bricks (16" × 13" × 3") were found (Pl. I, a). This wall which seems to be very massive and wide, runs from north to south. Its width was followed to the extent of 4 ft. but the other face was not reached, and the bottom also could not be exposed although it was dug to a depth of 8 ft. below the preserved top. Further work was not possible this year as with the advent of summer the weather became too hot for outdoor duties. The construction of the wall under report is extremely fine, and mud was used for mortar.

Antiquity No. 114—a thin copper object of oblong shape (0.6" × 0.5") probably originally a coin was found by the side of the above wall at a depth of 15 ft. from the surface of the mound. This object was so much corroded that after cleaning and chemical treatment, it has given out no symbol or writing in a distinct or legible form.

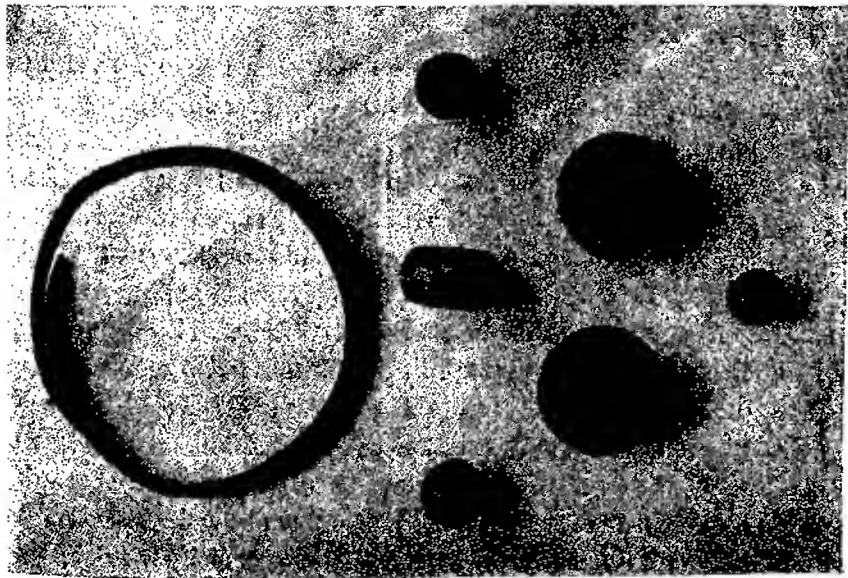
A little away on the western slope of the same mound, portion of a massive structure, built of bricks of large size (15" × 13" or 12" × 3") has been laid bare. The length of the existing wall is about 20' 6" east to west and the width 7' 6". The internal face of the corner walls contains irregular offsets at the bottom. The structure is so much damaged and disturbed that from the study of its present condition it is not possible to make any suggestion regarding the purpose it served in the bygone ages. Everywhere in India it is usually found that the size of bricks used in the early buildings of the historic period is generally large. The prevailing belief is, the larger the brick the earlier the structure. The bricks of the walls of the lower level are comparable to those of similar size found at Saheth-Maheth (Arch. Sur. Rep., 1910-11, p. 23) and Bharat Bhayana (in Khulna district, Bengal) (Arch. Sur. Rep., 1921-22, p. 76). An examination of the bricks found here in the lower level will induce one to surmise that these structures should be ascribed to the Gupta period.

As regards minor antiquities a few fragments of glazed pottery typical of the Muhammadan period, a nice terra-cotta fragmentary plaque bearing the torso of a human figure, ornamental bricks of the type of the Pala period and a few beads of stone and shell are among the notable ones and were discovered in various stages of excavation in this area.

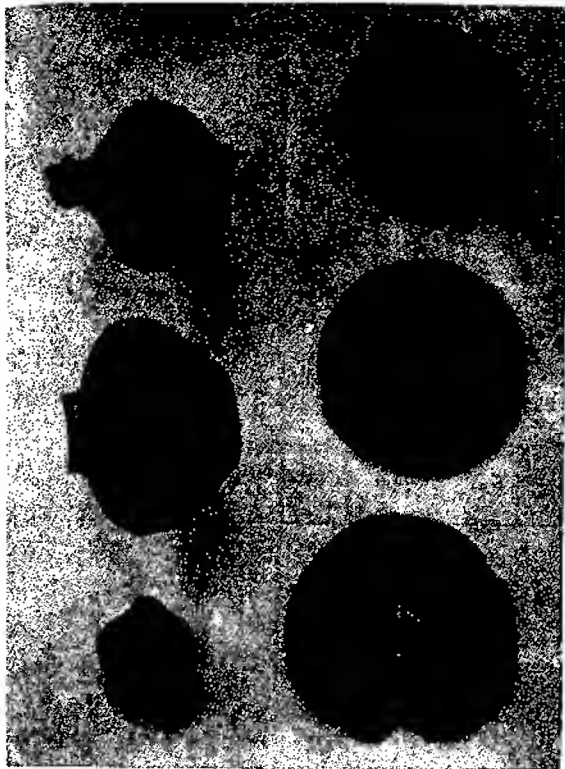
Tr. 4—As it was not proper to confine the activities only to a single place, the labour was distributed over some other parts of the

mound for digging a few more trial trenches and pits. Of these, one trench in the south eastern part of this Rajbari mound laid bare the foundation of a house 20'9" long (east to west) and 19'9" wide (north to south) with wall 1'8" thick. This appeared just below the surface and evidently belongs to a late period. It is associated with glazed pottery of bluish or greenish colour and narrow mouthed and spouted vases. The structure, from its construction and associated objects, cannot possibly be ascribed to an earlier date than the Muslim period.

Tr. 5.—To the west of the Rajbari within the citadel area another trial trench (100' x 20') east to west in length was dug in an undulated ground which was full of brickbats on the surface. This place has long been used for cultivation. The trench at this site had to be extended in length and breadth as it began to yield satisfactory results in the shape of regular brick structures pregnant with other minor antiquities. The area exposed here measures about 120 ft. north to south and nearly 80 ft. east to west. In this part, a regular plan of residential buildings, surrounded by compound walls and some other structures was gradually making its appearance with the progress of excavation. There are evidences of at least two distinct periods of occupation, visible in this area (Pl. II). Thinner walls of poor finish, built of materials gathered from earlier structures are found on the upper level, while finer and more massive structures are buried underneath. It is interesting to note here that the orientation of the houses in this area is not exactly in keeping with the cardinal points but roughly from north-east to south-west and north-west to south-east. There have been marked as many as thirty-one walls in this site. Wall No. 1 which runs from north-west to south-east in the western part of the marked area is 2'1" wide and has been exposed up to a length of 54 ft. This was constructed in a comparatively late period. By the side of, and upon this wall have been discovered *in situ* lower parts of six large jars of different sizes, the diameter of their interiors varying from 1'4" to 2'7". This wall, as it appears now, probably formed part of a compound wall of a late period. Of this period the plan of a house with compound walls and steps and pavement in front (i.e., south-west) has been brought out in the south-eastern part of the area. Below its back (or north-eastern) wall there lies buried a massive wall (5'9" wide) of an earlier period. A portion of the wall has been exposed this year and from its position and manner of construction it seems that this wall, too, was very likely a



(a) Copper bracelet, stone and terra-cotta beads



(b) Miniature pottery objects



(c) Terra-cotta beads

compound wall of the earlier period. By the side of the above house of the late period there has appeared a ring well whose inner diameter is 2'4". It contains pottery rings inside, surrounded by bricks. Wedge-shaped bricks were used in the mouth of the well while the pavement around it is made up of ordinary bricks laid flat and on edge. A few other badly damaged walls of this late period are visible in some other parts of the exposed area. But these, in their present disturbed condition, do not give a definite plan of construction.

As regards the structures of the earlier period, it may be mentioned that the first clue was supplied by the discovery of a thick wall 4'1" wide to the east of, and running not exactly parallel to wall No. 1. It was followed southward and its corner stone was found; then the wall with the same width turns towards east keeping a slight tendency towards the northern direction and is traced upto a length of about 55 ft. where it totally disappears due to a heavy damage. The north-north-eastern wall (No. 4) of the house opposite to the above wall has been completely exposed and gives a length of 72 ft. roughly west to east. This house, which is 65 ft. long and 33 ft. wide in its inside measurements, contains two corner rooms of almost the same shape though not of same size. The room in the southern corner measures 15'6" square, (Pl. I b and the other in the eastern corner 23' x 15', the thickness of their walls varying from 3'3" to 3'7". A door-way 4'5" wide has been found in the northern partition wall of the bigger corner room, but no such door-way has been traced in the other room; it has probably disappeared along with the damaged portion of its eastern partition wall. It is not yet clear from which side the main entrance to the house was provided and we should wait till the whole site of the house is excavated. Indications are prominent that some portion of this extensive building is yet lying buried to the north, as its western wall (No. 2) continues straight towards that direction. It is interesting to note here that the main room in front of the by-room or corridor (made by the space between the two corner rooms) contains four pillar bases with decorative designs, slightly different in sizes (1'3" to 1'7") and placed on brick pavement over a rammed concrete floor (Pl. III a). These bases form a square and are equidistant from one another. They are found in a topsy-turvy condition and are definitely the materials of an earlier period. The pillars upon them have not been found. Though the special purpose of this room is not yet

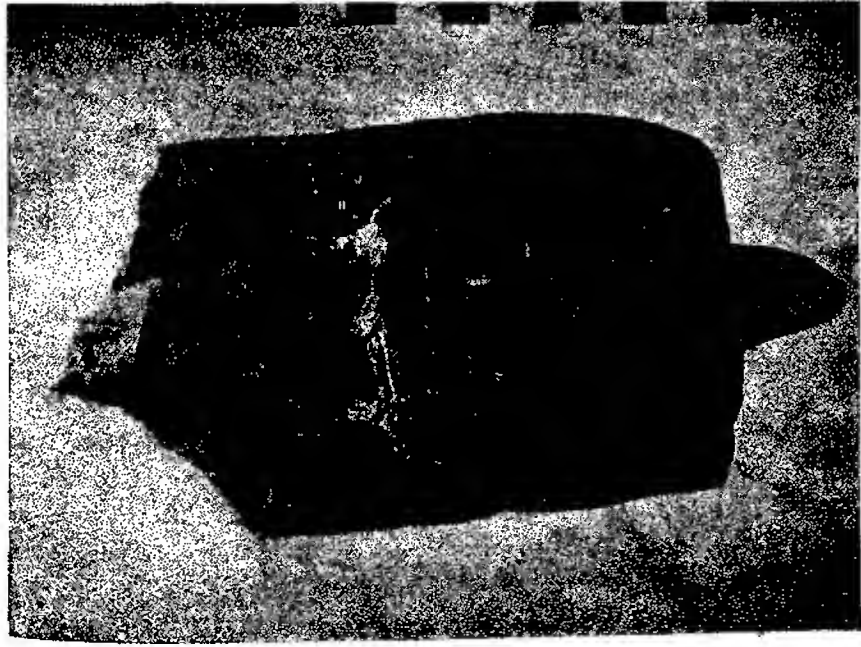
clear, still it may safely be concluded that the whole block was very likely used for residential purposes.

Just outside the southern wall of this block at a distance of 2' 3" south, two brick-built solid structures of 4' 4" x 4' 4" and 4' 5" x 4' 5" size and 6' 8" distant from each other, have been laid bare. The interior of the latter structure was dug through to a depth of 4ft. but the bottom nor any antiquity was found. The former structure also did not yield anything although its bottom was reached at a depth of 4' 11", below which a layer of 10 inches thick pure earth was found and after this came earth mixed up with brickbats.

As regards minor antiquities mention may be made of glazed (or enamelled) pottery (i.e., green or blue enamel coating on red fabric), and such other pottery and potsherd with decorative and incised designs and some terra-cotta objects from the upper level. Of the earlier period, bricks with various ornamental designs (Pl. III b), viz., wavy pattern alternated by straight lines, stepped pyramid design, lotus petal design, foliage design and geometrical design, etc., were recorded. Some other carved bricks meant for the use of cornice and architectural purposes were also recovered. Among the toys and other objects of terra-cotta the hood of a snake, mouth of a dog (?), figure of a horse, trunk and head of an elephant, spindle whorls, beads, lids, jar covers, small cones and also a few conical objects, hollow inside (probably used as finial) may be mentioned. A copper bracelet (Pl. IV a), iron nails, miniature pottery lamp, (Pl. IV b) a narrow-mouthed miniature pottery vase (dia. at the belly 1' 9" ht. 2' 1") Pl. IV b) and some other work of fine finish were also discovered. Some beads of various stones are also very interesting. Of these mention may be made of a short barrel-shaped carnelian bead (dia. .75", thickness .4", blackish red in colour) (Pl. IV a), a globular bead (dia. .35") of alabaster (?) (Pl. IV a), globular shell bead (dia. .5") (Pl. IV c), two globular carnelian beads (dia. of one .4" another .5"), and (Pl. IV a) a peculiar shaped bead of alabaster (dia. .3", thickness .2") (Pl. IV c). A decorated pillar base of grey stone which lay buried under the debris was picked up. Its decoration proves that it belongs to the Pala period.

SCOPE AND PROSPECT OF FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The mound earmarked for operation by the University is a very large one, and it will require several years to expose this area and



(a) An image of Sadāśiva



(b) An image of Pārvaī

complete the work. That the site is a promising one and requires careful attention will be clear from the foregoing pages. Even the trial digging of the last season for less than a month was rewarded by encouraging results. It would be a pity if this site even after proving its worth, is neglected. The decision of the University to carry on the work in this particular mound for a longer period is eminently justified. Although it is extremely difficult to pronounce beforehand on the nature of results to be obtained hereafter, and although this ancient site, so famous in early Indian literature and epigraphic records, had to pass through successive stages of vandalism, it is expected that some important and interesting relics of the ancient history and culture of the land will be forthcoming with the progress of excavation at the lower level.

It is gratifying to note that the University authorities have made a budget provision of Rs. 3,550 for the purpose of excavation during the coming season. They have, moreover, deposited as security with the Government of India a sum of Rs. 2,000 as required by the Ancient Monument Preservation Act and its amendments, for the grant of a licence for digging at Bangarh. It is learnt that all the preliminaries have been gone through and the required licence will be available without much delay.¹ Meanwhile negotiations are also in progress for the acquisition of land by the Government at Bangarh, so that the excavation party may not find any difficulty in going on with the work with effect from November or the beginning of December next. The amount set apart for the purpose will enable the work to continue for about three months there.

EXPLORATION

The period of excavation was brief and the work heavy. Yet no opportunity was missed to visit neighbouring places for the study and collection of images for the Asutosh Museum. The collection was, of course, made with the knowledge and approval of the Superintendent, Arch. Survey, Eastern Circle, Calcutta. This consists of (a) an image of Sadāśiva with an inscription [which reads—*Sandhigata (vighraha) Kāyetha (Kāyastha) Vira-dāśya (-dāsasya)*] on the pedestal (Pl. V a), (b) Pārvatī (four-handed) with Kārttikeya on her left and Ganēśa on the right (head of Pārvatī is broken) (Pl. V b), (c) a stone pillar base with decorative figures on all sides, (d) Harapārvatī (fragmentary), (e) a small ten-handed Durgā (fragmentary) and a few other fragments of images.

¹ The licence has been received by the University after the writing of this report.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF LAW

KRISHNAGOPAL GOSWAMI, SASTRI, SMṚITI-MIMANSATĪRTHA, M.A.

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THE doctrine of Natural law¹ is based upon the ideational view that law, as the order of the universe, is imposed upon the phenomena of nature, either by the will of God or through an abstraction called Nature. Vico observes: "law was essentially divine, hidden in oracles or commands of the gods who dominated all men and things."² The same tendency finds expression in the Brahmanic thought which believes in the supersensuous origin of law. A Vedic text describes that "He (God) produced the transcendent body of law, since law is King of Kings, far more powerful and rigid than they: nothing can be mightier than law, by whose aid, as by that of the highest monarch, even the weak may prevail over the strong."³

Law in this sense is identical with *rta* (Order) or *dharma* which 'upholds' and 'sustains'⁴ the cosmic order in a cohesive and harmonious principle of governance.⁵ In *dharma* lies the intrinsic power of regulation and it is this regulativeness which constitutes its validity. It is not made but only found as a revealed truth which is envisaged by the seers in their supernormal stage of inspiration. From this point of view, it assumes self-evident authority and requires no extraneous aids to enforce it. For if law or *dharma* depends upon sanction, it becomes merely coercive and denotes a contradiction in terms.

It is to be remembered that the Hinduite doctrine of law, presents radical difference of outlook from that of the Scholastics and the Semites, to whom, law is believed to be an expression of the will of God, who according to Schopenhauer, "is more will than intelligence and law valid not because it is reasonable but because it is the will of

¹ *Philosophy of Law*, by Köhler, pp. 6-7.

² *The Modern Legal Philosophy Series*, Vol. III, p. 124.

³ Colebrooke's *Digest*, Vol. I, Book I, Preface xi. Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14. 4. 2. 23; also cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 'tam devāścenkrīte dharmam,' 1. 5. 23.

⁴ Cf. *Mahābhārata* (Kurgapārvā), LXIX. 59, 'dharmacāddharmamaitvābub.'

⁵ *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, 22. 1; cf. *dharmo viśvasyapratiṣṭhā*.

God."¹ But contrary to this position Hindus hold that law is implanted in Divine Reason² and not in Divine Will. Law is an embodiment of fundamental reason ingrained in Absolute or Divine essence. It is characterised as a supreme ordering principle,³ which emanates from God, who is, if anything, absolute, perfect and omniscient.

Law, as a truth of reason *par excellence*, manifests itself in a quite supersensuous way through the agency of all-intelligent divine power. It makes no difference whether that divine power is recognised as personal or impersonal. You may take it in any way, you like, but the fact remains that the fundamental knowledge of law in its purposive scheme of regulation must be somehow revealed. One of the most important branches of Indian philosophy, *Mīmāṃsā*, has dedicated all its energies towards the establishment of this position that the Veda or the revealed knowledge *par excellence* is the supreme authority of law.⁴ This school in its ardent emphasis on the self-evidenced validity of revealed truth went so far as to deny even the independent control of God over the Veda.⁵ However, the schools of *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Vedānta* posit the existence of an Absolute God, to whom is due the authorship of the Veda or Revelation,⁶ but a God without intelligence is nowhere propounded as a primal cause of revelation.

In the second place, Hindus never commit the fallacy of attributing to God the responsibility of injustice as is observable in the balance of inequalities prevailing in the world. On the other hand, they believe in the operation of the law of causation in which a given phenomenon is related to a cause. This is what accounts for the law of 'Karma' which has its root in the law of *ṛta* or order. Here the will of God has nothing to do with this.⁷ And even if a God exists, He Himself is bound to obey this law. He exists to apportion the fruits conformably to the rule of *karmans* or acts.⁸ Law as a universal factor of harmony can effectively fulfil its destiny only when it evolves from a transcendental scheme of divine or

¹ *Phil. of Law*, by Köhler, p. 9.

² Dr. R. B. Pal's 'The Hindu Philosophy of Law,' p. 107.

³ Cf. *Atharvaveda*, XIV 1. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Mīmāṃsā Darśana*, 1. 1. 2.

⁵ 'Introduction to the Purva Mīmāṃsā,' by Dr. Paṇḍit Nath Sastri, p. 145.

⁶ Cf. *Vedānta Sūtram*, 1. 1. 3 and also 1. 3. 29.

⁷ Cf. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtram*, Ob. IX, Pāda 1.

⁸ See *Parāśara Smṛti* with Mādhyama's Commentary (Edited by Vāmana Śarmā), Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 211-14.

all-perfected reason, where a purposeless will of a despot, either divine or human, can never be judged as a criterion of validity in the interest of universal welfare.

According to the Brahmanic standpoint, Veda represents fundamental truth which has been breathed or revealed by God to the seers. Its another name is '*Sruti*'¹ or 'what is heard' signifying that sages heard it in their entranced stage of meditation. This view accounts for the belief that fundamental knowledge of law and order must have been antecedent to all human experience and must have been as such primarily revealed to man by God or Divine inspiration. The doctrine seeks to propound that the Veda is the all-guiding fact. The process of creation, which is intelligent as we find it, derives the knowledge of its fundamental ordering from this Veda. Manu rightly observes: "In the beginning, He (the Lord) assigned the several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda."²

The beginning of creation demands the precedence of a thinker or at least a system of thought to regulate the highly rational scheme of cosmic evolution. He or it should also communicate to us the basic knowledge of what the world is and what the relation is amongst the phenomena of the world and ourselves. Man must know the fundamental facts that govern the conduct of his life. Not only this,—the duties and responsibilities of life must be formulated somewhere by an aid of universal and divine reason or else, human reasoning in its dependence merely on sense experiences would fail to conceive them in their true universal perspective. The celebrated Roman lawyer Cicero maintains the same view that "law is the highest reason implanted in Nature which commanded those things which ought to be done and prohibits the reverse. The highest law was born in all the ages before any law was written or state was formed. It arose.....with the mind of God."³

While the precepts for the guidance of life and conduct of men are co-eval with the divine mind, there arises a need for communicating them or, more precisely, getting them revealed to man. Our task, therefore, is to describe the fundamental law as being both divinely ordained and revealed, to which, is assigned the unmistakable validity. This explains why the Veda is regarded by the Hindus

¹ Manu, II. 10.

² *Ibid.*, I. 21.

³ Cf. De Legib. i. 6 & ii. 4; Quoted by Sir Thomas Holland in '*The Elements of Jurisprudence*' (1924), p. 33.

as an infallible, eternal and uncreated source of law. Regulativeness is the chief forte of the Veda which professes to furnish necessary directions as to how man must conduct his life appropriately and conformably to the harmonious scheme of divine reason.

All human interests turn upon two main centres, subjective and objective.¹ Man finds himself surrounded by various objects, the whole of humanity, rather the whole of creation, to every one of which he has some relation, either explicit or implicit. He is there not as an isolated entity and, as such, he is bound to yield to a rule which can adequately secure a harmony between him and the objects which solicit his activity. For, harmony is established only when the subjective and the objective interests do not serve to conflict between them. Unless this fundamental problem of life is comprehended in its entire significance, man cannot rightly discharge those duties and obligations of life which will lead to the consummation of any desired unity. Duty is the starting point of this law or *dharma*.² It teaches us that man is a part and parcel integrally bound up with a greater whole of the universe. In other words, he is of the universe, belongs to the universe and is to live for the universe. This view of law indeed furnishes a conclusive ground of the modern science of International Law though it is unsupported by the authority of state.

Law contains certain essential powers which seek to promote cultural values by turning us always in the direction of welfare. Regulativeness is not the only characteristic of law. It should also lead to the realisation of good in its entirety. This is not an impertinent remark that "law shall be conceived of as harmonising the conditions under which the human race accomplishes its destiny by realising the highest good of which it is capable."³ But we should not confuse the idea of good with the notion of what is pleasurable. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* says, "the pleasurable is different and the good is different."⁴ Jaimini, the author of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, is fully aware of this and, therefore, defines *dharma* as being both founded on revelation and conducive to welfare.⁵ The text of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 'तत् त्रेयो रूपमत्यद्वयं धर्मम्'⁶ leads but to the same conclusion.

¹ Korkunov's *Theory of Law* (The Modern Leg. Phil. Series, Vol. IV), p. 45. (Bk. 1, Ch. 1, Sec. V).

² See the present author's article on 'Philosophy of the Pañca Yajñas, published in the *Calcutta Review* (Nov., 1937), p. 204.

³ Holland's *Jurisprudence* (1924), p. 80.

⁴ II, 1; cf. anyat tṛeyo'nyadutaiva preyah; also cf. II, 2, 'preyo mandah.'

⁵ Sūtra, I. 1. 2. 'Codanālakṣaṇo 'rtho dharmah.'

⁶ I. 4. 14.

The foregoing observations are sufficient to testify that law according to the Brahmanic standpoint bears the impress of neither the purposeless command of any wilful God nor a wilful human despot but emanates from some infallible superhuman source, possessed of both the highest reason and the highest purpose. Law purports to help the well-being of the universe in all its departments and, therefore, must somehow be based on universal or divine reason. Law in this sense is viewed as firm, immutable and eternal.¹ The theory is not far removed from the view of the moralists, the theologians and the philosophers of law, who have an inherent predilection to invest the rules of law and order with a halo of eternal sanctity. This has no doubt its practical advantages. People interested in general security are led to seek out some absolute principle of law in order that it may not be left "to the mercy of historical accidents or shifting currents and prejudices of social opinion."² The underlying purpose of the belief, as elucidated by Professor Pound is to "restrain" magisterial as well as individual wilfulness and assure a firm and stable social order.³

This rigid aspect of law has aroused mighty criticism in different quarters, and specially with reference to Hindu India, some of the Western scholars are induced to decry its law as unprogressive. But if a dispassionate enquiry is made, it will turn to our profit that law among the Hindus has never been stationary. The conception of divine law, no doubt, remains there but it has nothing to hamper the steady progress of law. Law is eternal in the sense that the leading principle of ideals is uniform in its elements and no change of it is admissible except in certain directions. But it does not negate the possibility that law is susceptible of changes. The legal history of India bears ample evidence to testify to the cultural progression which was wrought from time to time with a view to adapting law to the constantly changing needs of the hour and the place.⁴ There emerged an enormous branch of legal literature, known as *Smṛtis*, which belonged to widely separated ages⁵ and mark of a splendid historical development. These works are held to be by far the positive guides in matters of

¹ Cf. *Rgveda*, IV. 28. 9, 'ṛtasya dṛḡhā dharuṇāni santi.'

Cf. also I. 11. 8, and *Manu*, I. 68.

² *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals* (1935), by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, p. 8.

³ *Introduction to the Philosophy of Law*, p. 18.

⁴ Cf. 'Yugadharma' in *Manu*, I. 86; see *Parāśara* I. 21.

⁵ P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra* (1930), Sec. 57, p. 246.

Hindu law, which obviously has been mobilised and never has proved an exception to Carter's remark, "law grows as the nation grows."¹

But it should be cautiously remembered that the basic conception of law as eternal remained the same as ever. The law-givers of the Hindus were cognisant of the fact that the main lever, upon which the edifice of law stands, remains the same over all ages and climes. According to them, it has certain essentials of ideal values which are settled as right for ever. Hindus never forgot this philosophical truth. For good or bad, we also cannot help thinking that it is the philosophy of spirit which keeps up the vitalised force of culture and not the materialism, which itself is dead.²

The authors of the Hindu Codes have done no injustice while they have maintained that the Veda or Revelation is the primary and the most infallible source of law.³ It represents the mainspring, out of which, the other sources of law derive their requisite forces. The *Smṛti* secured cognizance as a secondary source of law only upon the belief that its validity was deduced from the *Śruti* or *Veda*.⁴ As a working hypothesis, the *Smṛti* was looked upon as a tissue of revelation in as much as it preserved the systematised memories of the Vedic revelations otherwise lost to us.⁵ In theory, therefore, the *Smṛti* draws to it the well-nigh identical sanctity that attaches to the Revelation itself. Jaimini observes: "The *Smṛtis* having been compiled by sages who were the repositories of the revelation, there arises an inference that they were founded on the *Śruti* or revelation and should, therefore, be regarded as authoritative; but if there arises any conflict, the precept of the *Smṛti* must be disregarded."⁶ This is no doubt a very ingenuous explanation of how the eternal law of the Hindus could be reconciled to its flexibility without involving unpropriety of sense. Further, the learned commentators of the legal codes, have, in their interpretative amplitude, explained away the apparent conflict between given text of *Śruti* and *Smṛti* by their recourse to various canons of interpretations, which are comprised in the rules of *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṃsā*.⁷

¹ *History of English Legal Institutes*, p. 3.

² *Philosophy of Law*, by Köhler (See Carter's Introduction, xxxiii).

³ *Cf. Manu*, II. 13; *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, I. 1. 1-2.

⁴ *Cf. Gautama*, I. 1. 2. 'Smṛtiṣiṣṭe ca tadvidām'. *Cf. Pārva Mīmāṃsā*, I. i. iii. 'Dharmaśāstra śabdamūlatvāt aśabdamanapekṣyaṃ syāt.'

⁵ *Manu*, II. 7 with Kūṭhaka's commentary thereon.

⁶ *Cf. Pārva Mīmāṃsā*, I. ii. 2-8.

⁷ *Cf. Yājñavalkya*, I. 8, and *Apastamba*, II. 6. 14. 18.

It is true that in every system of law both the elements of stability and flexibility are useful, the former being essential for the social security and the latter, for the demands of the changing social life which is dynamic to all intents and purposes. And as it has been always the problem with legal thinkers to attempt at a reconciliation between them, Hindu law-givers and the digest-writers addressed themselves in right earnest to depend upon so many rules of interpretation that keep the letter of the authoritative text intact but give it a new meaning.

All these points, however, do not militate against the transcendental view of law. The *sadācāras* or the customs of the good are undoubtedly recognised as another authoritative source of law but even eternal sanctity is ascribed to them on the ground that they reflect the Vedic discipline and in so far as they do not stand opposed to the approved tenets of the divine legislators.¹

Hindu law is therefore divine in its essential significance. The theory purports to place the human ruler under an absolute obligation to obey the command of the Divine Ruler. The renowned jurist Austin defines law as a command of the political superior² who is held by him as independent either in matter of legislation or execution, whereas, according to the Hindu view, the king or the determinate political superior is merely an administrator of justice upon whom the duty of executing the divine law is imposed from above.³ He is not the master nor the creator of law. Austin's definition of law does not represent the gospel truth and it has been subjected to criticism from the mighty pen of so learned a scholar as Bryce. Bryce holds that the historical facts point out with every certitude that law exists in most of the ancient societies not as a command of the political superior but in the form of usages of immemorial sanction.⁴ Supremacy of law, therefore, is based upon traditional sanctity. In consideration of this, Hindu view of law cannot be denounced⁵ as illogical. The theory helps to protect people also against the tyrannies of Princes and Papal power as well as from the ever-changing prejudices of social opinion. This practical side with its advantage cannot be passed by. Nelson, in his *Hindu View of Law*,⁶ seems to have been prejudiced

¹ Cf. *Manu*, I. 108; *Gautama*, I. 1. 2-5; *Baudhāyana*, I. 5-6.

² *Jurisprudence* (1911 Edn.), Vol. I, Lecture I, p. 86.

³ See Justice D. N. Mitter's *Position of Women in Hindu Law* (1913), pp. 9-12.

⁴ *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. II.

⁵ pp. 2-3 and 4.

by the Austinian notion of law to remark without consideration that law among the Hindus is nothing more than a myth. But Austin's definition upon which he based his judgment, has been exploded by many writers and it has been so authoritatively maintained that "the Aryan race has always had a true conception of law and political life."¹

A student of modern jurisprudence considers it a perplexing problem to reconcile how the Hindu view of law carries with it the idea of 'sanction'—a technical phrase used for punishment. Modern jurisprudence lays fundamental stress upon the coercive or the punitive attribute of law.² The view of law as a divine principle is rejected on the ground that it lacks its source and sanction.³ But the term '*dharma*' used for law in Hindu India implies that it is a self-manifested power.⁴ It has in itself a great cohesive function to realise and has its pre-eminent source in revelation. The doctrine of sanction or constraint also represents a grave error. For, in the words of Korkunov, "we can conceive of law without this attribute."⁵

Nevertheless, the idea of constraint indicates its appearance, though not in the manner of essential attribute but as a secondary ingredient, with the personage called the King. Verily the king is described in *Manu* as the *danḍa* or punishment incarnate.⁶ Every violation of law demands a need for punishment which is recognised to proceed from the King. But the earthly sovereign reigns as an auxiliary or the Deputy of the Divine Ruler to whom he owes his allegiance. He is answerable to the Divine Ruler if he fails in any way in his administrative duty.⁷ He is required to wave the rod of punishment pursuant to the dictates of *dharma*, or else, he himself shall suffer, if not in this world, surely in the next world.

Hindu *Sāstras* always focuss their attention on the creed of transmigration of souls. According to this, the rewards and punishments of a man are the consequences of his own deeds. He passes of this world to what his own doings have made him.⁸ Duty of life

¹ 'Miraglia,' p. 120.

² See Bentham's *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Chs. III, VII, XIV; also Holland's *Jurisprudence*,

³ Holland's *Jurisprudence*, p. 41.

⁴ Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14. 4. 2. 23.

⁵ *Theory of Law*, Section 12, p. 96. See for details the whole section.

⁶ Cf. *Manu*, VII. 17, 'sa rāṣṭra puruṣa danḍaḥ sa netā sāsita ca.'

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII. 128.

⁸ Cf. *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, I. 44.

is the supreme consideration with every member of the Aryan community. Every transgression of law gives birth to an offence which is expiated not only by punishment but by certain rites of penances. The object of punishment is coercive in the main, but the object of penance is to remove the taint of sin and to elevate the character from possible degeneration. If a sinner do not absolve him of the guilt, it is believed, he suffers the worse forms of punishment during the sojourn of his soul through numerous purgatories or hells.¹ "The whole theory," to quote Sir Henry S. Maine, "is saved from contempt by its power of satisfying moral cravings and by the apparently complete explanation which it offers of the unequal balance of good and evil in this world."²

These facts point out that the idea of sanction is not conspicuous by its absence. On the other hand, the combined elements of both the political and the theological sanction in Hindu law play a dominant rôle in governing the totality of human conduct. Hindu law assumes an abundant value in its power of enforcing both the imperative-attributive as well as the imperative norms of humanity. The implicit credence in the ideational character of law, in the true nature of things, demands a spontaneous conviction that every transgression of it means an offence. The denial of this conviction negates the very aspirations of humanity, which no forces can achieve to have. The practical lawyer may laugh at this. But if the metaphysical and the philosophic ideals be driven away from the realm of legal truth, no system of material or empirical logic, variable and changeable as we find it, can create an absolute standard of ideal values. We therefore cannot help thinking with Carter that "the great problems of all statesmanship are never settled right until the efforts of the practical man of affairs and the man of ideals are united in one common purpose."³

¹ Cf. *damanārtham dandah prāyaścittantu pāpakeṣārtham*—*Viśārūpa's Tīkā* on Yāj. (Section—"Suvarga Steya").

² Cf. Yājñavalkya, III. 221-25.

³ See the article 'Religious Element in Hindu Law,' in *Evolution of Law Series*, Vol II, p. 114.

⁴ Introduction to the translated volume of *Philosophy of Law*, by Köhler, p. xxiii.

THE FUJIWARA PERIOD (894-1185).

DR. KALIDAS NAG.

ACCORDING to Japanese authorities like Prof. Seiichi Taki (Year-Book of Japanese Art, 1929-30), the period is divided into two distinct epochs: 889-1069 and 1069-1192 marked by two distinct styles. The Sino-Indian cultural fabric built up in course of the Nara and Kyoto period was at first rudely disturbed by the brutality and violence of the feudal lords who represented a characteristic aspect of Japanese history redeemed occasionally by noble episodes of heroism and chivalry with the Samurai and their code of honour, the Bushido, which was almost raised to the status of religion. Special heraldic designs, based on floral or geometrical motives, came to characterise henceforth the influential clans or families like the Fujiwara, the Taira, the Minamoto, the Hojo, the Ashikaga and the Tokugawa who continued the feudal tradition down to the middle of the 19th century. Sometimes the feuds between the rival clans assumed colossal proportion as in the case of conflicts between the Minamoto and the Taira families which resulted in the defeat of the Southern clans of Kyoto and Kyushu and the ascendancy for seven centuries of the warriors of the Northern province of Kanto (near Tokyo).

During this period of feudal violence, Japan developed the wonderful cult of Amida or Amitava who as Bodhi-Sattva extended his spiritual sway over India, Iran and Central Asia during the Scythian period. A Parthian prince Ngan Shih-Kao preached for the first time in China, between 148-170 A.D., the creed of the Blessed Land or Sukhabati, the Japanese Jodo. The abstract philosophy of the Nirvana was thus replaced by the metaphysical monism or in fact the theism of the Amida who loves all living beings as parts of his own nature and under whose eyes the suffering souls of this world were reborn in the blissful paradise represented by the mystic lotus of the Japanese painting of this epoch. The greatest champion of this Vakti cult of Japan was Honen (1133-1212) whose life has been ably discussed by R. Ishizuka (Kyoto, 1925). Honen founded the Jodo sect in 1174 and like the medieval Indian mystics brought consolation and the hope of salvation not only to the aristocrats and heroes but to the

humble men and women not excluding the thieves and the prostitutes. His success was phenomenal and that is why he was banished at the age of 74 (1207) by his rivals of the aristocratic church which under the deadweight of dogmas missed the gem of Ahimsa or charity which was the very soul of Buddhism. The exclusive relation of the esoteric sects like the Tendai was replaced by the democratic Amida cult of Salvation by Faith. The artist of this epoch, sculptors as well as painters, were characterised by a rare simplicity and softness which occasionally degenerated into effeminacy. Many of the Bodhi-Sattvas came to be represented with almost feminine elegance. But it often lacked the vigour of expression of the earlier art. The moon goddess and Sri or Kichijoten, together with Kshitigarva or Japanese jizo came to be represented in many temples of this epoch. Now and then a monk painter like Toba Soja (1053-1114) showed a rare spirit of realistic humour and caricature in his subtle studies of rabbits and frogs, men and monkeys. The great popularity of painting in this epoch was mainly due to the tremendous influence of priest-painter like Eshin Sozu, some of whose paintings are preserved in the Nara Imperial Household and also in the Reiho-Kwan Museum on the Koyasan mountain where we find the gorgeous picture of Amitava and 25 Bodhi-Sattvas arranged in a heavenly orchestra. One of the glories of the Fujiwara period is the "Resurrection of Sakyanuni" from a gold coffin owned by the Chohoji monastery now exhibited in the Kyoto Museum of Art which also exhibits illuminated manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures. Secular stories like those written by Lady Murasaki also came to be illustrated in picture scrolls depicting the life of the nobility of the Fujiwara epoch which, towards its close under the patronage of the art department of the Imperial Court developed important schools like Takuma, Kasuga and Tosha. Traditions and samples of the great Sung paintings of China also now entered Japan to develop new indigenous schools and tendencies. The sculpture lagged behind painting of this epoch possibly owing to the urge for mass production by professional sculpture who lacked the inspiration of the priestly carvers of the divine figures. Gold and various rich colours were used profusely in painting as well as sculpture. In the applied arts the Japanese artists showed remarkable originality and perfection assimilating the borrowed Chinese ideas and developing purely indigenous designs in metal, lacquer, inlay work and architectural decorations. The native genius asserted also in architecture

through monasteries like Hojoji, the five-storied stupa of the Daigoji and the three-storied stupa of the Joruri-ji near Kyoto.

DAWN OF REALISM IN THE KAMAKURA PERIOD, (1186-1333).

Through the animal studies, caricatures and the illustration of the novels of the Fujiwara period, we felt that the Japanese genius was trying to escape from the obsession of religion and pietism. The art which developed at the new capital Kamakura was characterised by a martial spirit and national consciousness. The intercourse with the Sung dynasty of China and the importation of Sung paintings necessarily helped new developments of Japanese art which came to be surcharged with the spirit of Zen Buddhism introduced now, transforming the martial spirit of the race. Old Buddhism was transformed by national reformers like Honen (1133-1212), Shinran (1170-1263) and Nichiren (1222-1282). Strong personality of these reformers naturally helped the growth of individualism in art and culture. The picture scrolls or *emakimono* displayed pure Japanese spirit in rendering vividly the historical, legendary and religious subjects. Some of the most valuable specimens, copies and prototypes of the Sung and Yuan paintings came to be collected and studied leading to a veritable revival of Chinese style in Japan. The figure of the twelve devas or *juniten* preserved in the To-ji temple of Kyoto represent the best of the sun and the moon, the heaven and the earth. In the Sung style also came to be painted the portraits of the makers of Japanese history like Princes Shotoku and Yoritomo. A picture scroll of the Mongol invasion is in the Imperial Household. Collection which preserves a few brilliant animal caricatures on paper in black and white.

Yoritomo, the first Shogun of Kamakura began the reconstruction of the great monasteries of Nara. This gave a new impetus as much to Japanese architecture as to sculpture. The old conventional repose of the Fujiwara sculptures was transformed by dynamical spirit of this martial age and great sculptors like Kokei and his son Unkei worked at the Nara temples emphasising the accurate depiction of the plastic poses and the movements which reminded us of the vigorous brush strokes of the contemporary painters. While restoring the monasteries of Nara, these sculptors caught infection of the master sculptors of the Tempyo period. The son of Unkei was also a great sculptor, named Jokei and their rival was Kwaikei who reinterpreted

the old forms through his serene Buddhas and Bodhi-Sattvas. Most of the sculptures were in wood, the exception being the colossal bronze statue of Amida at Kamakura. Powerful portrait statues of extraordinary vitality and realism have come from the Kamakura artists, a few of whom had the boldness and originality of producing nude figures of the Buddhist and Shinto deities including the unique figure of the goddess of music Benzaiten. In the department of minor arts a great impetus was given to metal work through sword-making and the manufacture of arms and armours. Pottery mostly imported from China from the Tang to the Sung period was first made a national industry of Japan by Tashiro who studied the ceramic industry in China for five years and constructed a kiln in the village of Seto (near Negoya). Thence porcelain in Japan came to have the general names of Setomono.

In the department of architecture we find three different styles at the beginning of the Kamakura period: (1) The native style or Wayo, (2) the Hindu style called Tenjiku-yo which was reintroduced from China in order to restore the Nara temples, and (3) the Chinese style called Karayo which came in the Sung epoch to Japan with Zen Buddhism and remained to exert a profound influence on the Kamakura and the succeeding styles of architecture. Thus the renewed intercourse between China and Japan in the 13th century gave rise to different styles which tended to be a hybrid about the middle of the 14th century. The plan of the Zen temples was elaborate and complicated but few of them have remained in their original form. The most famous examples of the Hindu style of architecture are to be seen in the Jodoji monastery in the province of Harima and the great Southgate (Nandai-mon) of the Daibutan at Nara.

The Kamakura period Cf. K. Hemada—*Japanese Art of the Kamakura Period*, Kokka, April and June, 1910) was characterised both in politics and art by two different traditions, that of the civil regime of the Imperial Court at Kyoto and that of the camp government at Kamakura at the mouth of the gulf of Tokyo where Yoritomo established his capital as the Shogun or the supreme military chief recognised by the emperor in 1192. The rival cultural currents would be harmonised in the Ashikaga epoch. The power soon went to the Hojo family whose representative Tokimune (1256-84) gloriously defended Japan from the invasion of the Mongols under Kublai Khan. When the Hojo house decayed threatening Japan with anarchy, the emperor Daigo, after

centuries assumed full sovereignty in 1319. But his noble work was soon frustrated by the Ashikaga Shoguns who murdered the crowned prince and started the Muromachi period (1334-1573) famous for its idealistic art under Zen inspiration. The conqueror of the Moguls as well as the military aristocracy of the 13th and 14th centuries draw their strength and rare courage from the transcendental calm of the Zenhu, a rare combination of Indian Buddhism and Chinese Taoism.

ART DURING THE ASHIKAGA OR MUROMACHI PERIOD (1334-1573).

The temporary ascendancy of the royal family of Japan came to a sad end when Masashige, the Bayard of the Imperial cause, was killed in 1336 and Asikaga Takanji triumphantly entered Kyoto building their residence of Muromachi which gave its name to the literary period from 1392 to 1603. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1368-1408) as well as Yoshimasa (1449-90) who built the silver pavilion, the Ginkakuji (east of Kyoto) were great patrons of art and literature. But soon the feudal barons or the Daimyos got the upperhand and frequently plunged the country into civil wars. Thus 16th century Japan resembled the 15th century Italy with political confusions marching hand in hand with artistic renaissance. The boisterous spirit of the age forced the adventurous clans to embark upon repeated expeditions to the coasts of central and southern China as well as to Formosa, Hainan and the Philippines. Thus in the 16th century, the Japanese mariners specially from Kyushu often crossed the path of the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Dutch colonies. St. Francis X'avier landed in Japan (August, 1549) remaining till November, 1551 and the Jesuit mission brought Japan in contact with Western life and art. But before Japan would be called to tackle with the occidental problems in the 19th century, she could make a substantial contribution to Asiatic art through her portraitists and landscape painters of the 15th and 16th centuries who, in spite of their being deeply influenced by the Chinese art of the Sung and Yuan period, never the less asserted their national individuality. The master painter of this period was Sesshu (1420-1506) who visited China (1463-1469) and was received at the court of the Ming emperors. With rare originality he rose above the vagueness of the Sung metaphysical school and introduced a rugged romanticism liberating thereby the personality of the Japanese artists hitherto dominated by the

collective religious traditions of the Sino-Indian art. His splendid portrait of Bodhi-Dharma as well as his profound nature studies marked Sesshu as one of the greatest painters of all ages. Another great painter is Soami (1450-1530) who was a master of tender delineation of nature without any metaphysical suggestion. Another great painter was Sesson who continued to work till 1572, linked up the earlier schools of Japanese art with the famous Kano school which would fill the history of Japanese art from the middle of the 15th to the middle of the 19th century. His founder was Kano Masanobu (1453-1490) whose tradition was continued by his son Motonobu (1476-1559). The Kano school generally represented the Sino-Japanese academic style lacking the divine urge of creative artists yet infinitely superior to the Ming painters. That is how the Kano school dominated Japanese art for over 300 years by their absolute mastery of technique and their keen sense of the "earth earthy." They were not mere grammarians like the Ming painters, they were great stylists as well. Art not only came to be professional but almost hereditary by way of father to son or master to pupil as we find also in the famous Tosha school led by Mitsunobu (1434-1525) and Mitsunoto (1530-1559) with extraordinary finish in their drawings and their delicate feeling for colour. According to Prof. Elisseev, their works mark the epoch of the general secularization of art and assertion of national individuality.

The return from Kamakura to Kyoto naturally developed the Kyoto school of art and that is why we find some of their finest specimens in the Kyoto Museum although many of them have come to be acquired by the Tokyo Imperial Museum. This was an age of progressive Japanisation and the Buddhist cults and temples were somewhat neglected. Confucianism and Taoism slowly penetrated and assimilated by the Japanese genius. Towards the beginning of the 15th century we find a few important architectural constructions as in the five-storied stupa and in the golden hall of Kofukuji monastery at Nara. In the secular architectures we find the influence of Zen Buddhism as well as the tea cult both closely associated with the development of the art of gardening. Kokakura has shown in his famous Book of Tea how the tea ceremony came to influence profoundly the social and artistic life of Japan. Yoshimasa (1449-1490) was an enthusiastic collector of art objects from China and a catalogue was compiled by his attendant connoisseur No-ami. There we find a

commentary on tea bowls and on other items of tea ceremony together with instructions as to how to judge pictures and the genuineness of art objects. This catalogue came to have almost a scriptural authority amongst tea masters and art critics. Yoshimasa neglected politics as he was passionately devoted to literature and art. He surrounded himself with learned Buddhist priests, poets and actors who collaborated in the development of that great art of Japan manifested in the No dramas largely based on Buddhist subjects and stimulating the progress of portrait sculpture through the infinite variety and subtlety of No masks.

MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1574-1614).

The Ashikaga family who was superseded by an astute politician Nobunaga (1534-82) who strengthened his position by forming the best feudal army of the day, winning over to his side an aristocrat like Tokugawa, Yeyasu and a peasant military genius who after Nobunaga would go to be the Japanese Napoleon Hideyoshi. The Buddhist order like the Honganji group of Osaka who formed a state within a state were ruthlessly suppressed and temples and monasteries which were citadels were destroyed. The first dictator Nobunaga was assassinated in 1582 and his general Hideyoshi (1583-1598) stepped into the breach. He was the first to set the example of political unification of the country by suppressing all sectional and separatist tendencies of the feudal clans, specially of the island of Kyushu. For the first time in Japanese history a plebian came to be the protector of the realm, transcending caste prejudices. Under him Japan ceased to be an isolated country and definitely desired for an Asiatic empire. Hence his expeditions to China and Korea. In 1590 the Korean king ordered the destruction of Fusan, the Japanese trading colony. Thus under the flag of Hideyoshi the warriors of the different feudal clans for the first time stood united. The Ming dynasty was decaying but its forces joined the Korean and continued defensive wars. Korea, if not whole of China, would have been conquered but for the sudden death of Hideyoshi in 1598. His ideas, however, was carried on by the third dictator Yeyasu who triumphed over all contending factions in a big battle of October, 1600. The two great national schools of painting were the Tosas who faithfully depicted the epic tradition of Japan and the Kanos who left admirable animal studies and mural decorations as in the famous Momoyama palace of Hideyoshi and also

in the Nishi Honganji temple at Kyoto. The Kano artists through their preference for decorative art were the real precursors of the Ukiyo-e school of popular art. The grand Sung tradition of drawing monochrome pieces in wash with Chinese ink was gone, being now replaced by gaudy colours and gold backgrounds characterising the Ming art with its "sensuous dilettantism." Gorgeous lacquer works came to be as much valued as painting and the arch spirit of this age was Koetsu (1557-1637) who worked side by side with Sotatsu (1576-1643), and whose style of decorative painting of rich colour was developed further by Korin. Koetsu was called the Leonardo of Japan by Yone Noguchi. He was a born decorator of the grand style in every medium. His portraits and lacquer works are the treasures of the Odin and the Vever collection of Paris and his magnificent screens are cherished by the Boston Museum and the Freer Gallery of Washington. The three great military heroes, Hideyoshi above all, wanted to display their greatness through architectural decorations, as we find in the paintings of Eitoku (1543-1590) on the golden walls of the Osaka Castles. This master of the Kano school trained another great artist Samaku (1559-1635) who excelled in painting, sliding screens and gorgeous wall-paintings. He was also great in painting flowers and birds. His fellow student under Eitoku was Yusho (1533-1615). He was equally famous in animal and human figures. One of his famous screens now in the Kyoto Museum, represent the Three Tasters of Vinegar symbolising the fact that the ultimate source of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism is the same though their preachings were different. Buddhism was definitely declining and is specially noticeable in sculpture. The only noteworthy Buddhist architecture of the period was the Golden Hall of the To-ji monastery of Kyoto. It was an age of grand castles and sumptuous dwelling houses. A new style was introduced in Shinto architecture with interior decorations in Buddhist style. The whole of this gorgeous art stands in striking contrast against the archaic simplicity in the architecture and decorations of the houses for tea ceremony, called Sukiya. Here we find a veritable poetry of rusticity as we notice in that wonderful Raku-yaki tea bowl made by Chojiro, the master of ceramic art employed by Hideyoshi. Many Korean potters were brought to Japan during the expeditions of Hideyoshi and they helped in the remarkable development of porcelain industry in Japan. The weak son of Hideyoshi was overthrown by Iyasu who in 1603 made

Yedo or Tokyo his headquarters and it came to be the most important centre of the political, social and artistic life of the nation from 1615 when Ieyasu formally established the Tokugawa Sogunate which would continue down to 1867.

YEDO PERIOD (1615-1866).

The age of the Tokugawas was an age of discipline and regulations. The troublesome and adventurous Daimyos whom Hideyoshi wanted to utilize for his grand project of Asiatic empire were obliged to spend most of their time near about the Tokyo Court of the Shogun. Their spirit was completely ruined amid the luxuries and festivities of Yedo. The Tokugawas closed their country to all foreigners, missionaries, merchants or mariners while the previous generation of Japanese sailors and merchants frequently visited China, Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Indo-China and India. In this age of narrowness and isolation, Japanese art was largely characterised by "feats of virtuosity" as we find in the works of Sansetsu (1589-1651) and of Naonobu (1607-1650) and Tannyu (1602-74), the elder brother of Naonebu.

Between 1688-1703 known as the Genroku period there appeared an all-round genius combining the Kano and the Tosa traditions, showing the bowl designs of the former and the decorative effects of the latter. Such was Ogata Korin (1653-1716), a master in painting as well as in lacquer work to whom Noguchi dedicated a special study (1922). He was the most famous painter of the Genroku era (1688-1703). A great landscape and animal painter was Okyo (1733-95) who was followed by other noble landscape painters like Buncho and Buson who continued to work almost up to the beginning of the Meiji revolution.

But the general public was apparently fed up with the academic subjects and plunged into the study and appreciation of plebeian life developing thereby the popular school of Ukiyo-e. This school was influenced by the Ming and Ch'ing painting pre-occupied with the portraits of young girls or courtesans. Everyday life came to be expressed through painting but mostly through popular prints, now the glory of Japanese wood engraving. At first the prints were in black and white but about 1742 the Japanese discovered the process of printing from several blocks charged with different colours. A master

of such colour printing was Masanobu who died about 1761. But probably the greatest master of colour prints was Harunobu (1730-1770), a great interpreter of the womanhood of Japan. In the works of Kiyonaga (1742-1815), Japanese colour print reached its highest level, according to Mr. Grousset who quotes approvingly the opinion of Fenollosa: "The lines are more harmonious than Botticelli, more swave and flowing than Greek painting and suggesting even Greek sculpture." Another artist Sharaku devoted himself to the psychological study of the famous actors of his day (1789-1800). A great painter of the Geishas and courtesans was Utamaro (1754-1806) to whom Noguchi has also devoted a special volume (1925). Though depicting the underworld, no vulgarity could be traced in the works of Utamaro who was a master colourist.

The head of the realistic school was Hokusai (1760-1849) who staggers us by his variety and productiveness. He was the first to introduce realistic landscapes and animated crowds. His most remarkable work was "the thirty-six views of Fuji." Another great artist was Hiroshige (1797-1858) who was a veritable poet of nature and who transformed everything by the magic touch of his brush. He surveys everything, the earth and the sea in a bird's eye view suggesting the flights of the soul through space and immensity. Jiro Harada of the Imperial Household Museum has written an authoritative volume on Hiroshige. Thus down to the middle of the 19th century Japan could produce great artists, thanks to the aristocratic isolation imposed by the Tokugawas, while India, China and Persia, as lamented by Grousset, suffered terribly from internal decay of art instincts and the external imposition of Western commercialism. Japan escaped denationalisation and thus pointed the path of regeneration for the other nations of Asia.

PROGRESS IN APPLIED ARTS.

In the Yado period, the ceramic art of Japan made remarkable progress and famous kilns produced wonderful specimens from Kyoto, Hizen, Satsuma and Kaga. One of the leading ceramics was Ninsei (1596-1660) who rose above the Chinese or Korean styles and vindicated the claims of Japanese genius. The art of gold lacquer reached the zenith of perfection in this period and the famous Koetsu was a veritable genius in this branch of art and his style was developed

in Kyoto by Korin. Kyoto was also the most important centre of high grade weaving. The Chinese trading ships followed by the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch introduced some of the best samples of textile industry to Japan. The industry was further developed with the enormous popularity of the No drama. The gorgeous costumes of the actors were mostly fabricated in Kyoto and Yedo.

In architecture we find little originality. A few Buddhist temples deserve mention: The Hall of Buddha (1583) and the Hall of Preaching (1656) in the Myoshin-ji monastery of Kyoto and the Daibutsu Hall (1708) of the Todai-ji monastery of Nara. In the Mampuku-ji monastery near Kyoto we notice the pure Chinese style which entered Japan with the Obaku branch of the Zen sect of Buddhism. In 1867 the last Shogun of the Tokugawa retired making room for the great emperor Meiji who removed his capital from Kyoto to Yedo (changed into Tokyo). This was an age of aggressive Western influence. Fortunately from 1887 there was a healthy reaction against the blind imitation of the West. This movement was led by Ernest Fenollosa, a graduate of the Harvard University, who came in 1878 as a professor of philosophy at the Tokyo Imperial University. He secured the co-operation of the great Japanese art critic Okakura Kakuzo who later on migrated to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He also spent several months in India co-operating intimately with the Tagores who are pioneers of the revival of Indian art. In 1888 the Japanese government established an art school at Ueno Park, Tokyo, and two of its professors Kano Hōgai (1828-1888) and Hasimoto Gaho (1835-1908) were greatly influenced by Okakura and Fenollosa. The picture of the all-merciful mother Hibo Kwannon is the most famous work of the idealistic type drawn by Hōgai. He died in 1888 before the opening of the art school but his style was followed and developed by Gōhō, among whose masterpieces we notice the "Autumn Landscape" now in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum. Some of the pupils of Gaho are great masters of contemporary Japan who resigned with Mr. Okakura from the Government school and organised a new art academy Nihon Bijutsu-in at Yanaka, Tokyo. To mention only a few of his famous group of painters we refer to Hishida Shunso, Kawai Gyokudo, Araiampo and above all two veritable masters Shimomura Kanzan and Yokoyama Taikan who started the new movement with the motto "life true to self." Many of these painters serve in the art exhibition committee for Japanese painting which grew out of the

exhibition of Japanese and Western paintings organised in 1907 by the department of education. From 1919 the annual Government Exhibition is being held under the auspices of the Imperial Fine Arts Academy. After a temporary domination of the West there was a distinct revival of nationalism with an attempt to harmonise the old and the new, best illustrated by Taikan with his eclectic researches into Oriental as well as Occidental schools. Taikan worked for sometime in the studio of Abanindranath Tagore.

The Imperial Fine Arts Academy has for its object the promotion of national art. It holds the annual exhibition in autumn dividing it into four sections: Japanese painting, Western painting, Sculpture and Applied arts. At the end the Committee issues certificate of special merit and confers the academic prize. The national school of painting now presided over by Taikan also holds exhibitions. The Western styles of painting of the modern and ultra-modern types find a ready response amongst a large number of Japanese artists who hold exhibitions in Spring and Autumn. A few leading artists of this school are Ishii Hakutei, Arishima, Ikuma and others. But there is no permanent museum as yet for the contemporary artists of Japan who show their works often in small galleries in Tokyo and Kyoto, Nagaya and Osaka.

News and Views

Indian Philosophical Congress

The Indian Philosophical Congress will be held on Dec. 26, 27 and 28. In reply to a request for changing the dates to January, the Secretary of the Congress has informed the local committee that already members were dissatisfied over the change from before Christmas (the usual time for the Congress) to the Christmas week. A further change, therefore, was not considered desirable. The committee has, therefore, been asked to go on with the arrangements.

The subject of the address of Mr. C. F. Andrews, General President of the Congress, will be "World Crisis : India's solution."

Indian Mathematical Conference

The next session of the Indian Mathematical Conference organised by the Indian Mathematical Society, will be held in Hyderabad under the auspices of the Osmania University in December next. Several mathematicians of foreign universities are expected to attend the session. The president of the session will be elected by the Society and the deliberations will last for three days.

Three lectures will be delivered in non-technical language for the benefit of the general public. Among the subjects which will be discussed at the conference will be one relating to the history of mathematics in India and another dealing with the methods of teaching mathematics in schools and colleges.

It will be remembered that the Indian Mathematical Society is functioning as the central association of mathematical sciences since 1930 and has on its membership roll almost all mathematicians of Indian Universities. It holds its session once in two years under the auspices of the various universities. The conference so far met at Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, Delhi, Lucknow and other places. The Society, besides maintaining a central library at Poona, which supplies foreign research journals to its members, publishes two journals, namely, "The Journal of Indian Mathematics Society" and "The Mathematical Student."

Wardha Scheme

It is understood that the Central Advisory Board of Education meets on December 8 to discuss among other things the report of the committee on the Wardha Education Scheme.

South Indian Teachers

The Eighth South Indian Educational Week organised by the South Indian Teachers' Union in co-operation with leading organisations interested in education was celebrated from November 1 to November 6. A

central committee was formed consisting of the representatives of participating associations and Department of Public Instruction with Miss Van Doren as President.

Messages wishing success to the endeavours of the committee were received including those from Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, Dr. P. Subbarayan, Education Minister, and Rector Zilliacus, Chairman, New Education Fellowship, London.

An Important Discovery

An important clue to the mysteries of atmospheric circulation has been found by Indian meteorologists as a result of sounding balloon experiments.

It has been found that the highest temperatures in the tropical troposphere at levels between 6 and 12 kilometres are found over regions of extensive rainfall.

The highest pressures at the levels are also found over the same or adjacent regions.

This points to the need for seeking for regions of highest pressure in the upper atmosphere at these levels in other part of the tropics in similar regions of heavy wide-spread rainfall such as parts of Africa, East and West Indies, Brazil, etc. With the seasonal movement of rainfall areas, the high pressure areas at these levels will also move correspondingly.

It is felt that for a correct understanding of the general permanent circulation of the atmosphere, the ascertainment of the exact distribution temperature in different regions of the earth and the assignment of the correct physical causes for them are of fundamental importance.

Nobel Prize for Peace

It is not believed that Mr. Neville Chamberlain is actually among the candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize this year. But the mention of his name is giving rise to considerable discussion as to whether under the statutes it can be awarded to him or not. While there are many in Norway who wish the statutes to be altered for the benefit of Mr. Chamberlain, there are also many in favour of Dr. Benes.

A former mayor of Stockholm, M. Karl Lindhagen, who has had much to do with the will of Alfred Nobel, the founder of the Nobel prizes, said to the Oslo paper *Tidens Tegn* that he did not see why Mr. Chamberlain should not get the prize. Indeed, why not give it to all the four statesmen who were at Munich? They all had worked for peace and had done that which the League of Nations had not been able to do—to take care of the self determination rights of the small minorities. They had started a new epoch that would have consequences.

Aligarh University

A representation, signed by 80 members of the Court of Aligarh Muslim University, is ready to be submitted to the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, at New Delhi. The object of the signatories is to have a special meeting of the Court summoned to consider the serious situation caused in the wake of the rustication by Prof. Halim, Pro-Vice-

Chancellor, of eleven students of the University in September last. The rustication itself was the sequel to the issue of a pamphlet by the students concerned in reply to another pamphlet supposed to have been issued by the Provost of the S. S. Hall, Mr. M. M. Sharif.

Since the trouble started, the Muslim League took up the matter at the instance of the students' organization of the Aligarh University. The points in the controversy alleged by the students are mainly two: firstly, that books preaching atheism were prescribed and members of the staff were regularly preaching atheism, and, secondly, as the activities in aid of the Congress movement were allowed in the University, so should those of the Muslim League be allowed.

These grievances of the students were placed before the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor in September last, and Mr. Sharif, in the course of what he described as an appeal to common sense, advised the students from being exploited.

The signatories to the representation request a meeting of the Court to be convened before the end of November, i. e., soon after *Ramzan*, their object being to press for the appointment of an enquiry committee into the circumstances surrounding the rustication of the eleven students.

Nawabzada Rehat Said Khan visited New Delhi in connection with the submission of his representation to the Vice-Chancellor and met Sir Yamin Khan and other members of the Court who are in New Delhi.

Miscellany

THE DAWN SOCIETY AND MODERN BENGALI SOCIOLOGY (1897-1913)

The *Dawn*, edited by Satischandra Mukherjee, made its appearance in 1897 as a monthly of philosophical and socio-cultural problems and was oriented among other things to the discussion of topics bearing on the East *vis-à-vis* the West. This became the nucleus of the Dawn Society established by Mukherjee in 1903 and was renamed as the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine*. The glorious *Swadeshi* movement, associated with the "ideas of 1905," owed not a little to this group, which, indeed, was directly responsible for the establishment of the National Council of Education (1906) for which those ideas were substantial formative forces. The Society or rather the *Magazine* maintained its existence for a further period of eight years down to 1913.

One of the prominent objects of the Dawn Society was to promote knowledge about India and Indian civilization as well as the carrying on of first-hand researches regarding Indian sociography, past and present. Besides, there was a steady propaganda made among the members in favour of joint work for "something useful to the district, town or village." This constituted the applied sociology, so to say, of the Dawn Society *intelligentsia*. In addition, indigenous industries were taught to be supported "even at sacrifice." In this its sociology of economics, the Dawn Society was one of the pioneers of the *Swadeshi* movement that came into existence in 1905. And finally, the cultural sociology of the Dawn Society counselled the intellectuals to support such educational and allied movements as aimed "primarily at fostering the unselfish instincts and developing the constructive faculties of the Indian mind."

The Dawn Society studies laid special stress on the publications of the Census Department of the Government of India as well as on the statistical investigations in regard to the occupations, castes, races, religions, etc. The theoretical foundations were furnished in the main by Spencer and Mill on the one hand and by the *Gita* on the other.

It is the scholars of the Dawn Society who constituted the teaching corps of the National Council of Education when established in 1906. The different branches of sociology as understood in those days were represented, among others, by Haranchandra Chakladar (Indian culture), Radhakumud Mookerji (economics), Rabindranarayan Ghosh (geography and sociography) and the present author* (pedagogics and modern history).

The seniormost among the members of the Dawn Society school of sociology is Haranchandra Chakladar subsequently connected with the Anthropological Faculty of the Calcutta University. For a long time he was the principal contributor to the *Dawn and the Dawn Society's Magazine* along with Satischandra Mukherjee. Chakladar's *Vatsyayana: the Author of Kamasutra* was published by the Calcutta University in 1921. It was followed up in 1929 by *Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vatsyayana's Kamasutra*. Vatsyayana was a Hindu sexologist of the early Christian era.

* Works: *The Science of Education Series, Vol I* (1910-13); *The Science of History* (London, 1913); *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (1914), etc.

In Radhakumud Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping* (London, 1911) was found the nucleus of subsequent studies in the "Greater India" movement. His *Fundamental Unity of India* (London, 1914), *Local Government in Ancient India* (Oxford, 1918) and later works down to *Hindu Civilization* (London, 1936) have furnished the historical foundations of much nationalistic applied sociology. For over a decade and a half he has been connected with the Lucknow University.

The *Dawn Society's Magazine* used to contain the institutional studies (1906-13) bearing on India by Rabindranarayan Ghosh, at present Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta. From him has come the Bengali translation of Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*, published by the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat* (Academy of Bengali Literature), 1922.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

RICE OUTPUT AND CONSUMPTION IN THE U.S.A.

Rice production in the United States has expanded sharply in recent years. From less than 40 million bushels in 1935, production increased to 49 million bushels in 1936 and to 53 million bushels in 1937. Indicated production for 1938, on the basis of July 1 condition, is 53.3 million bushels, or more than 10 million bushels above the 1927-36 average. A crop of this size would be the largest on record.

The total value of the crop likewise has increased greatly since 1932, in as much as increasing production has been accompanied by a substantial improvement in the general business situation and in demand for rice. The value of the 1936 crop was estimated to be over 40,000,000, but the value of the 1937 crop was probably somewhat less.

The larger supplies of rice during the past year were disposed of by increased domestic utilization, larger exports and some increase in shipments to Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska. Near-record shipments to insular possessions have been reported and exports to foreign countries in 1937-38 probably were the largest since 1931-32. The large production in rice of the past 3 years has created a problem of surpluses. Continued production at this high level will necessitate either larger exports or an increase in the present rate of domestic utilization.

During the World War period, prices stimulated production and shifted from an import basis to an export basis. In the years just following the World War an average of about one-third of the crop was exported. A sharp recession in prices followed the War and production in the period 1923-25 declined to considerably below the 1919-22 level.

Production of rice in this country is confined largely to three well-defined areas. The largest of these is along the Gulf of Mexico, in Louisiana and Texas, where the industry developed rapidly following 1895. Production later got under way in east central Arkansas which developed into a second important producing section. The other rice area is in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys of California, where production began in 1912 and expanded rapidly. While small quantities of rice are grown in South Carolina, Mississippi, Missouri and Georgia, production in these States is insignificant from a commercial standpoint.

Yields per acre, as well as acreage, have increased steadily. The average yield in Louisiana increased from about 26 bushels per acre for the period 1895-99 to more than 40 bushels per acre in each of the past 5 years. In

Texas and Arkansas yields have increased 15 and 11 bushels per acre, respectively, since the pre-War period. In California they are about 18 to 20 bushels per acre higher than in the early 20's. The higher yield may be attributed to the use of improved varieties and to improved methods of growing and harvesting.

Blue Rose has become the predominant variety in the South States, and it is estimated that over 60 per cent. of 1937 Southern crop was of this variety. Early Prolific also has become important, especially in Arkansas; it now comprises about a fourth of the Southern crop. In California, Caloro and Colusa (Japan) rice are by far the most important varieties, making up about 90 per cent. of the 1937 crop. These four varieties combined made up about 85 per cent. of the total United States rice crop in 1937.

Our consumption has increased somewhat during the past 25 years. But most of the increase in production has gone into insular shipments and exports. Domestic consumption was at a relatively high level during 1917, 1918 and 1919, and also during the past 2 or 3 years when production has been large and exports have remained at a comparatively low level.

Per capita consumption of rice in the United States has averaged only about 5 or 6 pounds per year during the past 15 years which compares with over 100 pounds a year in Puerto Rico, over 200 in Hawaii and 18 to 20 pounds per year in Alaska.—M. Clough in the *Agricultural Situation*. (Washington, D. C.).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

BRITISH EMPIRE PROBLEMS

A great variety of problems affecting practically every portion of the British Empire have been discussed in September, 1938, by the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in session at the Lapsone Hotel, Near Sydney (Australia).

An official announcement stated that the discussions have been on the " frankest possible basis." There have been " sharp differences of opinion " but the " friendliest possible atmosphere " has been maintained.

The Conference has been criticised by some sections of the Australian Press for its " hush hush " policy of meeting in camera. Conference delegates reply to this by saying that the presence of reporters would stifle frank discussion.

Official communiqués reveal that the following problems have been discussed:—

India's Problems: Delegates spent nearly two hours examining Indian affairs.

A plea by one delegate for the right for Indians to migrate to other Dominions, caused some argument. The delegate claimed that as India was part of the Empire, Indians were entitled to migrate to other parts of it. Other speakers pointed out difficulties which would arise in different Dominions, if such a course were followed. The question, they said, raised the compatibility of the standard of living in India with that in other Dominions. On the other hand, it was stated that the Government of India had been most anxious to implement all International Labour Office conventions.

In discussion of the effects of the new Constitution in India the view was expressed that Indian public opinion was disappointed about the

amount of autonomy in the Federal sphere. It was stated that the aim in India was for full Dominion Status, and that if this was attained there could be no fear that India would sever any Empire associations. On the contrary those associations would become stronger, because India as a whole would be happier.

The Indianisation of the Army was discussed, especially whether the rate at which it was proceeding was satisfactory. Some delegates urged that it be quickened. Others said that this would be very difficult.

A delegate expressed the view that public opinion in India was against the Japanese campaign in China; but Anglo-American intervention, which would crush Japan, would not be welcomed in India, because it was felt that China, Japan and India could represent an Asiatic point of view to the rest of the world.

Mandates: The delegates were informed by speakers that the question of the return of New Guinea to Germany was not yet a burning one in Australia. It was felt that in the long run the future of New Guinea would depend on two factors—(1) What action other mandatories would take in handing back their mandates for the sake of appeasing Germany; and (2) world conditions when the question might be raised. Delegates wondered whether, if Australia gave New Guinea back to Germany, that country would be a menace or whether it should be regarded as a possible defence against any threatened southward expansion by the Japanese.

Replies to questions about New Zealand's attitude towards her Samoan Mandate indicated that New Zealand did not desire to hand back Samoa to a Fascist Germany.

South-West Africa: A considerable time was spent discussing the mandate of South-West Africa.

The development of air-travel, it was pointed out, had brought the territory within three hours' travel of Cape Town. South-West Africa would furnish a splendid base for ships, and these questions would have to be considered when there was any discussion about returning the mandate to Germany.

On the subject of economics one delegate said that if gold was demonetised, South-Africa would be back to the era of the ox-waggon.

The general feeling following the discussion was that South Africa had vital racial problems to face, and that South Africa would itself find the solution. Delegates gathered the impression that the relations between the white races—British and African—were improving.

White Australia: The "White Australia" policy was questioned by several overseas delegates. There was general agreement that the policy was based on economic and not on racial or biological prejudices. It was essentially a national and not a political policy.

When migration was discussed, it was agreed that if Australia was going to have assisted migration, there was not much promise in large group schemes. If it was to be assisted migration then in the interests of this country it should be confined to adolescents who would have the opportunity to become Australians.

The Flarbridge Farm School idea and the Big Brother movements were mentioned as admirable channels for migration.

The opinion was also expressed that Australia could not look to Northern European countries for large numbers of migrants because those countries had their own population problem.

Delegates were informed that there was little prospect of the Dominions securing many young people from Great Britain. Delegates suggested

that there should be instituted a long term plan of migration, by which the Dominions would indicate what secondary industries were lacking skilled labour, and generally to inform Britain what type of migrants were required.

Delegates were informed that Britain's population could no longer be regarded as a reservoir, as it was declining.

Canada's Difficulties: Canadian delegates emphasised the difficulties of Canada as a member of the British Commonwealth.

It was pointed out that, as a result of Canada's geographical position, American opinion ran into Canada to a greater extent than the opinion of any other country ran into any other Dominion.

Canada virtually lived in the arms of the United States and it was virtually important for Canada's future welfare that she should maintain the best possible relations with the United States while at the same time remaining a firm member of the British Commonwealth.

From the economic point of view, delegates were told frankly that Canada was not so dependent upon Great Britain as were some other dominions. There was an enormous market in the south, and trade with the United States was actually more important to Canada than her trade with Britain.

Canada, delegates were told, stood to gain the least and suffer the most by her connection with the British Commonwealth, but there was no suggestion that because of this fact there was any desire or any tendency to break away from the Commonwealth.

Upon the question of Canada's attitude in the event of war, it was stated that it would be difficult to persuade French Canadians to take part in any conflict against a Catholic enemy country or to endorse any alliance with Russia. Nevertheless, Canada was developing an air force as a strong measure of defence.

Ottawa Pact: Delegates spent some time discussing the Ottawa Treaty, and there was some difference of opinion as to its value. There was one section which considered that the treaty had stimulated trade within the British Commonwealth, but, on the other hand, that it had been a barrier to world trade.

There was full and frank discussion on foreign policy and many points of view were presented. There was a general feeling that once collective security went by the board Britain would have to rearm to a greater extent before she could take further steps. This discussion covered British foreign policy for the past 10 years, and it was indicated that it would be discussed more fully when the question of imperial defence was before the conference.

Jewish Refugees: At a public session of the Conference Professor Norman Bentwich, Professor of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, stated that Australia and other Dominions had borne only a small part in the absorption of Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany. He felt that the Dominions could do much more. Captain Victor Cazalet, M.P., declared that Christianity would be condemned unless it made a serious effort to find a solution of the problem. The infiltration of Jews in the Dominions in small numbers was merely the beginning of the whole question. What was wanted was another huge system of community settlement such as that begun in Palestine.

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA THROUGH BRITISH EYES

There have been no legislative changes in the position of the Reserve Bank of India during the first three-and-a-half years of his existence. Nevertheless some instructive developments have occurred. Among the more important provisions of the Act setting up the Bank was the requirement that "scheduled" banks should maintain balances, proportionate to their liabilities, with the central bank. On this point the latest annual report, after referring to an increase during the previous year in the number of such banks, states that "the advantages of contact with the central bank are being increasingly recognized by the joint stock banks, and some of them increased their share capital apparently with the primary object of being included in our Schedule." Moreover, the total of balances held with the Reserve Bank at the end of 1937 was more than double the amount required by law. It would appear, therefore, that the Bank is gradually widening the scope of its control over what is still a rudimentary banking system. Little progress is to be recorded, however, in the direction of linking up the "indigenous" private bankers with the central bank. Under its foundation statute the Bank was to make a report and, if it thought desirable, to submit proposals for legislation, on the question of extending the provisions of the law concerning scheduled banks to other persons and firms engaged in banking. The resultant report was issued last year. It states that the bankers depend less on deposits from the public for their working capital than on private resources or loans from joint stock banks or other private bankers; and conclusion is reached that while this remains true "they cannot be considered eligible for central banking facilities." The Reserve Bank, therefore, did not think it advisable to recommend legislation. In another direction, however, it is working towards closer relations with the private bankers, namely, by considering the possibility of developing an open market in trade bills. It has, moreover, established a special Agricultural Credit Department, and is attempting in a general way to improve agricultural credit facilities.

Recently the Bank has had its first experience of a drain on its external cash resources. The basic legislation provided that the Bank should maintain the sterling value of the rupee within narrow, specified limits set on either side of 1s. 6d. Ever since its foundation it had in fact operated to keep the rupee slightly above this parity, but in April last its minimum buying rate for sterling was altered from 1s. 6½d. to 1s. 6⅓d. per rupee; later the rate was revised again to 1s. 6½d. and in July to 1s. 6⅔d., a total reduction by roughly one per cent. in the sterling value of the rupee—and these steps were accompanied by more pronounced depreciation in the open market. The decline is generally regarded as the combined effect of a sharp expansion of the merchandise imports during the year to March 1938, a small decline in exports, and a marked diminution in private gold shipments from the high levels reached in 1931-33. The Reserve Bank is under an obligation to meet the Government's requirements of sterling of debt service and other home payments, and had to draw its large reserves, built up during previous years. Thus the sterling securities held by the Bank after rising from less than 500 million rupees to nearly 800 millions in the three years to April last, had fallen, by early in August, below 700 millions, while balances abroad, having risen from about 120 million rupees to nearly 250 millions, had fallen to about 30 millions. Nevertheless, the remaining resources in gold

and sterling are well above statutory requirements and thus far no more drastic measures appear to have been taken in order to cope with an exchange movement that may prove to be only short-lived. The mere fact that the rate had for so long been held above parity may perhaps have tended to precipitate a depreciation which otherwise might have been less pronounced.—*Midland Bank Monthly Review*.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

GERMAN APPRECIATION OF CARLYLE, THE BRITISH EXPONENT OF GERMAN CULTURE

In German literary journals the works of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) are being studied with great interest at the present moment. It is being recalled that in the year 1838, exactly 100 years ago, there appeared a book that aroused the greatest interest in England, and that soon found its way to the continent of Europe. *Sartor Resartus* was the title of the book and its author Thomas Carlyle. The work dealt with the author's inmost development and with his philosophy of life, and readers were fascinated by its unique, almost baroque, expressiveness, its wide humour and its bold thoughts. It was probably the last item that made it impossible for Carlyle, who had written the book in 1831, to find a publisher at once. He had to wait seven years, although he was already famous both in his own country and in Germany. On July 25th, 1837, Goethe said to Eckermann, "Carlyle is a moral force of great importance. There is a great future before him, and it is impossible to foretell how far he will go." Goethe was acquainted with all Carlyle's works that had appeared up to the time of his death, and regarded him as an interpreter to England of Germany's literature and culture. Although Shakespeare had long been popular in Germany in the Schlegel-Tieck translation, and his plays were a sure draw in the theatres and performed by the greatest German actors, Gneisenau records with astonishment, after visiting London in 1815, that the names of Goethe, Schiller and Herder were known to few people in England. This circumstance was changed by Carlyle. In 1824 he published his translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and in 1825 his *Life of Schiller*. In 1828 appeared his *Translation of German Romances*, a selection from the writings of Goethe, Tieck, Jean Paul, Hoffmann and other writers. In 1831, some time before Goethe's death, which took place in March, 1832, Carlyle arranged for nineteen English admirers of Goethe, including Scott, Lord Francis Gower and Lord Ellesmere, to send the aged author an address of appreciation, with which Goethe was very pleased and which deeply touched him. Carlyle then opened a correspondence with his German contemporary, to which only the latter's death put a stop.

These works of Carlyle prepared a way for the understanding of German literature in England, and it was not long before a warm appreciation was manifest for certain great authors of the *Reich*. The "Scottish Prophet," as he was called, became, in his later works, a passionate herald of the gospel of *shakti-yoga* (energism) and power-cult and interpreter of "great" men and events. He did not hesitate, for he possessed the urgency of a fine preacher, to repeat what he had to say again and again. Thus he wrote the *French Revolution*, which appeared in 1837. That

sense of devotion to heroism and heroes which this book revealed caused him to turn his attention to the life of the German prince, Frederick the Great. The collection of material for this work occupied him for many years, and when the *History of Frederick the Great* appeared in 1859 it was received with applause both in England and in Germany.

Goethe's prophecy to Eckermann was abundantly fulfilled, for it was indeed Carlyle who gave his countrymen an understanding of Germany's greatness in the sphere of literature and culture. Carlyle's unique achievement did not pass without recognition, and, when he died on February 5, 1881, the greatest intellectuals of Germany and England stretched out their hands to each other, in mutual appreciation across his open grave.

It is but meet to observe that the Indian intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century owed their acquaintance with and appreciation of German *Kultur*, in the main, to the writings of Carlyle which constituted as great a spiritual force for Young India as those of John Stuart Mill.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

An Introduction to Physical Chemistry.—By F. A. Philbrick. Publishers: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. Pp. 365. Price 5s.

"The object of this book is to smooth the path for the beginner in physical chemistry" and the author hopes that it "will be useful to those working for the various examinations for the Higher Certificate and First M.B., in which a considerable knowledge of physical chemistry is now required."

There are ten chapters (with problems and a summary at the end of each), namely, atoms and molecules, solutions, mass action, ions, ionic reactions, analysis, energy, phases, crystals, colloids.

The book gives a concise account of the more common facts and theoretical principles dealt with in regular text books of physical chemistry. A satisfactory feature is the attention paid to the applications of these facts and principles to the chemical problems the student is likely to meet with.

The information is generally up-to-date and the selection and presentation of the matter show that the author is an experienced and able teacher.

The elucidation of the theoretical principles has, however, been reduced to a minimum. This and other gaps, to mention some, elementary principles and applications of thermodynamics, structure of atoms, must be filled in by independent studies from other sources.

The book, therefore, does not meet all the needs of a beginner but it will be helpful to a large circle of students, specially when preparing for examinations, requiring a working knowledge of physical chemistry.

J. N. M.

A Text Book of Light.—By G. R. Noakes, M.A. (Oxon), A.Inst.P. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. Pp. 355. Price 6s.

The present treatise is a very excellent exposition of the principles of optics. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to geometrical optics and the instruments and the rest to wave optics where the informations are quite up to date. A considerable improvement will be observed in the methods for presentation in this book in comparison to other books in the line. Numerous examples at the end of each chapter with solutions at the end of the book will be found highly instructive. An index of subjects is also given. The treatment in different heads is highly illustrative and exhaustive. The book will be a boon to the B.Sc. and the medical students of our University to whom it may safely be recommended.

B. N. C.

Ourselves

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I. THE LATE PRINCIPAL DR. S. C. BAGCHI

It is our melancholy duty to record our deep sorrow at the untimely death of Dr. S. C. Bagchi, late Principal, University Law College. By his death Bengal has lost one of her leading educationists and a teacher renowned for his erudition.

Dr. Bagchi had a distinguished academic career. After graduating from the Calcutta University in the year 1901 he proceeded for higher studies to England and obtained a degree in Mathematics from the Cambridge University in the year 1904. He took his LL.B. and LL.D. degrees from Cambridge and Dublin Universities in the years 1906 and 1907 respectively.

Since the foundation of the University Law College in the year 1909 he had been connected with it as its Principal and retired only in July 1938. He was after his retirement appointed Honorary Professor in Law, Benares Hindu University. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University and a member of the Faculty of Law for a long time. He was appointed Tagore Law Professor in the year 1914, and Sir Asutosh Law Lecturer in the year 1931. He was the author of a number of Law books. He possessed a big library and made a gift of some of his books to the Calcutta University and the Benares Hindu University. Dr. Bagchi was 56 years and a few months at the time of his death, which took place in Calcutta on the 18th October 1938 last following an attack of gangrene. He is survived by his widow, two sons and two daughters, to whom we offer our sincere condolences.

II. CONFERENCE OF UNIVERSITIES

The fourth Quinquennial Conference of Universities will be held in the Bombay University Buildings on March 1, 1939. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay will open the Conference, which will sit for three days. Besides Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., who is the representative of our University on the Inter-University Board, the following gentlemen have been appointed delegates to represent the University on the occasion :

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul-Huque, C.I.E., B.L.,
M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor.

Prof. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S.

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III. THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

The Indian Philosophical Congress will meet in the third week of December, 1938, at Allahabad. Our University has been requested to send one or more teachers of Philosophy as delegates on the occasion.

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IV. UNIVERSITY POSTS

The University has been requested by the Education Department to report to it for its information the total number of teaching, administrative and clerical posts in each department of the University on the 31st August, 1938, and the number of posts in each category held by Muslims and by members of the scheduled castes.

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V. CAPITAL GRANT TO THE UNIVERSITY

Government has been requested to reconsider its proposal of a capital grant to the University towards the cost of constructing additional buildings for the University College of Science, and it has been suggested that a joint conference may be held between representatives of the University and of Government to settle the matter.

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VI. D.P.I.'s CIRCULAR LETTER TO HEADS OF COLLEGES

The Director of Public Instruction has addressed a circular letter to the Principals of Government and Aided colleges requesting them to explain to their students that the Department of Public Instruction regards their participation in demonstrations as undesirable and that the college authorities may find it necessary to ask students who so participate to leave the colleges.

VII. PROPOSED CHANGES IN REGULATIONS

The University has requested Government that a joint conference may be held between representatives of Government and of the University to discuss certain changes in the regulations regarding I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc. and B.Com. examinations about which Government has already been informed.

VIII. GRIFFITH PRIZE IN LETTERS FOR 1937

The Griffith Prize for 1937 has been equally divided between Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A. and Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., PH.D. The theses submitted by the recipients are " Bangla Abhidhan Granther Parichay " by Mr. Bhattacharyya and " Dutch in Bengal " by Dr. Datta.

IX. TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN

The twenty-seventh annual session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was held at Allahabad last September. Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendra Nath Mitra, M.A., was appointed a delegate to represent the University at the Conference.

X. A NEW FELLOW

Mr. Saurendramohan Bose has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow of the University *viz* Mr. Jyotishchandra Mitra retired. He has been attached to the Faculty of Law.

XI. THE BASANTA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1938

The following subject has been fixed for the Basanta Gold Medal for 1938:

“ Rivers and waterways in their effect on rural health.”

Essays have to be submitted on or before the 30th April, 1939.

XII. SPECIAL CONVOCAATION

A special Convocation will be held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on November 26th to confer the Degree of D.Litt. *Honoris Causa* on Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., ex-Vice-Chancellor.

XIII. PANDIT VIDHUSEKHAR SHASTRI

On the recommendation of the Senate, His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to approve of the extension of the term of appointment of MM. Prof. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya Sastri, as Asutosh Professor of Sanskrit in the University till the 31st May, 1940.

XIV. TEACHERS' TRAINING DEPARTMENT

Our readers were informed some months ago that certain changes were proposed by the University in connexion with the rules for the B.T. examination. His Excellency the Chancellor has conveyed his sanction of these changes and has also approved of the institution

of the Teachers' Training Certificate Examination which thus becomes established after two years of experimental work.

XV. HONOURS COURSE IN BENGALI AND HINDI

The final sanction has been obtained for the Honours Course in Bengali and Hindi for the B.A. examination, and it is expected that arrangements will be made from the next session for the teaching of the subjects up to the B.A. Honours standard. The proposal for instituting a similar course of study in Urdu is awaiting the sanction of Government.

XVI. INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission will be held at Poona on the 16th and 17th December, 1938. Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed to represent the University at this conference.

XVII. INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE, NAGPUR

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., has been appointed to represent the University at the forthcoming session of the Indian Economic Conference to be held at Nagpur.

XVIII. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has fixed the following dates for the election of Ordinary Fellows:

Election by Registered Graduates—January, 19, 1939.

Election by the Faculties—January, 3, 1939.

The following vacancies will occur in the seats of Elected Fellows:—

Elected by the Faculty of Arts:

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

Elected by the Faculty of Science:

Rai Jnanchandra Ghosh Bahadur.

Elected by the Faculty of Medicine:

Mr. Birendranath Ghosh.

Elected by the Registered Graduates:

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee.

The following vacancies also occurred during the current year:—

Elected by the Registered Graduates:

Dr. Hiralal Halder (resigned).

Elected by the Faculty of Arts:

Dr. Herambachandra Mahtta (deceased).

Graduates who have not yet registered their names and who intend to take part in the ensuing election of two Ordinary Fellows are to register their names on or before the 22nd December, 1938.

BUSINESS NOTE

Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarti, B.A., Proprietor of the Sakti Unabhadhaya, has attained a great success in the world of Ayurvedic medicines. His untiring zeal and great enthusiasm in this direction has largely contributed towards the revival of the Hindu system of medical treatment. It is really gratifying to see that indigenous drugs are prepared on such a large scale strictly according to the Ayurvedic specifications. Mathura Babu has brought these potential remedies within the easy reach of the poor.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW—



The Late Sir Brojendra Nath Seal, Kt., M A., Ph D., D.Sc.



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1938

EDUCATION AND AUTHORITY

DR. MARIO MISSIROLI, *Rome*

[T is impossible to face the problems of education in any way without considering the conception of authority. It is evident that it is not permissible that teaching of any kind should be imparted unless it be backed by a power that has in itself adequate titles and guarantees for its efficacious communication.

But what must be understood by authority? The modern conception of authority is substantially different from the ancient idea of it. In antiquity, authority was considered as proceeding from powers transcending reality and history. He who exercised it had received an investiture from on high. Regality, like the capacity to offer norms of moral life to human society, descended from a divine right which it would have been blasphemous presumption to subject to criticism and revision. In modern times the conception of authority, has, so to speak, been "laicized," so that it no longer refers back its titles to an investiture from on high, but emanates from the viscera of collective life.

But the fact of having laicized the conception of authority does not signify that it has been reduced to something precarious and variable. If, in the modern conception, authority is no longer a

power whose titles and genesis are to be collocated in a supernatural sphere, it nevertheless remains something valid and indisputable in itself.

Authority is born essentially of tradition, and an education, to be effectively conclusive, must represent in the first place the jealous preservation of the values accumulated down the centuries by generations and subordinated to the same law of development and expansion.

These values, corroborated by long historical experience, assume the dignity of 'ends' towards which the activity both of the individual and of social groups must direct itself. In their turn, these 'ends' present all the characteristics of 'truth,' of a moral truth that transcends the individual judgment, as that which is the result of a secular collective action. The question arises: must the individual repeat *ex novo* the experience of past generations, or is it not rather preferable that the experience of the past should be utilized to the ends of the individual, with the intention of sparing the individual the dolorous experience of error and pain? If an affirmative response be made to the second question, there can be no doubt that authority, in the modern sense of the word, is to be regarded as a means of anticipating the fatal conclusions of history, a mode of offering to humanity the benefits by which it lives outside a dialectic that resumes evil and error to be indispensable elements in spiritual development.

Subjectivism refuses to adhere to such a conception, which is a restoration of Graeco-Christian idealism and grants the objectivity of knowledge. But subjectivism has not yet succeeded in formulating a pedagogy, since any teaching departs from the pre-supposition of an absolute certainty, theoretical and moral.

This certainty defines itself in a law that, in itself, is not an activity, but a term of reference of an activity. As such it cannot recommend or impose itself. For the law to have force and bear weight as law, it is necessary, as Aristotle said, that it be animated. It is necessary, that is, that there be a will to will the law, a will that does not presume to be itself the law, which would be to fall into individual judgment and moral anarchy.

It goes without saying that such unity of will and of law is not to be conceived as the result of the encounter of two contrasting

principles, but as their synthesis, given that law and will presuppose each other. If they appear to us as two distinct and separate things, this depends upon our capacity, so often generator of equivocations, to analyse and discompose the concrete. In the present case, the analysis of the living concrete is rendered possible only by the fact that we know empirically wills destitute of authority and laws without force.

But when the will draws its authority from the traditions of a spirituality accumulated for centuries the laws that emanate from it cannot be without force. It is said that the educational systems based upon authority are bound to archaic principles, and that all sense of personal dignity is lacking; it is also said that authoritarian discipline creates and maintains a permanent inferiority complex accompanied as if by a law of compensation, by violent instincts. Is this true, or is it not rather a case of antihistorical and antipsychological objections, supported solely by those rationalistic prejudices which the illuminism of the eighteenth century and the rationalism of the nineteenth century succeeded in accrediting?

The truth is exactly the contrary. It is rather the blind faith in the presumed rational capacity of the individual that may lead to the dissent from and infraction of those fundamental laws of social life that have found their normal formulation in the spiritual traditions of a national collectivity.

An authority conscious of its duties before the accumulated values of tradition is the only one capable of restraining all that which is instinctively disordered in the nature of man. Because in these cases authority does no more than continue the chain of those millenary efforts that a people has carried on in order to attain to the discipline of its own spirit and its own development.

Those who move such objections forget that a perfect educational system entrusted to the ability of a conscious authority is well able to distinguish the task of instruction from that of education.

If instruction is the transmission of a cultural patrimony formed down the centuries, education is the appeal addressed to the younger generation to make their own willing contribution to the organic augmentation of the national traditions.

To be convinced of this, it is enough to think of the energy with which the authoritarian regimes rise up against every materialistic vision of life and, at the same time, against every exaggerated

valuation of the educational capacities of abstract scientific knowledge. They proclaim incessantly the value of sanctity and heroism, renunciation and sacrifice, of those spiritual habits, that is, where there is no question of economical motives, near or remote. They repel that conception of a happiness that would come into being socialistically and almost automatically at a certain moment in economical evolution, promising to all a maximum well-being. They deny the possibility of the materialistic conception of happiness, and they abandon it to the economists of the first half of the eighteenth century. They deny, that is, the equation between well-being and happiness, which would lead humanity to a life exclusively vegetative. No other educative system has ever sought to weld instruction and education so closely together, placing at the base of each conformity to traditional values, the laborious sequence of goodness and generosity. For Mussolini, for example, goodness is no longer a question of temperament but a question of education. "To be good" writes Mussolini in the *Life* of his brother "means to do good," without the sounding of trumpets, and without hope of reward, even divine. To remain good during a whole life-time: this gives the measure of the real greatness of a soul; to remain good in spite of all, that is, notwithstanding the traps laid by mystifiers for those in good faith, notwithstanding ingratitude and short memories, notwithstanding the cynicism of professionals: there is a height of moral perfection attained by few and upon which still fewer remain. The good man never asks *if it is worthwhile*. He considers that it is always worthwhile to help the unfortunate even if they do not deserve it; to dry a tear, even if an impure one; to relieve misery, lend a hope to the sad and consolation in the presence of death. All this signifies that a man does not consider himself extraneous to the rest of humanity but a flesh and blood participator in it: it means the weaving of the web of sympathy with invisible but powerful threads that bind spirits together and better them."

Would it be possible to formulate higher precepts for the sense of human solidarity and fraternity?

The truth is that the problem of the education of the young has never been conceived in so synthetic and practical a manner as by the authoritarian States. The very French Revolution, which concerned itself so much with conferring a religious character on the principles of 1789 and regenerating radically the moral conscience, never succeeded in doing so in such a concrete and unitary manner. The Constituent

Assembly and the Convention approved great plans for the reform of national education, drawn up by Condorcet and Talleyrand, but they found themselves in the radical impossibility of carrying them out. The struggle against illiteracy and the efforts to diffuse the national tongue exhausted the greater part of the energy on this score of the Revolution, which, incapable of providing popular instruction by means of the State schools alone, did not dare to monopolise teaching. Moral education continued to be entrusted to the civic authorities. But these latter were interested in the whole nation. They were not invested with any particular character by which they could appeal to the young and call upon their specific aptitudes. Robespierre was the only one to recognize this weak point in the Revolution and he treats of it in the celebrated report of March 17, 1794, in which he seeks to expose the relations between religious and moral ideas and the Republican principles. But his solitary voice was dispersed by the Thermidor.

One who had a more precise idea of the problem was Napoleon. There are proofs of this in the *Memoriale* and in his speeches before the Council of State. He seemed, however, to sacrifice education to instruction and conceived the school above all as a barrack. The military spirit, so powerful in himself, and the hard bureaucratic spirit made him lose the notion of those psychological values that are decisive in spiritual formation. His rigorously mathematical character made an exception only in the case of war, when, according to his own words, he forgot the long-elaborated plans and trusted to intuition, to genius and to improvisation. If in war all was new and unexpected and full of movement, in peace all had to be rigid and fixed. So that, if Napoleon had the enthusiastic adherence of the men of his own generation, the youth did not understand him. More exactly, they did not feel in him a regenerator of the moral conscience, the herald of a conception of life.

To-day, that is not the case. The discipline of the authoritarian states finds precisely amongst the young of the country the widest and most immediate adherence. Let us examine the characteristics of this discipline of the authoritarian states.

"Discipline must begin from the top if it is to be respected below."—Mussolini has written. And the discipline that we see practised in the authoritarian states is a discipline that seeks to recast not the forms of human life but its content: the man, character, faith.

The conception that animates this discipline is an ethical conception that embraces the whole of reality, as well as the human activity that dominates it. No action can evade moral judgment. Ethics stand above science itself, because science is always science of the relative. Only the moral gives us an idea of the absolute. "There is no doubt that science, after having studied the phenomena, seeks anxiously to explain the *why*. My own opinion is this: I do not believe that science can ever explain the why of phenomena and, therefore, it will always remain a zone of mystery, a closed wall. The human spirit must write but one word upon this wall: God. To my mind, therefore, a conflict between science and faith cannot exist." And these are other words of Mussolini.

Science, great science, has above all the consciousness of its own limits and it is this consciousness of limits that marks the logical passage from instruction to education. How is it possible to object that this formation suppresses and suffocates liberty? Moral liberty is an end, but the liberty to act is a means. As such, it must necessarily be watched and presided over. If there be an impugnable historical axiom, it is that history is all a progressive limitation of liberty. As little by little humanity conquers truths, so it fatally reduces the zone of experience, without which, what would be the sense of progress?

This exigency makes itself more felt and manifest every day in all states, not excluding those which assert their fidelity to ancient liberties. In the France of the Popular Front, have there not recently been instituted those "classes for orientation," designed to discover the particular aptitudes of the adolescent in order to guide him, from the earliest days, towards determined professions and occupations? A system of this kind not only suppresses all power of the family in the matter of the education of offspring, but also all liberty of instruction.

No authoritarian regime has ever reached as far. Such a statement has a meaning that cannot be dissimulated. Even the most democratic state must recognize that an instruction and an education that are not presided over by an integral vision of life and of collective finalities fails in its principal scope. After experiences that are dissipations of energy, values, and good of all kinds, to continue to talk of the construction exercised over individuals by the powers that appeal to tradition and show solicitude for discipline seems truly an anachronism, an anachronism that may resolve itself into a grave menace for the future of our spirituality and our culture.

SHELLEY'S ~~UNION~~ EPIPSYCHIDION—A STUDY

P. N. ROY, M.A., D.LITT. (Rome).

Benares Hindu University.

(I)

IT was on the 31st of March, 1818, that Shelley set his foot for the first time on the soil of Italy. On that date he was crossing the plain between Susa and Turin.

The first impression of change which this journey to the "Paradise of Exiles"¹ produced in the spirit of the poet, has been expressed by him in a letter to Peacock, written from Milan in April, 1818. "No sooner had we arrived in Italy, he writes, than the loveliness of the earth and the serenity of the sky made the greatest difference in my sensations. I depend on these things for my life; for in the smoke of cities, and the tumult of humankind, and the chilling fog and rain of our own country, I can hardly be said to live. With what delight did I hear the woman, who conducted us to see the triumphal arch of Augustus at Susa, speak the clear and complete language of Italy, though half un-intelligible to me, after that nasal and abbreviated cacophony of the French...My health is improved already and my spirits something..."

From Milan Shelley travelled to Pisa *via* Piacenza, Parma, Bologna and Florence. In June, 1818, he was at Leghorn and from there he moved to Bagni di Lucca, where he spent his time in "the choice society of all ages." In August he left the Baths of Lucca for Florence and from there made a journey to Venice in the company of Clara in order to pay a visit to Lord Byron. From Venice he went to Este and thence to Padua. In November, 1818, Shelley again set out for Florence, Rome and Naples, visiting Ferrara and Bologna on the way. At Naples he remained till the end of February, 1819, and returned to Rome in the beginning of March of the same year (March 5, according to Dowden). The genial climate of the city and its monuments of antiquity with their tantalizing mystery of the past spread an enchantment upon his mind. To Peacock he wrote from Rome on March 13, 1819: "...come to Rome. It is a scene by which expression is overpowered; which words cannot convey...But after the

¹ Julian and Maddalo, l. 57.

sad death of his son, Shelley, in the company of Mary and Clara, left Rome for Leghorn and from Leghorn they removed to Florence on October 2, 1819. Here the poet lived till the end of the year and migrated to Pisa on the morning of January 26, 1820. "We have suddenly taken the determination to avail ourselves of the lovely weather to approach you as far as Pisa." Shelley wrote to John Gisborne from Florence on January 25, 1820.—"We shall remain in Pisa until June, when we migrate to the Baths of Lucca"—he wrote to Leigh Hunt from Pisa on April 5, 1820:—"You will find me at Pisa in the autumn....We shall at all events be at Pisa in the autumn, and I am almost certain we shall remain during the whole winter in a pleasant villa outside the gates"—he wrote to Medwin at Geneva on April 16, 1820. But the Shelleys went to Leghorn towards the end of June, 1820, and Mrs. Shelley says that they "spent the summer of 1820 at the Baths of San Giuliano, four miles from Pisa." In November of the same year Shelley again writes to Peacock—"We are now in the town of Pisa."

This sojourn at Pisa was a fateful thing for Shelley. He was attracted to the town by its mild climate and by the renown of the physician and surgeon, Prof. Andrea Vacca, under whose treatment he wanted to submit himself for his frail health. Here his sojourn was the longest and here he passed some of the happiest days of his life. But here also the fates conspired to put across his way a creature from whom he derived the inspiration for that splendid poem, *Epipsychidion*, one of the finest love-lyrics of the world.

"*Epipsychidion*" is considered to be a Greek word. But according to Prof. Zottoli, the word is not to be found in any Greek writer, and was a coinage of Shelley himself, the meaning of the word being "to a little soul."¹ Prof. Ackermann and Stopford Brooke,² however, find the clue to the title in ll. 238 and 455 of the poem: "whither 't was fled, this soul out of my soul," "which is a soul within the soul." This seems to be very plausible. The idea of a soul within a soul is an old one with Shelley. It occurs in his essay on Love which is dated 1815 and was published in *Keepsake* in 1829. "We are born into the world, he writes in this essay, and there is something within us which, from the instant that we live, more and more thirsts after its like-

¹ Vita di una Donna by E. Viviani della Robbia, Florence, 1906, p. 101.

² P. B. Shelley by Richard Ackermann, Dortmund, 1906. *Epipsychidion*, ed. by R. A. Potto, Lond., 1897, Introduction by Stopford A. Brooke.

ness...we dimly see within our intellectual nature a miniature as it were of our entire self...the ideal prototype...a soul within our soul that describes a circle around its proper paradise...."

Be that as it may, the creature who inspired the poem was called Teresa Viviani, the only Italian girl for whom, Shelley says, he felt some interest.¹

Who was this Teresa Viviani? All the biographers of Shelley mention her but no one throws much light upon her life. The utmost they say is that she was a noble and unfortunate lady who was confined in the convent of St. Anna at Pisa by a cruel father and a jealous step-mother. Mrs. Shelley, who introduced Teresa Viviani as a character in her novel "*Lodore*," says that she "was subsequently married to a gentleman chosen for her by her father; and after pining in his society, and in the marshy solitudes of the Maremma, for six years, she left him, with the consent of her parent, and died of consumption in a dilapidated old mansion at Florence."²

This is all that we till now knew about her. But at last, after about a hundred years, a descendant of the Viviani family has written a life-story of the unfortunate lady, based on documents of the different archives of Italy, from which we can gather more details than it has been hitherto possible.³

From this book we learn that Teresa was the daughter of Marchese Niccolò Viviani and Blandina, daughter of Count Cajasotti Gallean de Roubion of Provence and Luisa Sanvitale, who had emigrated from France during the Revolution.⁴ The difference in age between Niccolò and Blandina was very great, as also the difference between their natures and temperaments. Yet the two were married on November 10, 1798, in the church of St. Lawrence in Florence. Niccolò was at that time forty-four and Blandina fifteen. After marriage Niccolò lived with his wife in a house on Via Faenza in Florence where a daughter called Maria Ferdinanda was born to them. But this first child was dead three years after, when Teresa, who was born on April 15, 1801, was only eighteen months old. Teresa had another sister called Ferdinanda, and a brother, Antonio, born after her. During the childhood of Teresa, the family had to pass through very hard times on account of uncertainty about the future due to sudden and

¹ In a letter to Peacock from Pisa on March 21, 1821.

² Shelley Memorials.

³ Vita di una Donna by E. Viviani della Robbia, Florence, 1936.

⁴ Teresa is frequently referred to in books on Shelley as *contessina*.—This is a mistake.

violent changes in the Government of the country. In 1807 Niccolò was appointed Governor of Pisa where he removed himself with his family in the same year. Yet the financial prospects of the family did not improve. On the contrary, the expenses made in the migration from Florence to Pisa reduced the family into such straitened circumstances that Niccolò had to appeal to Government for help.

It was not a very happy and congenial family atmosphere in which Teresa grew up. The father was a Tuscan gentleman of the old type, "*gentiluomo di vita, costumi e qualità.*"¹ He was loyal to his sovereign and good-natured, but he was too much under the influence of his wife whose only passion in life was to spend money thoughtlessly in the pursuit of pleasure (*piacere e folleggiare*). And both of them exerted their will like tyrants upon their children, who had to submit blindly to their dictates.

Teresa was finely gifted with the qualities of the head and the heart. But she lived a very lonely life in the family. She was eager to love and to be loved, but she did not find affection anywhere. The father's nature was good, but the springs of his affection were somewhat dried up by the worries of life. The mother was given to pleasure. Nor did she find any affection in her brother Antonio who was of a brutal temper and her sister Ferdinanda who was insincere and vain. She was thus compelled to satisfy her heart by loving flowers, plants and other inanimate beings. Moreover, eager to learn, with an open and uncommon intelligence, she tried to exploit the few means she had at her disposal to quench her thirst for knowledge.²

Teresa was beautiful. Medwin described her as "indeed lovely and interesting. Her profuse black hair, tied in the most simple knot, after the manner of a Greek Muse in the Florence gallery, displayed to its full height, her fair brow, fair as that of the marble of which I speak. She was also of about the same height as the antique. Her features possessed a rare faultlessness, and almost Grecian contour, the nose and forehead making a delightful straight-line." But her beauty was a curse for her because, it is said, that it aroused the jealousy of her pleasure-loving mother who decided to confine her in the convent of St. Anna. The biographer mentioned above also gives another possible reason for this imprisonment, that of the birth of a brother to Teresa, called Leopold, on March 27, 1817.

¹ *Vita di una Donna*, p. 22.

² *Ibid*, p. 22.

Whatever may be the reason, the fact is that she was put into the Convent at the express desire of the mother and without any opposition from the father. The other sister, Ferdinanda, was put into the Convent of St. Silvestro.

It was in the beginning of 1818 that Teresa finally entered the Convent of St. Anna. When Shelley made her acquaintance, she had already been there for nearly three years, with her former health shattered by seclusion and lack of fresh air.

It was one of Shelley's Italian friends, Prof. Francesco Pacchiani, known as "the devil of Pisa" on account of his sharp tongue and irregular life, who introduced him to Teresa. The story of the girl was told by Pacchiani to the poet with much emotional exaggeration and mincing of facts. Perhaps he it was who gave currency to the story of an unsympathetic step-mother putting the girl into the prison.¹ The precise date of the first visit of Shelley to Teresa is not known. The first reference to her occurs in Mrs. Shelley's diary on Dec. 1, 1820, but we find an entry in Clara's diary on Nov. 29, 1820, in which there is mention of a visit by her to the Convent in the company of Pacchiani. So the acquaintance must have begun some time in November and from December onward there are frequent references to the new acquaintance in the diary of Mrs. Shelley and in the letters of the poet to his friends.

To the students of Shelley Teresa Viviani is known as Emilia. This is the name we come across in Shelley's letters and Mrs. Shelley's diary. Teresa also signs her letters to Shelley sometimes as Emilia and sometimes as Teresa Emilia. But in Clara's diary of Nov. 29, 1820, the name is found to be Teresa Viviani and in later documents also no mention exists of the appellation "Emilia." This has led the biographer of Teresa to suppose that "Emilia" was perhaps an appellation invented by the poet. There are other examples of Shelley's making use of special names for special persons. Elizabeth Hitchener, for whom Shelley once felt some attraction, was named by him "Portia." Lord Byron was called by him "Don Juan" and the Williams were called "Ferdinand and Miranda." For some reason or other Shelley perhaps felt some ideal element in the name "Emilia" and liked to call Teresa by that name,

¹ There does not seem to exist any foundation for the story of an unsympathetic step-mother.

the more so because a romantic glamour had been created round this name by Rousseau in his *Emile* (in this case the name is masculine), by Demoustier in his *Lettres à Emilie* and by Boccaccio (*Decamerone*, 9th day) whom Shelley was reading about this time.

But our interest is not so much in the name as in the personality of the girl who inspired the poet. Sympathies grow mysteriously in the human heart. Yet efforts have been made to explore the basis of Shelley's sympathy for Teresa Viviani. It has been said that Shelley was attracted not only by the beauty of Teresa but also by her condition of oppression. Besides Teresa had an acute intelligence and a warm nature. Her enthusiasm and eloquence and the frankness of her manners attracted all who came in her contact. Moreover, she had an idealism about the sentiment of love which she expressed in her well-known *Il Vero Amore*. She had also a very tender and romantic feeling for Nature. It was very natural for Shelley, who had an innate love of beauty, nature and idealism and a generous sentiment towards the oppressed, to be charmed by a creature who was not only beautiful and oppressed but who also nurtured in her soul a rare spiritual aspiration towards beauty and love. It is true that Shelley had met and loved other women before—Harriet Westbrook, Elizabeth Hitchener, Mary herself, but none of these women could truly satisfy the longings of his heart and rouse in him that enthusiasm which could embolden him to scale the walls of eternity. Harriet was well educated and well bred but she was an unequal match for Shelley. She could not, Shelley afterwards said, "feel poetry and understand philosophy" and she had "nothing particular in her." Elizabeth Hitchener whom Shelley once called "the sister of my soul" and persuaded to abandon the school and the family in order to live with him and his wife, was discovered by him after three months to be a hermaphrodite beast. Mary Godwin surpassed them all by her intellectual and moral qualities, but she was somewhat cold, conventional and rigid, more ego-centric than generous, more philosophical than possessed of sensibility.¹ She was the right type of woman for the practical side of Shelley's life, but she was not thoroughly fitted, at least Shelley did not feel her to be a sharer in the fairy life of the poet. That Shelley's soul could not be at perfect unison with that of Mary, has

found expression, at least in two places of his poetry: ¹ once in the Stanzas written in Dejection near Naples (How sweet ! did any heart now share in my emotion—Alas! I have nor hope nor health...Nor fame, nor power, nor love, nor leisure.) and again in Epipsychidion itself:—

.....One stood on my path who seemed
As like the glorious shape which I had dreamed
As is the Moon, whose changes ever run
Into themselves, to the eternal sun;
The cold chaste Moon, the Queen of Heaven's bright isles
Who makes all beautiful on which she smiles,
That wandering shrine of soft yet icy flame
Which ever is transformed, yet still the same,
And warms not but illumines.....
And there I lay, within a chaste cold bed:
Alas, I then was nor alive nor dead.....

Such is the poet's appraisal of Mrs. Shelley's character. She illumined his life but could not supply the warmth it needed for growth. The coldness of Mrs. Shelley's character was even complained of by Teresa who sometimes cut jokes about this trait of her character. In a letter to Mrs. Shelley, Teresa writes: "Accetta i miei piu teneri baci che essendo lontana, non saranno troppo caldi per te, nè faranno l'effetto del Sole sul tuo ghiaccio, o limpida goccia di fontana fredda." In another letter she says. "Dammi un poco del tuo gelo, ed io in contraccambio ti darò una parte del mio fuoco." Her own nature was, on the contrary, full of warmth and delicate sensibility. And by her intelligence and imagination as also by the spirituality of her aspirations she could also give illumination. Shelley therefore seemed to have found in her that anti-type of which he speaks in his essay on Love and idealized her as such. And there never existed a better object to be idealized than Emilia—writes Mrs. Julian Marshall in her Life and Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (Lond., 1889)—

¹ The dislike of Shelley for social intercourse was the source of some disagreement between him and Mrs. Shelley. To Trelawny he said:—"She can't bear solitude, nor I society—the quick coupled with the dead."—Shelley by J. A. Symond 1887, p. 110. Ackermann in his Shelley writes: "Dass Shelley in Neapel Mary nicht immer zur Vertrauten seiner Kümernisse machte, scheint wohl sicher; ob wegen Entfremdung oder wegen der kühlen Natur Marys, die bei aller Liebe nicht immer ihn mit verstand, ist schwer zu sagen. Ihre Kälte mochte den Trostsuchenden oft abbrechen; ihre Neigungen gehen auseinander, da Mary in Gesellschaft glänzen, Shelley immer einen kleinen Kreis und die Natur vorzieht." Another indication of Shelley's unhappiness at home is contained in the poem: The sergent is shut out from Paradise.

the spirit of immortal beauty in the form of a goddess; the virgin prisoner awaiting her liberator; the perfect incarnation of immortal truth and grace, enchained by the force of cruelty, tyranny and hypocrisy.

The intensest period of Shelley's new friendship was between December, 1820, and February, 1821. During this period the Shelleys made frequent visits to Teresa and had exchange of books and letters with her. Shelley read Teresa's *Il Vero Amore*, a prose version of the ideas of celestial love current in the age of Dante and Petrarch, and studied Dante's *Vita Nuova*. Mary Shelley writes in her journal of Jan. 31, 1821: "Call on Emilia Viviani. Shelley reads the *Vita Nuova* aloud to me in the evening." *Epipsychidion*, the fruit of these studies and this new spiritual enthusiasm, was composed towards the end of December, 1820, as we are again apprised by Mrs. Shelley in her letter to Leigh Hunt, Dec. 29, 1820. The poem was published by C. and J. Ollier of London in the summer of 1821 and the author's name was kept a secret, in order "to avoid the malignity of those who turn sweet food into poison." In the advertisement to the poem Shelley himself compares it with Dante's *Vita Nuova* "as sufficiently intelligible to a certain class of readers without a matter of fact history of the circumstances to which it relates" and gives us a translation of a stanza from Dante's canzone:

Voi, ch'intendendo, il terzo ciel movete etc.

Dante's influence is deep and marked in *Epipsychidion*. But it is not perhaps the only influence, as we shall afterwards see. Emilia in this poem has been sung somewhat in the same way as Dante sang of Beatrice, or Petrarch of Laura or Cavalcanti of his lady-love. She has been idealized here into almost a *donna-angelo*, in the manner of those early Tuscan mystics of love, with their ethereal spirituality and their spirit of adoration. Like them the poet ransacks the world of his fancy in order to cull suitable choice epithets to sing the praises of his love and discovers only his infirmity.

I measure

The world of fancies,—seeking one like thee,
And find—alas! mine own infirmity.

He calls her "Seraph of Heaven" "Sweet Lamp" "Sweet Benediction" "veiled glory" "A Star" "A Solitude" "A Refuge" "A

¹ Shelley's letter to Charles Ollier from Pisa, Feb. 16, 1821.

Delight," but he fails to give us a clear-cut, well-defined picture of Emilia. With all his wealth of rhetoric, she appears before us as an indistinct but alluring vision of beauty and leaves upon us an intoxicating impression and an occult sentiment. In Dante also we do not have a clear-cut picture of Beatrice. His words fail him in his attempt at direct description and he only tries to give us an impression of and create a sentiment about her beauty by discoursing upon the effect of her grace. She is a woman who carries love in her eyes. Her presence makes proud hearts meek and ennobles all who look at her. When she smiles it is a new miracle. She is as high as Nature's skill can soar. And so on.

Emilia meets Shelley the stranger upon his "life's rough way" and for the moment brings about a spiritual revolution in his innermost being. Beatrice produced the same in Dante's being. And both poets connect love with death. Shelley says "She met me, Stranger, upon life's rough way, And lured me towards sweet Death." Dante has this consciousness of the nearness of Death when he feels within him the stirring of the sentiment of love. He has always the apprehension that her lady-love is going to die, that she is desired in heaven, that he may not behold for long this marvellous beauty which illumines his life and everything else in the world. This note of tragic sadness permeates the noble lyric "Donna pietosa e di novella etate" (A very pitiful lady, very young). As a matter of fact, we find this representation of Love fraternizing with Death also in Cavalcanti's poem "Vedete ch'i'son un che vo piangendo." But in Shelley death becomes "sweet death," its advent is welcomed, and its release is mystically conceived.¹ "In no other of his poems is Shelley's way of interpreting love and death made so clear. In this respect *Epipsychidion* is to be regarded as the culmination of a long development, beginning in the *Juvenilia* and extending through the love-in-death themes of *Queen Mab*, *Alastor*, *Prince Athanase*; *The Revolt of Islam*, *Rosalind and Helen*, *Julian and Maddalo*, *The Sensitive Plant*, and the *Witch of Atlas*, to say nothing of the many of the lyrics. In all these, two irreconcilable attitudes are discernible. First, death has been feared as the destroyer of love. But this idea is nearly always only the momentary product of an instinctive, passing fear; and from it Shelley reacts in the second place, to an opposite,

1. *The Pursuit of Death* by B. P. Kurtz, p. 249.

carefully considered, and permanent attitude. Love becomes one of the chief sources of a mystic faith in some sort of escape for beauty from the grave."

Was Shelley influenced to a certain extent by Dante in this his new, altered view of death? We meet with these two distinct attitudes towards death in Dante also. There are certain poems in Dante in which the poet expresses his fear of death as the foe of beauty and pity. In one of the sonnets of the *Vita Nuova* he asks all lovers to weep because "Death the churl has laid his leaden sleep Upon a damsel who was fair of late." In another poem he describes death as "always cruel, Pity's foe in chief." And in the poem mentioned above (A very pitiful lady, very young) this dread of death reaches its acme when in a state of feverish excitement he has a cosmic vision of it (*cf.* the lines -The sun ceased, and the stars began to gather, etc.) and hears some one telling him that his lady, who was so fair, is dead. All these are examples of that "instinctive, passing fear" of which Kurtz speaks. But soon this hated death changes its dreaded aspect and assumes an air of sweet serenity. Instead of being the portal to destruction, it is found to be the portal to light, life, and peace, an escape for beauty from the grave. He sees the angels carrying the soul of his beloved, in the form of a white cloud, heavenward and crying "Hosanna." His dread is changed into meek resignation, and he now invokes death which is "a most gentle sweet relief."

Morte, assai dolce ti tegno ;
 Tu dei omai esser cosa gentile,
 Poichè tu sei nella mia donna stata,
 E dei aver pietate, e non disdegno.
 Vedi che sì desideroso vegno
 D'esser de'suoi, ch'io ti somiglio in fede
 Vieni, che 'l cor ti chiede.

Death, I hold thee passing good
 Henceforth, and a most gentle sweet relief
 Since my dear love has chosen to dwell with thee :

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 249-50.

A comparative study of the theme of love and death in romantic poetry would be instructive and interesting. In the attitude of many romantic poets, love and death are coupled together. In the Italian poet, Leopardi, Death is considered as a beautiful young girl, sweet to look at, sister of love. In him love awakens the desire of death, because the dream of love and the beauty which it brings to life cannot be perfectly realised in this world. In Novalis, the German poet, Death is united with love as a means of giving proof of eternal faithfulness of the lover. In Shelley we find macabre Death as well as sweet Death.

Pity, not hate, is thine, well understood.
 Lo! I do so desire to see thy face
 That I am like as one who nears the tomb;
 My soul entreats thee, come.

Thus death becomes transmuted for both poets into faith in a new, higher life and in both poets Love, Death and Eternity mingle into an aesthetic trinity, to borrow the happy expression of Kurtz. Shelley has not the theological complications of Dante, but through Emilia he reaches for a moment almost the same empyrean heights as does his great predecessor through Beatrice and discovers like him that love and beauty are indestructible, that love for ever flows out of eternity and is the unifying spiritual reality behind the dynamism of existence.

As Shelley ascends these heights, he feels dizzy and is assailed by fear.

Ah, woe is me!
 What have I dared? Where am I lifted? How
 Shall I descend and perish not?

But he is soon reassured by the discovery of the unifying reality of love.

I know
 That Love makes all things equal: I have heard
 By mine own heart this joyous truth averred:
 The spirit of the worm beneath the sod
 In love and worship, blends itself with God.

Dante, when he nears the brink of the "dread infinite," has likewise the fear of being lost, but, emboldened, he moves on to the everlasting splendour and discovers that everything is clasped by love into one volume (Paradise, c. xxxiii).

But while in Dante the mystic adoration of Beatrice has a life long duration, in Shelley the intoxication for Emilia passed away too soon. In January, 1821, he is under her influence and reads the *Vita Nuova* to Mary, but in February, when he sent the poem to the publishers, he wrote: "In a certain sense it is a production of a portion of me already dead." Again, on June 18, 1822, he wrote from Lerici to John Gisborne: "The Epipsychidion I cannot look at, the person whom it celebrates was a cloud instead of a Juno; and poor Ixion starts from the centaur that was the offspring of his own

embrace. If you are curious, however, to hear what I am and have been it will tell you something thereof. It is an idealised history of my life and feelings. I think one is always in love with something or other; the error, and I confess it is not easy for spirits cased in flesh and blood to avoid it, consists in seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is perhaps eternal."

All know the comments which Symonds made on this passage and his charge of spurious Platonism against Shelley. We are not concerned with either defending or controverting him. Our purpose is to discover the nature and sources of Shelley's inspiration in this poem. With this purpose in view, we have discussed the general atmosphere of the poem. Now let us consider some of its particular phraseology.

Seraph of Heaven ! too gentle to be human (l. 21)

This is an echo of a mode of expression which is common among the poets of the "*dolce stil nuovo*." We may compare this to Dante's

Ella sen va, sentendosi laudare,
Benignamente d'umiltà vestuta ;
E par che sia una cosa venuta
Di cielo in terra a miracolo mostrare. (Vita Nuova)
(She walks with humbleness for her array
Seeming a creature sent from heaven to stay in earth.)

Or

Dice di lei Amore : Cosa mortale
Come esser puo si adorna e si pura ? (V.N. xix)
Sweet Benediction in the eternal Curse ! (l. 25)

This may be compared to Dante's

Ond'è beato chi prima la vede (V. N.)
(And who beholda is blessed oftentimes)
Thou Wonder, and thou Beauty, and thou Terror. (l.29)

"Thou Wonder, and thou Beauty" is easily understood. "Wonder" is perhaps a rendering of "miracle" which is found in Dante and other poets of the "*dolce stil move*." Dante has

Quel ch'ella par quand'un poco sorride,
Non si può dicer, ne tener a mente.

Si è nuovo miracolo gentile. (V. N.)
(T'is such a new and gracious miracle)

Again, Dante:—

Angelo chiama in divin intelletto,
E dice: Sire, nel mondo si vede
Meraviglia nell'atto
(An Angel, of his blessed knowledge, saith
To God: Lord, in this world that thou hast made,
A miracle in action is displayed.) (V. N.)

But why does Shelley call Emilia "thou Terror!"? Dante did not consider the "beauty" worshipped by him as terror. Beauty often reminded him of its transitoriness, to be torn from the stem of life by death, but in itself it was without any terror for him. Shelley, however, strikes a note divergent from that of Dante, but this note is not altogether absent in the poetry of the "dolce stil nuovo." In some of the sonnets and canzoni of Cavalcanti, love has been depicted as an all-devouring, all-destroying, soul-consuming passion, as a mighty power annihilating or overclouding the faculties of the mind. Does Shelley combine here beauty with terror with the same psychological attitude as that of Cavalcanti, considering beauty as a force capable of debilitating and annihilating the powers of the mind? ¹

I say the same psychological attitude as that of Cavalcanti in order to distinguish Shelley's state of mind at this particular moment and in this particular phrase, from a general tendency of his mind, which consists in a strange fascination for terror-encircled beauty and the beauty of terror. On February, 25, 1819, Shelley wrote a letter to Peacock from Naples in which he says *a propos* of the artistic genius of Michael Angelo: "I cannot but think the genius of this artist is highly overrated. He has not only no temperance, no modesty, no feeling for the just boundaries of art (and in this respect an admirable

¹ There is a similar note of terror in the first sonnet of the *Vita Nuova* in which Dante describes a vision of Love as "a lord of terrible aspect," carrying in his arms a lady covered with a blood-stained raiment and a flaming heart in one hand. But it may be stated without fear of contradiction that love is never violent in Dante. His Love has little affinity with the Love of Anacreon or the Eros of the Alexandrian poets, as has been remarked by Symonds. "Dante's love was half-religious; his lord was the cloistral spirit of those heavenly aisles in which Madonna's hymns are sung. The spirit of Aeolian Hellas and of Tuscan Italy had not much in common: therefore Eros, who is everywhere one Lord and makes his faithful wear upon their face his ensign" (V. N. iv), descended upon Sappho in whirlwind and in splendour, on Dante in twilight and humility and calm."—The Study of Dante by J. A. Symonds, Lond., 1906, 43-44.

genius may err), but he has no sense of beauty, and to want this is to want the sense of the creative power of mind. *What is terror without a contrast with, and a connection with loveliness?* How well Dante understood this secret, Dante, with whom this artist has been so presumptuously compared !”

What is terror without a contrast and a connection with loveliness? Shelley seems here to have unconsciously made a most illuminating remark about himself and an aspect of his mental formation. A reading of Shelley's life and poetry produces on me the impression that he had a peculiar in-born attraction towards and appreciation of beauty in a setting of terror and of the beauty of terror itself. All students of Shelley know how the terror-novels of the German school and those of Lewis, Radcliffe and others were read and re-read by him with a keen delight. Things which produce horripilations in an average boy and sends him frightened to the secure shelter of his mother's bosom, stimulated the curiosity of this extraordinary child who devoted himself passionately to the study of occult sciences, in order to evoke spirits. Many of his early works in prose and verse are based on the aesthetics of terror. “Saint Edmund's Eve,” “Revenge,” “Ghastia or the Avenging Demon” in *Poetry by Victor and Cazire*, “The Spectral Horseman” in *Fragments by Margaret Nicholson*, the novels *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne* are all cases in point. The tonality of *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne* is created by a contrast and combination of loveliness with terror. In *Zastrozzi* there is a contrast between the loveliness of the heroine and the satanism of the terrible tyrant hero. The same is true of *St. Irvyne*, the atmosphere of which is steeped in dreadfulness. *Queen Mab* begins with an uncommon laudation of death for which average humanity has an instinctive fear and the fairy queen, who in another version of the poem becomes the Daemon of the World, makes the soul of Lapthe arise by uttering words which operate like incantations. A real element of terror is introduced into the poem by the evocation of the “wondrous phantom” of Ahasuerus, the eternal wanderer with an awful grace on his brow, who has made himself master of the mystic lore, and in whose brain Hell burned because

all round

The mouldering relics of my kindred lay
Even as the Almighty's ire arrested then,
And in their various attitudes of death

*My murdered children's mute and ghastly skulls
Glared ghastily unto me.*

The figure of Ahasuerus, the accursed traveller, defiant of Heaven and its powers, appears again and again in Shelley's poetry. As a matter of fact he pursued this terrible phantom figure throughout his life. It appears in *The Wandering Jew*, in *Zeinab and Kathema*, in *The Assassins*, in *Alastor*, in *Hellas*, an awe-inspiring figure for which we feel no less pity than awe. "Now he rises beside those airy battlements that surmount the universe, to reveal forbidden lore to lanthe's spirit; now he hangs, a mangled ruin of manhood, yet calm and triumphant in the cedar tree of the Assassin's valley, or gazes over the precipice while the innocent Assassin children fondle or sport with their favourite snake; and now he comes forth by moonlight from his sea-caverns of a foamless isle, with glittering eye and snow-white hair and beard, to show as in a dream to the Turk the mutability of empire and the ever-new renaissance of liberty."¹

I do not know how many of the readers of Shelley consider *Alastor* as a terror-poem. Yet much of the effect and beauty of the poem seems to depend upon the elements of terror-romanticism it contains. It was written after Shelley had taken a dip in the stream of Lockyan rationalism and French materialism, but the Lewis-Radcliffian smell of his early works still clings to it. In conceiving the character of *Alastor* himself, the poet may have had the figure of the wandering jew before his eyes,² but other terror-romantic traces are visible everywhere. The sub-title "The Spirit of Solitude" is reminiscent of the early ghost-belief of the poet and is indicative of the effect which he wants to produce. The ghost-belief is here sublimated into a belief in a mighty "Power which strikes the luminaries of the world (here the beautiful life of the poet) with sudden darkness and extinction, by awakening them to too exquisite a perception of its influences, dooms to a slow and poisonous decay those meaner spirits that dare to abjure its dominion."³

The poem begins in the true spirit of the *Laudes Creaturarum* of St. Francis of Assisi, by invoking the brotherhood of Earth, Ocean

¹ Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45.

² Quellen. Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelley's Poesischen Werken by R. Ackermann, 1890, p. 2.

³ Preface to *Alastor*

and Air, but this serene beginning is soon changed into the terror-tense atmosphere of the Lewis Radcliffian school, when the poet says:

I have watched
Thy shadow, and the darkness of thy steps,
And my heart ever gazes on the depth
Of thy deep mysteries. I have made my bed
In charnels and on coffins, where black death
Keeps records of the trophies won from these,
Hoping to still these obstinate questionings
Of thee and thine, by forcing some lone ghost
Thy messenger, to render up the fate
Of what we are. In lone and silent hours
When night makes a weird sound of its own stillness,
Like an inspired and desperate alchymist
Staking his very life on some dark hope,
Have I mixed awful talk and asking looks
With my most innocent love, until strange tears
Uniting with those breathless kisses, made
Such magic as compels the charmed night
To render up thy charge

“Bed in charnels and on coffins,” “black death,” “lone ghost,” “night makes a weird sound,” “an inspired and desperate alchymist” “some dark hope,” “awful talk,” “magic as compels the charmed night to render up thy charge” —all these phrases written soon after passing through a much-emphasised period of rationalistic influence show that terror-romanticism had struck its roots too deep in Shelley’s imaginative and spiritual life to be eradicated by the cold blast of the rationalistic or materialistic philosophy. Notwithstanding his intellectual preoccupation for some time with rationalism, his innermost being had a mystic sympathy with terror and he delighted to evoke it with the usual paraphernalia of the pre-romantic literary terrors. As the lone wanderer, after having passed through “many a wild and tangled wilderness” and the far-famed cities of ancient times, comes to stay his steps in the African deserts,

He lingered, poring on memorials
Of the world’s youth, through the long burning day
Gazed on these speechless shapes nor, when the moon
Filled the mysterious halls with floating shades
Suspended he that task.....

"Mysterious moonlit halls with floating shades" is a typical terror-romantic setting, allied to and a variation of the mysterious castles, empty houses and ruined towers, abbeys and monasteries to be found in Walpole, Reeve, Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin and on which the moon shines with a pale ghostly light and through which the night-breeze passes like a spirit's breath. The macabre muse of Shelley again becomes manifest in the following lines:

Does the bright arch of rainbow clouds,
And pendent mountains seen in the calm lakes
Lead only to a black and watery depth,
While death's blue vault, with loathliest vapours hung,
Where every shade which the foul grave exhales
Hides its dead eye from the detested day,
Conducts, O Sleep, to thy delightful dreams ? (II. 213-219)

A few lines after he likens passion to a "fierce fiend" and makes the hero wander

where the desolated tombs
Of Parthian kings scatter to every wind
Their wasting dust,

till he is reduced from a lovely youth to a "spectral form" with strangely glowing, terror-striking eyes.

the infant would conceal
His troubled visage in his mother's robe
In terror at the glare of those wild eyes,
To remember their strange light in many a dream
Of after-times; (II. 262-266)

This strange glare of the eye is a reminiscence and a modification of the mystic, saturnine, hypnotic glance which the author of *Vathek* set in fashion as an effective armament of terror-romanticism.

As other examples of terror-romanticism of the poem we might mention:

It was a tranquil spot, that seemed to smile
Even in the lap of horror. (II. 577-578)

And thou, *colossal Skeleton*, that still
Guiding its irresistible career
In thy *devastating omnipotence*,
Art king of this frail world..... (II. 611-614)

Towards the end of the poem the poet refers to the Wandering Jew who "wanders forever, lone as incarnate death" and desires

that the dream
Of dark magician in his visioned cave,
Raking the cinders of a crucible
For life and power even when his feeble hand
Shakes in its last decay, were the true law
Of this so lovely world! (ll. 681-686)

In *The Revolt of Islam* Godwinian humanitarianism and terror-romanticism go side by side. In fact the element of terror is even stronger in it than in *Alastor*. Apart from the theme of the lovely persecuted maiden and the satanic tyrant, we have in it an abundant demonstration of his inventive gift of the horrible. It is not possible to cite here all the instances of terror-romanticism to be found in the poem and we shall content ourselves by quoting only a few.

Around me, broken tombs and columns riven
Looked vast in twilight, and the sorrowing gale
Waked in those ruins gray its everlasting wail.'

(Can. II. x)

This is a typically pre-romantic description of the terror-school and can be traced as far back as to Macpherson's Ossian.

In canto III of the poem we have the favourite *Burgruelliess* motive of the pre-romantics effectively utilized by the poet.

They bore me to a cavern in the hill
Beneath that column, and unbound me there;
And one did strip me stark ; and one did fill
A vessel from the putrid pool ; one bare
A lighted torch and four with friendless care
Guided my steps the cavern-paths along,
Then up a steep and dark and narrow stair
We wound, until the torch's fiery tongue
Amid the gushing day beamless and palid hung.

Stanzas xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii of this canto in which the delirious mental condition of the hero is described, are specimens of a powerful handling of the theme of terror, containing phrases like "some dim charnel's loneliness" "The forms which peopled this terrific trance I well remember—like a choir of devils, Around me they

involved a giddy dance," "four stiff corpses bare, And from the frieze to the four winds of Heaven Hung them on high by the entangled hair," "A woman's shape, now lank and cold and blue, The dwelling of the many-coloured worm."

Equally, if not more, powerful and horrible is the description of Pestilence in canto vi :

No living thing was there beside one woman,
Whom I found wandering in the streets, and she
Was withered from a likeness of aught human
Into a fiend, by some strange misery:
Soon as she heard my steps she leaped on me,
And glued her burning lips to mine, and laughed
With a loud, long and frantic laugh of glee,
And cried, "Now, Mortal, thou hast deeply quaffed
The Plague's blue kisses—soon millions shall pledge
the draught ?

My name is Pestilence—this bosom dry,
Once fed two babes—a sister and a brother,—
When I came home, one in blood did lie
Of three death-wounds—the flames had ate the other.'
Since then I have no longer been a mother,
But I am Pestilence ; -hither and thither
I flit about, that I may slay and smother :—
All lips which I have kissed must surely wither
But Death's—if thou art he, we'll go to work together.'

Then follows a description of the feast of death.

As thus she spake, she grasped me with the strength
Of madness, and by many a ruined hearth
She led, and over many a corpse :—at length
We came to a lone hut where on the earth
Which made its floor, she in her ghastly mirth
Gathering from all those homes now desolate,
Had piled three heaps of loaves, making a dearth
Among the dead—round which she set in state
A ring of cold, stiff babes ; silent and stark they sate.

She leaped upon a pile, and lifted high
Her mad looks to the lightning, and cried : "Eat."
Share the great feast—to-morrow we must die.' "

And then she spurned the loaves with her pale feet,
Towards her bloodless guests;—

The following passage in *Rosalind and Helen* again shows the poet's predilection for themes of terror.

This silent spot tradition old
Had peopled with the spectral dead.
For the roots of the speaker's hair felt cold
And stiff, as with tremulous lips he told
That a hellish shape at midnight led
The ghost of a youth with hoary hair
And sate on the seat beside him there,
Till a naked child came wandering by,
When the fiend would change to a lady fair ;
A fearful tale.

(To be continued)

PHILOSOPHY OF PRAGMATISM

DHIRENDRA N. ROY, M.A., PH.D.

PART I

THE pragmatic movement with its evolutionary conception of truth has appeared in the world of philosophy with such a revolutionary gesture that had it not been upheld by such master minds as William James, John Dewey, and F. C. S. Schiller, it would surely have celebrated its funeral rites long before it has passed through its second birthday. The movement, however, owes its origin to a man whose philosophic mind seemed to have gathered in silence the fruits of his deep thinking based on the assimilation of previous philosophical systems and stimulated by the currents of modern tendencies with their source in the marvellous achievements of various sciences. This man was Charles S. Peirce of the Johns Hopkins University. He preached his new ideas through articles published in some of the well-known American magazines, chiefly in the *Popular Science Monthly*. Of these articles the most famous one which influenced so successfully the philosophy of James and then all other pragmatists is the article entitled "How to make Our Ideas Clear." This article was published in the *Popular Science Monthly* of January, 1878. Although James, through his "characteristic generosity," spoke so much of his indebtedness to Peirce, the latter in fact did not contribute much to modern pragmatism of which the chief representatives are the three men mentioned above. The great contribution which Peirce has made to the pragmatic movement is his theory of meaning. He has in that famous article set forth a new method for ascertaining the meaning of concepts and judgments which he later named "pragmatism" and still later "pragmaticism" to distinguish it from the newer forms of pragmatic philosophy. The older theory of meaning is deductive by nature and as such it proceeds from the general to the particular. This method has long been in use by many if not most thinkers to give meaning to our ideas. Such conception, however, according to Peirce, is simply an idle speculation with no real effect upon human life inasmuch as it is divorced from man's active nature. The age of Peirce had been

particularly characterised by activity, especially in America, Peirce's own country. He has, therefore, but little to say in praise of mere speculation. His pragmatism rests on the fundamental assumption which, as he himself confessed, "does not recommend itself to him at sixty as forcibly as it did when he was thirty." To give meaning to an idea is, according to him, to establish a belief. Ideas are at first mere forms of doubt the irritation of which excites the action of thought. Action ceases as soon as doubt is removed and belief attained. "As thought appeases the irritation of a doubt which is the motive for thinking it relaxes and comes to rest for a moment when belief is reached." But each belief is again a starting point for new ideas and new doubts which had to further action calling for the attainment of newer beliefs. The pragmatism of Peirce is thus a theory to find out the meaning of our ideas. For this theory he has finally laid out a principle which runs as follows: "Consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the objects of our conception to have. Then, our conception of these effects is the whole of our conception of the object."¹

This identification of the meaning of a proposition with its effect is entirely a new idea and is hardly acceptable to the contemporary idealistic philosophers. But William James of the Harvard University caught the spirit of this idea and incorporated it in his own thought to build up a novel system of philosophy. The philosophic world, however, was but little affected by Peirce's new doctrine which suffered from public indifference for two decades, till in 1898 in Professor James' memorable address to the Philosophical Union of the University of California at Berkeley it was expounded and developed in such a forceful language that since then it began to gain recognition by many of the world's great thinkers. Soon after his address James began to write numerous articles to supplement his views as well as to answer the challenge of many critics some of whom were hurling caustic remarks against what appeared to them to be his philosophic eccentricity. Finally in 1907 James published his *Pragmatism* and a little later *The Meaning of Truth*, which taken together constitute a complete representation of the pragmatic philosophy in the light in which James saw it. He says that the attitude of the pragmatist is "the attitude of looking away from the first things, principles, categories,

¹ *Chance, Love and Logic*, p. 45.

supposed necessities ; and of looking toward last things, fruits, consequences, facts." ² He discards all "closed system." "The whole function of philosophy," says he, "ought to be to find out what definite differences it will make to you and me, at definite instants of our lives, if this world-formula or that world-formula be the true one." ³

Professor John Dewey, then of the Chicago University, also caught the spirit of pragmatism and was more or less independently building up his own system which is best represented in his paper entitled, "The Experimental Theory of Knowledge" and published in the philosophical magazine *Mind* in July, 1906. This system is in accord with Peirce's theory of meaning and develops a new conception of knowledge with a logical and a scientific method called by him "Instrumentalism." Greatly inspired by the achievements of biology he treats "the function of cognition from a genetic and evolutionary point of view." He applies the Darwinian theory of evolution not only to psychology but also to logic, ethics and education. His instrumentalism agrees, in a basic manner, with pragmatism. We may think of both as saying: "When we acquire a new item of knowledge, we must relate it somehow to what we know already. As long as it irritates us, the mind is under a strain or tension until it is adjusted to the new truth. As soon as the adjustment is completed there arises a sense of satisfaction and this sense of satisfaction is the only test of truth that we have."

In the meantime across the ocean another star swung into view, Dr. F. C. S. Schiller of Oxford, building up a similar doctrine under the broader title of "Humanism." Dr. Schiller was a friend and follower of James. He carefully watched the new movement in America and seized this opportunity of taking up the cudgel against the tyranny of absolute idealism which under the leadership of Bradley, Green, and Bosanquet was virtually dominating the mind of Oxford. It is interesting to add here that in America also the new pragmatic movements rose as a reaction against the absolute idealism of Royce at Harvard and the New Hegelian School at St. Louis. Dr. Schiller believes that the philosophy of humanism has long been in existence. But the ruthless abstraction of the intellectualists with their "barbarism of style" in its "colossal heights attained by Kant and Hegel" had covered it with obscure metaphysics that has little or no bearing

² *Pragmatism*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid*, p. 50.

upon human life. Philosophy must get rid of "a one-sided and reckless rationalism that has its inevitable reaction which bids fair ultimately to reconcile philosophy with common sense." It must declare, as James has done in his *The Will to Believe* "the independence of the concrete whole with all his (man's) passions and emotions unexpurgated, directed against the cramping rules and regulations by which the Brahmins of the academic caste are tempted to impede the free expansion of human life." This is "a most salutary doctrine to preach to a biped oppressed by many '...ologies,' like modern man, and calculated to allay his growing doubts whether he has a responsible personality and a soul and conscience of his own, and is not a mere phantasmagoria of abstraction, a transient complex of shadowy formulas that science calls the laws of nature." Thus Schiller's philosophy, in accord with that of James and of Dewey, does not wish to waste "thought upon attempts to construct experience *a priori*, is content to take human experience as the clue to the world of human experience, content to make man on his own merits—without insisting that he must first be disembowelled of his interests and have his individuality evaporated and translated into technical jargon, before he can be deemed deserving of scientific notice."⁵

Thus we find that a new temper has given rise to a new attitude toward philosophy. The temper was first systematically expressed in the thoughts of Peirce. It influenced or rather stimulated the pragmatic mind of James, Dewey, and Schiller, all of whom held a common attitude towards philosophical disquisitions. In spite of the common characteristics, however, of different pragmatists, an exact definition of this new temper is perhaps not practicable. Some, frightened as they are by any sort of definition, might say that it is impossible. "Whoever should define pragmatism in a few words," says Giovanni Papini, "would be doing the most anti-pragmatic thing imaginable."⁶ But a person inclined to understand this philosophical movement without bias and unruffled by pragmatist warning will naturally find that pragmatism is at first a negative movement. It is a crude dislike for abstraction, a shrewd denunciation of monism and a vehement protest against absolutism.

"A pragmatist," says Professor James, "turns his back resolutely and once for all upon a lot of inveterate habits dear to profes-

⁴ Schiller, *Mind*, Vol. VI (1907), p. 342.

⁵ *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 71, p. 351.

⁶ Schiller, *Humanism*, pp. xix-xx.

sional philosophers. He turns away from abstraction and insufficiency, from fixed principles, closed systems, and pretended absolutes and origins."⁷ Pragmatism is, as Professor Perry of the Harvard University says, a "biocentric philosophy,"—a philosophy that concerns itself with the affairs of our daily life. A pragmatist, therefore, does not like abstractionists. For "are they not trying to solve human problems with human faculties? But while they profess to exalt human nature, they are really mutilating it.....all for the kingdom of abstraction's sake! For, what are their professed starting points,—Pure Being, the Idea, the Absolute, the Universal I, but pitiable abstractions from experience mutilated shreds of human nature, whose real value for the understanding of life is easily outweighed by the living experience of an honest man."⁸ If our ideas are to be expressed simply in abstract terms detached from all concrete relations, they bring but little significance to the true nature of those ideas, for ideas without their immediate relation to concrete facts are almost useless. The pragmatist's ideas are best described as contrivances invented by man to bring order and arrangement into our experience, which would otherwise be chaotic.

Professor Dewey gives an excellent example: "What," he asks, "is our idea of rose?" The old answer was: "It is an image in the mind representing the colour, texture, shape, fragrance, and so forth, of a certain kind of flower." The pragmatist's account of it is quite different. "A sweet odour of certain specific kind enters into my consciousness. I think immediately of a rose. That is, there comes to my mind the idea of a rose. It leads me to walk towards the source of the odour, to look at the object from which the odour emanates, to handle it, to examine it closely, until I have finally reached satisfaction in the conclusion that the object is a rose. The idea has removed the mental strain, it has put an end to enquiry, it has satisfied; only in that sense it is true."

Thus in its negative aspect pragmatism disfavours abstraction and consequently absolutism; for this universe of diverse things which present themselves to us only through their relative existences cannot posit any idea of absolutism, unless the whole reality is reduced to mere abstraction.

⁷ *Pragmatism*, p. 51.

⁸ *Mind*, (1906), pp. 203 ff.

⁹ Schiller, *Humanism*, p. xviii.

In treating the monistic aspect of philosophy the pragmatist seems a little more careful in his use of language, for here he is not so unconscious of the delicate nature of the problem that has a clear bearing on religion. In his chapter on "Pragmatism and Religion" in the book entitled *Pragmatism* James very carefully touches the problem of monism and slowly swings towards pluralism. In fact, he does not seem to believe in a "uni-verse" in which so many diverse elements are constantly trying to assert themselves. Man rather lives in a "multi-verse" or "pluri-verse" where there is no "closed system" to deny the possibilities of diverse realities. Pragmatism is a democratic philosophy and is, therefore, open to all convictions except one that does not want to recognise any plurality either in observation or in thought. The absolutism of Royce at Harvard, of Bradley at Oxford, and the American tradition of Harris at St. Louis has caused an unhappy reaction to these pragmatists none of whom spared any pains to fulminate sometimes crass anathema against the former group of philosophers, accusing them of suggesting a "moral holiday" and letting "the world wag in its own way, feeling that its issues are in better hands than ours and are none of our business."¹⁰

PART II

The positive aspect of the pragmatic movement consists primarily in its new conception of truth,—a conception that cries hallelujah to science and adopts scientific method in all philosophical quests. The important contribution of pragmatism lies in its emphasis on the emotional side of life. Previously, philosophy was more or less dominated by dry intellect, but its emotional claim has come into prominence since Kant's doctrine of the "Primacy of the Will."¹¹ The pragmatist found that a philosophy is not complete unless it takes up the whole man and considers equally all the aspects of life. Just as Kant made reason subordinate to will, so the pragmatist made emotional response the criterion of all philosophical decisions. Pragmatism is simply the philosophising of science, harmonising head with heart in its attempt to evaluate ideas through satisfaction. It takes

¹⁰ James, *Pragmatism*, p. 273 f.

up concrete facts and tries to understand them on the basis of personal psychology. The fundamental desire of the pragmatist is "to represent and discover a supposedly deeper or more comprehensive view of human nature than that implicitly acted upon by intellectualisma view that should provide, as they think for the organic unity of our active and our so-called reflective tendencies. This desire is surely eminently typical of what we would like to think of as the rediscovery by pragmatism for philosophy, of the active or the volitional, aspects of the conscious life of man, and along with this important side of our human nature, the reality also of the activities and the purposes that are revealed in what we speak of as unconscious nature."

Pragmatism is really more interested in belief than in knowledge. Its main object is to establish a dynamical view of reality as that which is everywhere in the making, which signifies to every person that aspect of the life of things in which he is for the time being most vitally interested. The pragmatist emphasis on "Will" rather than on "Understanding," on "Belief" rather than on "Dialectic" lies in his very nature which ever attempts to glorify action. His metaphysic must become a true dynamic or a true incentive to human motives. It must seek the 'relationships and affiliations' with all the progressive tendencies in the history of human thought. It must consult moral experience directly finding in the world of our ordinary moral and social effort a spiritual reality that raises the individual "out of and above and beyond himself."

This action-philosophy of the pragmatist has caught the mind of the present busy, bustling age, which must create, must add something to the world and fulfil the desire of and clear the path for the onward rush of humanity. Man has come to this world with an iron hand to help the progressive movement of the eternal evolution that is constantly going on throughout the entire creation. He is here to show his fitness to survive by "riding on the whirlwind and directing the storm." Mere idle speculation for this active age has no charm, for it exercises only a part of human life and leaves the other parts including perhaps the most important part uncultivated. Science has taken up those parts and unless philosophy modifies its old method, it is surely doomed. That is why men like Ulrici and Lotze (Renouvier

too to some extent) divined the limitation of a merely intellectual philosophy, and saw clearly that the only way to effect a reconciliation between philosophy and science would be to apply philosophy itself to the problems of the life and thought of the time. In a similar attitude Dr. Edward Caird wrote in 1893 in his *Essay on Literature and Philosophy* that "philosophy in face of the increasing complexity of modern life has a harder task laid upon it than ever was laid upon it before. It must emerge from the region of abstract principles and show itself able to deal with the manifold results of empirical science, giving to each of them its proper place and value." Indeed, philosophy must be able to adjust itself to new situations and not indulge in an aristocratic isolation that far from raising its dignity makes it but a social outcast. The world is full of diverse elements ever fluid, moving and developing. Should philosophy fail to take cognizance of these bare facts that make human lives active, democratic, adoptable and ever-growing? Let it not be shut in the cage of static absolutism and lose sight of the tremendous possibilities before it. With a somewhat deserving boastfulness pragmatism thus proclaims to the world that it has finally brought about the redemption of philosophy.

¹² Quoted by Prof. Caldwell in *Pragmatism and Idealism*, p. 112.

HERBART AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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One of the most potent forces in the educational development in Europe and America during the nineteenth century was the work of the great German philosopher and educational reformer Johann Friedrich Herbart. Herbart was born on May, 4, 1776 at Oldenburg where his father was a lawyer and Privy-councillor. The father although apparently well educated and conscientious in the discharge of his professional duties, seems not to have been markedly progressive nor to have hoped for anything from his son more than entrance upon the profession of law and reasonable success therein. Herbart's mother, however, was a person of unusual character. She has been described as "utterly unlike her husband, possessing imagination, strength of will, and considerable intellectual power."¹ She directed the early education of her only child with great wisdom and affection. On account of the boy's delicate health she provided him at first with home instruction and for this purpose selected a competent tutor. She kept close watch over this tutorial instruction, going even to the length of learning Greek herself in order that she might follow her boy's progress more closely.

In his early years Herbart showed signs of the remarkable talent which was to characterise his mature life. Under his tutor he achieved a mastery of such subjects as mathematics, music, logic and metaphysics before he entered the gymnasium of his native town. He began the study of logic at eleven years of age and metaphysics at the age of twelve. At the age of thirteen he became a student at the gymnasium at Oldenburg. Here his favourite studies were philosophy and physics. He continued, however, to develop the many interests which had early been awakened in him and at the end of five years left the gymnasium "with a mind at once classically cultured and thoroughly trained in the processes of logical

¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *The Science of Education and the Aesthetic Revelation of the World*, tr. by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin, p. 1.

thought.”¹ The next three years were spent at the University of Jena where Herbart came under the influence of the great philosopher Fichte. Though profoundly influenced by the dominating personality of Fichte, Herbart eventually disagreed with his master's idealism and himself came to be the founder of modern philosophical realism.

Herbart early became interested in education. This interest found its first practical expression in 1797 when, before his University course was finished, he left Jena to work as a tutor to the sons of the Governor of Interlaken. Through his experience as a tutor as well as a result of his philosophical study Herbart became convinced of the value of a many-sided and balanced interest which became so prominent a feature of his educational doctrine. Two years later he visited Pestalozzi at Burgdorf and made an extensive study of Pestalozzi's educational methods. At this time he published several educational works among them being treatises advocating reforms in the higher schools, a criticism of Pestalozzi's *How Gertrade Teaches Her Children*, and *Idea of an A B C of Sense Perception*.

Herbart abandoned his position as tutor in 1799 in order to devote more time to the study of philosophy in preparation for University teaching. In 1802 he received his doctor's degree from the University of Göttingen and continued here as a teacher of philosophy and education until 1809 when he was called to the University of Königsberg as the successor of Kant. At Königsberg Herbart opened a pedagogical seminary which gradually developed into a training college for teachers. Herbart himself taught mathematics in this institution as well as philosophy and pedagogy in the University. The work of this college was interrupted in 1833 by Herbart's return to the University of Göttingen where he continued the work of teaching and writing until his death eight years later.

During the life-time of Herbart, Germany was greatly disturbed by the political crisis occasioned by Napoleon's crushing defeat of the German armies at Jena. Following this defeat the great problem before the German people was the reorganization and reconstruction of the whole social, political and industrial life of the nation. The leading thinkers of the nation devoted themselves to this problem and as a means of solving it turned to education. A great renaissance

¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

of education and culture took place. During this period the German emerged from mediaevalism to a modern nation. This renaissance found its fullest expression in the works of Germany's great scholars not the least of which were the writings of Herbart in which he proposed certain educational reforms and elaborated his own educational philosophy. His two most significant writings were *The Science of Education* published in 1806 and *The Outlines of Educational Doctrine* published in 1835. The former together with Herbart's *The Aesthetic Revelation of the World*, which had appeared in 1804 was translated into English by Henry M. and Emmie Falkin in 1892. The latter was translated into English by Alexis F. Lange in 1901. From these translations has been gleaned the material concerning Herbart's philosophy of vocational education presented in the following paragraphs.

The chief aim of education according to Herbart's theory is the development of morality and character, for only thus can an individual be fitted to become a good member of society. In this Herbart's theory of education was like that of Pestalozzi. In order to attain this moral aim of education Herbart advocated the development of many-sided, abiding interests. This further reflects the influence of Pestalozzi who emphasized "the harmonious development of all the powers" and of Rousseau who wrote much on cultivating all the child's instincts and capacities as a means of developing a generally efficient man instead of a specialized individual. Unlike both Rousseau and Pestalozzi Herbart advocated the use of literature and history as a means of developing many-sided interests and as being particularly valuable as sources of moral ideas. Accordingly he outlined a course of study which included not only scientific but also humanistic studies and devised a method of organizing and inter-relating all the materials of education so that they would more easily and quickly become a part of the personality of the student. In the educational scheme thus devised by Herbart training in the manual arts and trades found a place and it is with this aspect of his educational doctrine that the present article is especially concerned.

According to Herbart's educational theory training in the manual arts and trades should form a part of the regular programme of studies for every boy irrespective of social rank and distinction. Herbart seems to have considered such training to have a three-fold purpose. It would in the first place equip the individual receiving this training

to engage in a gainful occupation and thereby directly minister to his material well-being. Moreover trade and technical knowledge would also afford a clearer understanding of the facts of nature and of the relation of these facts to the development of human civilization. In this way such training would serve to widen one's mental horizon and be valuable as a means of general culture. And probably more important than either of the foregoing in Herbart's estimation, is the fact that trade and manual training would prove to be useful as a means of developing the moral character of the individual: Training in the skilful use of the hands might justly claim a place alongside of purely language training in the educational scheme of raising man above the brute creation. In considering the acquisition of technological knowledge Herbart said that it was "acquired partly through direct observation, partly through lessons in descriptive science" and then went on to emphasize the moral as well as the cultural and material values of such knowledge in these words. "Technology ought not to be considered merely from the side of the so-called material interests. It furnishes very important connecting links between the apprehension of the facts of nature and human purposes. Every growing boy and youth should learn to handle the ordinary tools of the carpenter as well as rule and compasses. Mechanical skill would often prove far more useful than gymnastic exercises. The former benefits the mind, the latter benefits the body ... Every human being ought to learn how to use his hands. The hand has a place of honor beside language in elevating mankind above the brute."¹

Two means are suggested by Herbart for the teaching of manual arts and trade training, namely, the establishment of manual training schools in connection with the burgher schools and apprenticing youth, especially unruly boys, out to competent masters. In both instances Herbart emphasizes the essential disciplinary rather than the merely material or economic value of this training. The manual training schools are not to be trade schools in the narrow sense. "With burgher schools," he says, "should go manual training schools, which does not mean that the latter must necessarily be trade schools." Moreover Herbart sees in apprenticeship training a valuable means of segregating unruly boys from the regular schools and putting them in an environment where they may be more easily

¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *Outlines of Educational Doctrine*, tr. by Alexis F. Lange, p. 260.

governed and given a course of training that will make for character development and the reformation of the delinquent. "Children must be kept employed at all events, because idleness leads to misbehavior and lawlessness. Now if the employment consists of useful labor, say in the workshop or on the farm, so much the better. Better still, if the work teaches the child something that will contribute to his further education. But not an employment is instruction; and in cases where the mere government of children is a difficult matter, lessons are not always the most adequate employment. Many a growing boy will be taught orderly conduct much sooner when placed with a mechanic or merchant or farmer than in school. The scope of government is wider than that of instruction."¹

One of the most important features of modern vocational education is the matter of vocational guidance and the selection of one's life work. To this problem Herbart was keenly alive in his day. He took as his starting-point the motor activities and spontaneous interests and efforts in which children engage even from their earliest days. These activities and interests he would watch carefully in order to discern the tendencies to certain employments and aversions from others. He advocated careful guidance and encouragement of the child's spontaneous response to surrounding objects in the hope that in this way the child might be led to select a life's occupation for which he possessed special tastes and abilities. "There are always opportunities from childhood upward for the exercise of industry. We can, we ought, to foster, to guide, to watch continuously the earliest employments to which the child spontaneously shows itself invited by surrounding objects, and greatly and gradually try to lead it to constancy, to keep longer to the same object, and pursue the same purpose. We may always play with the child, guide it in playing to something useful, if we have previously understood the earnestness which lies in the child's play, and the spontaneous effort with which it will work itself out in happy moments, and also if we know how to abstain from such condescension as would check the child's upward efforts, for in such upward efforts in the childish things which will soon be left behind, it would have received instruction. . . . We must accustom the child to work of every kind. That which is pre-eminently successful, will always import its own direction

¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

to industry. A special choice amongst occupations will always call out special features in the character and plan of life." ¹

The present article has shown that Herbart regarded trade and manual training as indispensable to the training of character in preparation for citizenship. His chief contribution to the theory of vocational education was his definite and clear-cut advocacy of trade and manual training for the sake of its disciplinary value. He maintained that this training played a definite and significant part in the development of one's general culture. More important still is the fact that this training was a valuable aid in reforming the incorrigible. Herbart advocated the early segregation of unruly pupils from the regular class-room in order to give them training in trade and industry as a means of reformation. In this feature of his educational philosophy he anticipated the modern practice of offering manual and trade training in reformatory schools.

¹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *The Science of Education and The Aesthetic Revelation of the World*, tr. by Henry M. and Emmie Felkin, p. 257.

MORAL EDUCATION THE NEED OF THE HOUR

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Above everything else, the need of the hour in the educational field seems to me to be a better tone in the schools from the moral point of view. In this country, we have laid up till now too great an emphasis on the intellectual side of education which, again, has suffered by considerations other than intellectual. The main test of intellectual fitness has been the ability to pass examinations which; as tests, have been rigid as well as frigid, calling for little originality and productive of little good. Again, the hall-mark of efficiency given by examinations has served as the passport for employment under Government, in the schools and educational institutions in general, in the learned professions and, to a much smaller extent, in business concerns. The dominance of material ends has, in one word, marred the pursuit of the intellectual training given and received in this country—a country which takes pride in its spiritual outlook !

The poor quality of education in this country will appear from the narrow outlook that dominates the intellectual field, and will be further emphasised by the almost total absence of any thought or effort for the formation of character. Life is worth very little if there are no ideals to be followed, and, when there are some, if they are not of a type socially and individually uplifting. Such desirable ideals, again, arise from the foundations of character truly laid by the education and sublimation of the instincts and the formation of a good and refined taste with the help of the emotions which are the real springs of all educational progress, whether in learning or in conduct. No intellectual education can be perfect without a background of moral education, for the pursuit of knowledge implies an enthusiasm for the cause, a capacity to hold on, a capacity to think not merely brightly but honestly, and, above all, a feeling and a doing. The mind not merely knows, but it also feels and does. All the aspects of knowing, feeling and doing are to be found in all mental processes. That is why emphasis has now to be shifted from

the intellectual to the moral side of education, or rather equally distributed over the two fields.

No nation can thrive unless the aim of school teaching be not only the imparting of a body of selected and well-digested knowledge, but also the formation of a number of desirable habits of thinking, feeling and doing which are the true foundations of character. Honest ways of thinking, looking upon man as man shorn of the connotations of birth and status, a feeling of freedom from the adventitious aids or handicaps we are heir to in social life, a passion for truth and the good things of life born of a love for the good and beautiful and a hate for the bad and disgusting, a refined taste, an anxiety to do the right things and to serve others before one serves oneself—are the things to be inculcated and fostered in course of school education.

To make that aim feasible, the first essential thing seems to be the fitness of the teacher for such a task. When such a proposition is laid down, teachers have no doubt to sit up and wonder whether they are required to be supermen. My reply is, supermen unfortunately do not appear very frequently, but teachers have to be, above everything else, good men fired with the ambition of being worthier still and imparting that worth in a progressive manner.

The personality of the teacher is the dominant factor in the process of education. Those who are familiar with some of the modern developments in educational theory and practice will, perhaps, feel inclined to challenge that statement. So, I have to explain what I really mean.

Unless the teacher has a personality that really attracts, unless he possesses superior knowledge of a known high standard, unless he is a good man whose honesty, sincerity and enthusiasm are apparent to his pupils, unless he is filled with an overflowing love and sympathy for his pupils, and, above all, unless he is unselfish in thought and action—he cannot be expected to wield the potent forces of sympathy, suggestion and imitation towards effecting the most desirable modifications in the innate capacities and dispositions of the child. My view is not that the personality of the teacher is to be imposed on that of the child and the former is to be used as an instrument of domination over the latter; but that the teacher with an inspiring personality like what I have described above will have to keep himself in the background, inspiring and stimulating activity in the pupil all the

while, and, with the help of the three forces already mentioned, giving shape to the latter's ideals, tastes and efforts and guiding them into new channels, when and where necessary. The business of the teacher is a very delicate one, and it calls for a fine sensibility and a nice sense of proportion in him. In no case is his personality to be imposed on that of his pupil, who is to be encouraged to greater and greater efforts in the realms of thought and action. The inspiration for such efforts is to come from two sources—first, a real love for the subject which the teacher has been able to instil into his pupil, and, secondly, the forces of suggestion and imitation induced by the personality of the teacher through the channel of love and sympathy. That is why Dr. Montessori has come to her conception of a director in preference to the common description of a master applicable to a teacher.

The director of studies has not only to have an adequate knowledge of the subject, but must also know the child who is the other accusative of the verb of teaching. In other words, the mental and physical equipment of the child, the way in which his mind works on the cognitive, affective and conative sides, how knowledge is acquired and systematised, how desires and feelings affect and motivate the mind and how, generally, the mind proceeds about its business—all this must be fully known to the teacher. In other words, the teacher has to be abreast with the investigations of modern psychologists and their results, with the psychological principles and their working.

When the teacher is equipped as above and uses his knowledge and personality on the lines indicated, half the problem of moral education will be solved, for example and precept will combine to produce a most desirable result. As Dr. Nunn points out, the teacher exercises on the growing minds about him an influence that will be none the less decisive because it is brought to bear in the indirect form of suggestion and example rather than by precept and command. From him, if he is worthy of his functions, the children learn in a thousand subtle ways the attitudes and tendencies that distinguish the humane from the brutal, the civilised from the barbaric habit of life. Insensibly but surely his values become their values, his standards their standards.

It is vain to think that the teacher can mould the character of the pupil as the potter moulds his clay. The teacher is not an af-

powerful monarch, but only the perpetual president of the little republic of the school. The president, therefore, must exercise the duties of citizenship all the more scrupulously and assiduously by reason of the exceptional powers his position gives him. Although the pupil comes to know about the loyalties and aspirations that divide and sway the world outside the school, it is in school and under the teacher's influence that he learns to appreciate the issues involved in those loyalties and the meaning attached to those aspirations.

Again, the potency of moral ideas depends to a large extent on their being learnt from first-hand experience. That is how the experiments in self-government receive their due attention from all educational thinkers and workers. The crude moral ideas of the child have their counterpart in hardness in regard to breaches of moral rules and etiquette. When the child gets the power to inflict punishment on recalcitrants, almost always he is found to be too severe for the needs of the case: he is to be gently persuaded to tolerate minor evil and to recognise the principle that correction is the principal aim of punishment. Where self-government is being actually practised, the teacher has to keep a sharp look-out that "the fundamental purposes of school-life are not frustrated by the corrupting influences of a few or the moral weakness of the rest."

The value of traditions in the formation of character and of a healthy moral outlook cannot be overestimated. It is the teacher's primary duty to help in the building up of healthy traditions for the conduct of the school and class, for such traditions will regulate the ideals and conduct of the community as well as of the individual with an ever-increasing force and momentum. "The school should give its pupils scope to work out their own education freely under the guidance of sound traditions."

The direct inculcation of moral principles and maxims often defeats its own purpose: moral instruction is to be imparted mainly through the education of the tastes by wielding the potent forces of the instincts, especially those of love and hate, and imitation in its three forms, namely, sympathy, suggestion and imitation (in action). The pupil must be taught to love and hate the right things: true education is just that, as Plato has said. In order to be able to do that, the teacher will not only have to live nobly, but also hold up before the pupil's eyes, whenever the opportunity arises, noble specimens of literature and art and co-operatively draw from them

the ideals of beauty and truth, and show by contrast and implication how and why the rotten specimens are to be passed over and looked down upon. Lessons may also be drawn from the rise and fall of nations and dynasties of kings. Extra-curricular activities including outdoor games and school excursions, are a great means for the fostering of such ideals in life as 'Others before self,' 'Keep an open mind,' for the realisation of the fact that the happiness of the each person in the community depends largely on the goodwill of others, and for the formation of habits of self-reliance, fellowship and a corporate life in which *camaraderie* is present.

The idea that moral instruction depends, to a large extent, on religious training is not fully justified by the trend of opinion and social progress in the modern world. In religion there are two things, carefully to be distinguished. The first is the religious spirit, and the other is theology, which is a theory of the objects that evoke the religious spirit. The religious spirit inevitably takes on a social character: it may be revealed in devotion to truth or to art, or in the loving service of one's fellows. It is the duty of the teacher to foster the religious spirit, but to keep clear of rituals connected with religion, especially in a country like ours where religion presents so many difficulties, and of theology which is much beyond the scope of his activities. Ideas of clean living and thinking can be built upon the common basis of truth, love and purity taught by all religions. The relationship between man and his Maker is, after all, a personal affair, and should be treated as such. If religion is pushed into the background, as it should be, most of the ills which torment Indian society will be gone, but that is another matter.

MALAYASIA AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA

TARAKNATH DAS,

I

GRADUAL elimination of western political control is one of the main features of the significant happenings in the Far East, during the twentieth century. In 1904-5 Japan directed a stunning blow against Russian expansion in the Far East. As a result of the World War, Germany was practically eliminated from the political control in China as well as in German islands in the Pacific. Whatever may happen, as the result of the present *undeclared* war between Japan and China, it is certain that there will be the end of extra-territorial jurisdiction of western Powers in China proper. Furthermore the American programme of retiring from the Philippines leaves Britain and France as dominant western Powers in the Southern Pacific. With the recent and prospective developments in world politics, France with her hold in Indo-China, Britain in Malaysia and Holland in the Dutch Indies are going to face exciting times. If these Powers are to maintain their position in Eastern Asia, they can ill afford to lose their strongholds in that region. For this very reason, we hear of great concern in Paris and London about the news of possible Japanese occupation of Chinese island of Hainan, which, if occupied by Japan, would menace Britain's Singapore naval base as well as French naval position at Saigon. Japanese march towards the south is also regarded as a menace to the Dutch colonial empire in Java and other islands. It is therefore most opportune that American scholars are directing their attention to the study of colonial administration of this region.

II

In the work "Malayasia,"¹ Prof. Emerson of Harvard University has given us an excellent study in direct and indirect rule of Britain in the Federated Malaya States, the Unfederated Malaya States, the

¹ *Malayasia* by Rupert Emerson, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937, pages 598. Index. Price 5.00.

Strait Settlement (its importance in respect to imperial defence programme) and British economic policies in this region. In the same volume, he has given us a study of Dutch colonial system. This book will be unpalatable to all upholders of imperialism, because the author has applied historical methods in vivisectioning the process of acquisition of these territories and motives behind the adventures of great colonial powers. His thesis is: "Since imperialism is based upon a fundamental denial of freedom, upon the division of the world into master peoples and subject peoples, it can find justification only if it is working to overcome that which is the essence of its own being" (p. 466). And the essence of its being is nothing less than this: "Imperialist government and imperialist exploitation are complementary to each other and hence represent only the single purpose and interests of the imperial centre..." (p. 470). After studying the work, the admirers of great colonial powers will have to admit that their programme of *indirect rule*, through native agencies of various types, practised by great Britain and Holland in the region is not for promotion of freedom but is an applied art of keeping the people under subjection, through a process which might result in least resistance. Prof. Emerson's book may be regarded as a standard work of importance because it contains concise but valuable information regarding social, economic, racial as well as political problems of this region.

In the work "*French Indo-China*," Dr. Thompson not only presents an adequate and trustworthy account of French administration of Indo-China and French economic policies in that rich colony, but deals with aspects of Annamite civilization, influence of Indian and Chinese civilizations upon the Indo-Chinese people and the effect of French influence on them. In "*French Policy and Developments in Indo-China*,"³ Prof. Ennis has, among other things, made an attempt "to describe the French penetration of Indo-China and to discuss the economic, social and administrative problems which have arisen since the military occupation in the fifties of the last century."

France regards Indo-China as her own special preserve for securing raw materials for her own industries and to sell her own goods to the

¹ *French Indo-China* by Virginia Thompson, Ph.D., New York, Macmillan Co., 1937, pages 517. Index and Bibliography. Price \$ 00. \$

³ *French Policy and Developments in Indo-China* by Thomas E. Ennis. The University of Chicago Press, 1936, pages 230. Index and Bibliography, Price \$ 3.00.

natives. She wishes to develop the country's resources, through her own efforts and for her own benefit and in due course of time. Therefore foreign capital investment and enterprises are not very welcome. The French economic policies are not only discriminatory against other nations; but the Indo-Chinese are the worst sufferers in this arrangement. But *British Imperial Preference* in the Malaya States and Dutch colonial preference in Java and other islands are not different from French practices in Indo-China; because in all cases of colonial imperialism, the principle is "*colonies are primarily for the benefit of the Ruling Power.*" There is no Open Door in these markets of the Far East, comprising a population of more than eighty millions of people; but there is not much of hue and cry about it, because of economic domination and exclusion is carried on by western nations and not by the Japanese.

What is the effect of French domination over the Indo-Chinese people? Both the authors think that through involuntary absorption of western ideas there has arisen a spirit of nationalism among the Indo-Chinese people. Dr. Thompson thinks that "the Annamites have caught fire from the West politically and economically far more than they have culturally." That is nothing to be surprised at; because an atmosphere of lack of political freedom is never conducive to cultural progress. Prof. Ennis thinks that the French *policy of assimilation* (denationalisation) means unrest; and the acceptance of the *policy of association* (granting self-government) spells eventual independence for the Indo-Chinese! Here is the dilemma for the French as well as all other imperialist powers in Asia. Prof. Ennis sees trouble ahead in Indo China, due to the influence of Soviet Russia upon the Asiatic stage and also due to French policy of coercion. But he is dubious about the possibility of overthrowing French rule by the Indo-Chinese in near future.

ORGANISED ENGLISH COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH INDIA (FROM 1620 TO 1661).

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[T is difficult to separate one period of modern Indo-European¹ History from the other. As night passes into the day, and the day into the following night, as summer passes into winter and winter into summer again, so one period of this history shades off into the other. The causes of the history of today lie in the events of yesterday.

But specialisation holds the student of History in a steel grip. Moreover categorical changes need an intensive study. The period from 1620 to 1661 is of course intimately connected with the period 1600 to 1620, and that which follows. But events of importance occurred in these two years, importance sufficient for a partial justification of the division into periods which in any case is demanded by needs of specialisation and convenience.

When on the 29th of May, 1660, "his birthday," Charles II "entered London," "and the concourse (was) so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple-bar," a new era dawned in English colonial history. During this era, "the English Company in India grew from a seed to a sapling." "Upon the King's first arrival in England," says Clarendon, "he maintained a great desire to improve the general trade and traffic of the nation." Commerce and industry became the chief ends of foreign policy." The "era of consolidation" definitely began in 1660.

On June 23, 1661, the marriage treaty between "the Infanta of Portugall" and "our Royall King" was signed. So far as relationship of the English in India with the other Europeans in

¹ As distinguished, e.g., from the Ancient Indo-European Period. The Ancient Period deals among other things with Indo-Greek and Indo-Roman contacts.

² Clarendon : History of Rebellion, Vol. VI (1849 edn.), p. 264; Keigwin's Rebellion; Khan : East India Trade in 17th Century, p. 93; Thompson and Garret : Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, p. 80 *et seq.*

Eastern waters was concerned, it marks an important stage, because it throws "the shield of English protection on the Portuguese, now hard pressed by the Dutch."²⁴

From the commercial point of view "the arrival early in October, 1619, of a new fleet from England under John Bickley, and the return shortly after of the *Lion* from Mokha, raised afresh the question of the Red Sea traffic."²⁵ In June, 1620, Hughes started from Agra "taking no merchandise, but merely some bills of exchange to the value of Rs. 4,000." "After being nearly a month on the road, he reached his destination," "Hogreprepatamia" on July 3. A trade specially in cotton and silk, with Bihar and Bengal was thus directly attempted for the first time.

In 1620, so far as relationship of the English in India with other European powers in Eastern waters was concerned, the Danes under Ove Gjedde and Roelant Crape obtained the cession of the port of Tranquebar (in November) from the Náyaka Itájá, and the English ships defeated a "Portuguese fleet of twentyone sail" near Jask in Persia.

I have shown elsewhere that inspite of rivalry and jealousy, greed and competition, the English brought with them (inspite of their insularity) a somewhat vague consciousness of European solidarity, when they came out to India during this period. This feeling grew in intensity in India, because of patent and latent, real and supposed (though occasional) hostility of some Indians. the contract between the Indian and the English outlooks and some other not so important causes; and led to various general expressions of sympathy and friendliness, as well as to concrete acts of co-operation with the other Europeans in Eastern Waters.

Secondly, the similarity between the English and the other Europeans was so great in Indian eyes, that the average Indian

²⁴ Foster: "The English Factories in India (1661-64)" p. 29; Burgess: "The Chronology of Modern India," p. 107.

²⁵ "A Calendar of documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office," known usually as *The English Factories in India*, Vols. 1618-1621, p. XVII.

²⁶ Hajipur Patna. We find it in a letter from Surat, e.g., Jan. (22?), 1620; Eng. Fac. 1618-21, p. 181 and 182; Brit. Mus. Egerton M. S. 2122, f. 210.

²⁷ Eng. Fac. Vol. 1618-21, pp. XLIV and XLV; Burgess: p. 77; *Calcutta Review*, 1919, p. 92 and p. 93. Crape was a Dutchman and not a Dane, as Burgess suggests. The name again seems to be Roelant and not Rodant which is the one given by Birt in the *Calcutta Review*. See also E. F. 18-21, p. 264 n.; p. 265 where there is a reference to "the Danes ships and their plantations" etc.; p. 266 referring to an English woman come with the Danes and p. 393 which refers to "successes of the fleet of Danes; Eng. Fac. Vol. 1622-1693 etc.

of this period could not probably distinguish the Englishman from the Dane, the Frenchman, the Portuguese, the Dutchman and others easily and readily.

The Bayán-i-Wákí⁶ for example, takes the Angrez to belong to one of "the tribes of Europeans." "There is no difference" says Khwája 'Abdu-l Karím Khán "whatever to be observed in any of the manners and customs" of these "tribes." "The Marathas see the unanimity and concord that exists among the Europeans, and do not attempt to approach them, much less to attack them."⁷ The author of the Muntakhabu-l Lubáb⁸ does not call the Portuguese by any other specific name than that of "Firingis," though he notices differences of some of their religious dispositions and treatment of Ships belonging to others from those of the English.

Writing to the Company from Surat on April 28, 1636, President Methwold and others say:—"Wee doe not expect that " Indians " should bee able to judge betwixt French and English; or if they could they would be wilfully ignorant, since if they were French, they must be contented with Sants satisfaction " " The President therefore seemed to convey the impression that the Indian did not ordinarily distinguish the Frenchman from the Englishman To him the foreigners from Europe were more or less alike.

The Akbarnáma, to take another instance, calls a Portuguese, Partáb "Tár Feringi. "(He) is one of the officials of the merchants of the ports of Bengal, (and) had the bliss of an audience (with the sovereign)."⁹

Saffí Khán was "kind to" the English, according to a letter of Halstead and others from Sarkhej,¹¹ dated September 27, 1621.¹² A letter from Ahmadabad of December 29, 1621, however speaks of "the stoppage off the Dutches goods likewise by Saffy Cawn." The reason of his conduct lay in the fact that he had claims "against the English." "Threc days togeather," the English say, "they had our

⁶ Its evidence is valuable, though it deals with the history of a period later than what we are studying.

⁷ Elliot and Dowson: "The History of India as told by its own historians," Vol. VIII, p. 127 and p. 128.

⁸ Elliot and Dowson: Vol. VII, p. 211, p. 212, p. 344 and p. 345.

⁹ A calendar of Documents in the India office, etc., which is conveniently culled, "The English Factories in India," 1631-1636, p. 214; O. C. 1558.

¹⁰ Akbarnáma (Transl. by Beveridge) Chapter XLIII, p. 349 and p. 350 and n; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 59.

¹¹ "Six or seven miles" s.w. of Ahmedshah—"the centre of the indigo industry in that neighbourhood."

brokers which wee could ill spare to free them, but could not, Saffy Caun sayinge we were all one."

The next point that we may notice here is that inspite of the existence of this strengthened European feeling in the East and many expressions of friendliness and good will, patent and latent acts of hostility and competition of other European powers in eastern powers, towards the English are not at all uncommon during the period under review.

Among these various powers, we shall deal in this paper specifically with the relations between the Portuguese and the English. In doing so, I intend to confine my remarks to organised Portuguese traders as distinguished from their pirate compatriots.

"An action" says the *Wāki'āt-i Jahāngīrī*, for example, "took place between" the Portuguese "who had made every preparation for the capture of port of Surat," and the "Angrezān" "who had sought refuge in that port. Most of their vessels were burnt by the English.¹² English and Portuguese ships "had been fighting in the East ever since the former appeared in Eastern Waters."¹⁴

Just as our period opens, the *Hart* and the *Eagle* "on their attempting to enter" Jask "found it blockaded by Ruy Freire's fleet." "Orders" had been "sent out that at all hazards the English were to be prevented from trading with Persia." They returned to Surat, and were reinforced by the *London* and the *Roebuck*. On returning to Jask they fought with the Portuguese, and entered Jask. The Portuguese returned to the attack, but were defeated. The European feeling prevented the English from joining the Persians readily. But shortly afterwards, the Anglo-Persian forces attacked Ormus. A letter of October 29, 1622, *e.g.*, says "Ormus is besieged by the English and Persians and ten galleons have gone to its aid. "The doings of the English fleet at Ormus became "current talk" at Agra. "But," wrote Hughes, "howe the Kinge" (*Jahāngīr*) "disgests itt, I knowe not." Fursland and the Council at Batavia observed to the Company on August 27, 1622:—"To conclude, if you may have possessione of Ormus and will send meanes to mainteyne itt, Your Worships may reckone that you have gotten the keye of all India, which will be a brydell to our faithlesse

¹² E. F. 1618-21, p. 278, p. 354.

¹³ *Wā 'ki 'āt* in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 340.

¹⁴ E. F. 1622-23, p. VIII. [E. F. = English Factories].

neighbours, the Dutch." ¹⁵ Ruy Freire de Andrade surrendered to the English on February 1st, 1622, at Kishm and Ormus was then captured by the allies. ¹⁶ Ruy Freire however again obstructed the sending of "provisions" to Ormus in 1624-25, and fought with the English and the Dutch sea off Ormus. ¹⁷ In January, 1623, to take an instance nearer home, "three English and four Dutch vessels..... blockaded Goa, and" the Portuguese "Viceroy had no vessels in the harb our with which to raise the blockade." ¹⁸

The very letter of November 12, 1623, to which strongly supports European solidarity speaks of "the return of the ships from Mokha" which were "able to perform a good action by redeeming the captives, and in, returning surprised a rich Portuguese vessel." ¹⁹

Crosby, probably, "a master's mate first in the Diamond and then in the Exchange," has left a journal which describes "the cruise against the Portuguese" between 1621 and 1623. On July 13, 1622, according to the "Journal kept on board the Royal Exchange," they spoiled the Portuguese viceadmiral. "At midnight the rere-ambrall laid" the English "abord but did" them "not much hurt, but killed" them "one man." ²⁰ Swanley's journal of the voyage to Persia says that on November 20, 1621, "ther came by" them "the Portugall caffela." Soe the Lyon, Sampson, and Richard wayed and gave chase "after them." ²¹ Rastell and others writing to Batavia on January 24, 1622, refers to "last year's success the Portuguese at Jask." ²² "In a letter of 1623 the king impressed upon the Viceroy the necessity for traversing their commerce, since it was most important.....to put a stop as early as possible to the efforts of the English" and others, "to take part in and appropriate the commerce of the East Indies, China and Persia." ²³ President Kerridge and others thus estimated the effect of Portuguese rivalry on English trade in a letter from Surat to the Company, dated January 4, 1623:—"But

¹⁵ E. F. 1622-23, p. 135; pp. 93a and 94; p. 116 *et seq.*; Purchase, Vol. II, pp. 1787 to 1805; O. C. 1032; Persia Records, Vol. I; Valle's Travels; Herbert; Fryer; Tavernier's accounts; Lisbon Transcripts; Commentaries of Ruy Freyre, etc.

¹⁶ Danvers: The Portuguese in India, Vol. I, p. 209 *et seq.*; Burgess. Vol. II, p. 78 and p. 79; English Factories 1618-21, 1622-23, etc.

¹⁷ Danvers: p. 224, etc.

¹⁸ P. 922; E. F. 1622-23, etc.

¹⁹ E. F. 1622-23, p. 313.

²⁰ Marine Records, Vol. XXXI; E. F. 1622-23, p. 5 and p. 6.

²¹ M. R. Vol. XXXIV, p. 31; E. F. 1622-1623, p. 7.

²² Factory Records, Java, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 292; E. F. 1622-23, p. 26.

²³ Danvers, Vol. II, p. 223.

these three years leave of our ranging enemy the Portugall hath extenuated or left unconsidered all other difficulties." In the same letter mention is made of four "Portugall frigates" which attacked a junk, probably having Thomas Beale on board. By the Royal Decree of 15th March, 1630, "a Company of Commerce was established towards which the King himself subscribed 1,500,000 cruzados," "to imitate the manner in which" the English and the Dutch were conducting "their traffic" with India.²⁴ It was also argued that by virtue of Articles III to VIII of the Treaty of 1630, in conjunction with Article IX of 1604 between the "Most Serene Kings" of Spain and England, "and between all their vassals" and others, the English would not be "allowed to pass to India nor carry on commerce in any part of it."²⁵

The Mughuls attacked Hugli on June 19, 1632. The place was stormed; about 10,000 were killed, and 4,400 taken prisoners. But owing to some reason or other²⁶ we find from a letter of July 17, 1633, that "those Portingalls whilome expelled Hughly" "found great favor with shaw gahan, and reentered that place to the number of 20 persons, howe cavittall for there commencing a new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed on, which with large privileges and tashareefes with honer the king hath bestowed on them. So that our exaspecttacion (of) Hughly is frusstrayt, and likewise Pippoly will n(ot by ?) us be obtainened."²⁷

A letter of Methwold and others to the Company, dated Jan. 19, 1635, speaks of a truce concluded with the Portuguese, "in consequence of a peace made between the two nations in Europe." "When" the English "approched a good way within shott of the Admirale," they "strooke" their "topsales," "took in" their "flaggs" "and the Palsgrave" the Jonah, the Hopewell and "the pennace" crushed a salute. Then, "Don Ferdinando, (the) Vicerioies sonne, accompanied with the Councillours of State of India" approached "the barre." At last the "Accord was solemnly se sworn and subscribed on both sides; and thus the attitude of hostility in which Portuguese and English in the East had stood for more than thirty years was changed," according to Foster, "into one of friendliness and mutual assistance."²⁸

²⁴ H. F. 1624-29, p. 183, p. 233.

²⁵ The Articles are quoted in Danvers II, p. 237 n. *et seq.*

²⁶ The restoration has been ascribed among other reasons to a miracle.

²⁷ H. F. 1630-33, p. 378; Campos, p. 145 *et seq.*; Elliot and Dowson vii p. 31; Dagb-Register 1631-34, p. 145, p. 159, p. 195; Lisbon Transcript Doc. Romett. bk. 30. ff 281, 288.

O. C. 1543 I; H. F. 1634-1636, p. 89 *et seq.*, pp. VIII and IX.

Foster claims that "the pacification thus effected has lasted without a break down to the present time." I am however of opinion that in spite of the Mughal attack on Hughli and the conclusion of this Accord, rivalry latent and patent continued for some time.

To take an instance—After the reconciliation of Methwold to the Indian authorities, on June 4, 1636, "a Moore belonging to" a "plundered Diu junk arrived as representative of the other sufferers to demand satisfaction" against the English. The Indian Governor referred him to the Viceroy of Goa. Representations had however already been made to him. He sent "a bundle of attestations" to Methwold, "with a demand for 117,000 rials of eight in compensation."

"In consequence of robberies from three Portuguese Vessels at Diu," says Danvers, "said to have been perpetrated by an English pirate, the Viceroy sent out a vessel of war to capture him. As the President of Surat refused to afford any satisfaction for this affront, orders were given that the property of certain English who had been permitted to settle in Goa should be seized."²⁹ "English property at Goa" was "seized" in 1636, and "Portuguese cargo was" refused to English ships:

In a letter from Rajapur we find that Bornford "did his best to obtain" the "deliverie of the former moneys," but the Viceroy "would pay nothing" till "the Judge of the Civil Law" would come to a decision on the "Diu claims."

In 1650, Lisbon was blockaded. "The Parliamentary fleet" caused the Portuguese great trouble, and prevented them from sending relief from Lisbon to the Brazils where they were at war with the Dutch." João de Guimarães was however sent 'to London as ambassador, with instructions to use every effort to place matters on a friendly footing." "In 1654, proposals passed between the English and the Portuguese for a union of interests." A treaty was concluded with Portugal negotiated in 1654 by the Rump, and signed by Cromwell which according to the Cambridge History "may" "be regarded as having laid the foundations of the most long-lived as well as the oldest of all European alliances." The English "were to enjoy the privileges of trade with all the ports in the Portuguese dominions in the East Indies" and other parts of the world specifically

²⁹ E. F. 1634-36, p. XXV *et seq.* and documents; Danvers Vol. II, p. 263 and p. 264. *

³⁰ O. C. 1591; E.F. 1637-41, p. 11.

mentioned.³¹ But in any case, so far as India is concerned, I am of opinion that Portuguese rivalry and jealousy, greed and competition did not die at once. They (for a time) only remained dormant, ready to spring up and fight openly once again, if conditions became favourable.

We find, for example, that when "two gallions" arrived from "Lisbone" in 1658, "supplied with amunitions and other necessaries they much wanted," the "drooping spiritts" of the Portuguese were "much raised." Though the Dutch were keeping "them from trade," and "continue(d)" "before Goa with eight sails of ships," "their spirits" were "so high that" the Company's servants were unable "to compase what the Company desired." ³² Although the Portugalls were "very low" in 1659, "yet" the English could "find no hopes of compassing any of their houlds worth the acceptance."³⁴

The Portuguese were still in Bengal in 1659. Sheldon says on 21 Sept., 1659, that he "desires" a friend of his "to procure the chaw"³⁵ "for a good uncle of his." His friend replied that "he had already endeavoured to obtain some from a Portuguese merchant at Bandel, but had been assured that there was no tea for sale." ³⁶ About 1660, Manucci³⁷ who reached Hugli by way of the Sundarbana "found the chief inhabitants of Hugli, all of them rich Portuguese, for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal." A marriage with a lady (apparently Portuguese) was to have given him "thirty thousand rupees and two pataxos loaded with salt, making in the whole one hundred thousand rupees, also a house furnished with everything necessary for a newly married couple." There was a large Portuguese population at Madras in 1660.³⁸

The Portuguese, we find again in the record of a consultation held at Surat on 22 June, 1660, "joyntly declared that it was not in their power to part from any port of their Kings without his comission first received so to doe,"³⁹ inspite of the earnest desire of the English

³¹ The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, Vol. I, p. 15; Danvers, II p. 300 *et seq.*; p. 309.

³² E. F. 1655-1660, p. 153.

³³ P. 157.

³⁴ P. 199.

³⁵ Tea.

³⁶ E. F. 1655-1660, p. 276.

³⁷ In his *Storia De Mogor* Irvine's Transl. Vol. II, p. 87 *et seq.*

³⁸ E. F. 1655-1660, p. 404.

³⁹ E. F. 1655-1660, p. 300.

to secure one from them. The real intentions of the Portuguese referred to in this passage are made abundantly clear by the subsequent negotiations about the cession of Bombay to the English. On 9th April, 1662, the king of Portugal wrote to Antonio de Mello de Castro about the "obligation" he was "under for directing" "the port and country of Bombay" "to be delivered to" "the king of England." But protest after protest, and argument after argument against the cession followed. In a letter, *e.g.*, of 28th Dec., 1662, De Castro says, "If your Majesty orders me to hand over Bombay, in accordance with the terms of the capitulations, it follows that I cannot hand it over in another form.....I see in the island of Bombay so many Christian souls which some day will be forced to change this religion by the English." When Bombay was at last ceded to the British as a result of peremptory orders from Lisbon, the Viceroy wrote:—"I confess of the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe your Majesty as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed, because I foresee that India will be lost the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay."⁴⁰ It was not a friendly shout of welcome. It was a cry of despair.

On the whole, therefore, I may conclude that the rivalry and commercial competition of the Portuguese acted as deterrents to the growth of organised English commercial relations, with India at least during the earlier part of the period under review. At the same time I must emphasise that they were only two of the numerous impediments which lay in the way of such development. Thirdly, though Portuguese power declined during the later period, there still remained among the Portuguese a desire to revive their trade, and if possible, their influence. In any case, they were not prepared to hand these over to the English as long as they were not compelled to do so. Fourthly, it must not, however, be forgotten that the period saw not only acts of hostility but also those of friendship and a strengthening of the European feeling which the English and the Portuguese brought over from Europe.

⁴⁰ Khan: *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay*, p. 455 *et seq.*; *Eng. Factories, 1655-60*; *Court Minutes*, etc.; Thompson and Garratt, p. 31.

THE INSTINCT OF FEAR

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PSYCHOLOGISTS have agreed in treating fear as a kind of instinctive behaviour. The situation which originally arouses fear is either the loss of physical support or a loud noise. The bodily response characterising the reaction of fear is flight or crouching and immobility. The object of this paper is to investigate whether fear or recoiling from the dangerous is really to be treated as an instinctive reaction with strict adherence to the general meaning of the term 'instinct.'

Instincts, as commonly understood, are inner drives or tendencies which prompt an individual to some form of activity with regard to a certain object. They are innate propensities to reactions of a certain type effecting some change in the nature of an object. They are not necessarily aroused by the presentation of the objects activity in regard to which offers them satisfaction. They may be, on the other hand, activated by some internal conditions of impulsion and seek their own object. Instincts, in other words, are treated as purposive and erotic in character, as contrasted with a simple motor mechanism, since they always involve, from their very conception, a reaching forward for some object towards which their activities are directed. It is their purposive character, therefore, that prompts them to be aiming at a goal of behaviour which, objectively considered, consists in doing something with regard to some object or situation. The instinct of attack or fighting, for example, involves a direct operation with an object obstructing the smooth working of an activity trend. The instinct receives its final satisfaction only by doing something to the obstructing situation. So long as this end-result is not arrived at the activity persists, though it may persist with varying degrees of intensity, seeming to disappear while the organism is engaged with the discharge of some competing and more urgent trend of activity. But, as a matter of fact, it never disappears totally unless its final satisfaction comes. The individual, thus, may be planning the methods of attack for years and years together and may not be able to accomplish it even in the full span of his life, but so long as the obstructing

object does not change its aggressive character the urge for removing it must be present. To conclude, by instincts we always understand, excepting the Behaviourist, purposive and directed activity.

The problem before us is to see if fear can be treated to be such an inner drive for action—such a purposive activity directed towards doing something in regard to a certain object, as implied by the term ‘instinct.’ What we notice about fear, unlike all other innate propensities, is that fear cannot be aroused in the absence of its object. It is only when an individual actually experiences a dangerous object that the activity of escape or withdrawal is elicited from him. Fear therefore, always presupposes some external condition of stimulation of a painful character. Thus, as noted above, the condition may be the sudden removal of physical support or the suddenness or loudness of an auditory stimulus which is experienced as painful by the individual. Unless its condition of stimulation is present, the fearful activity cannot be aroused. Like the other instincts, fear cannot be reasonably credited with calling upon the individual to seek its object. It prompts him, on the other hand, to avoid an object actually presented. It may be pointed out here that the pugnacious instinct also requires an obstructing stimulus to be aroused to activity. Ordinarily it seems to be so. But a more thoroughgoing analysis of the pugnacious instinct in children and in lower animals has shown, beyond all doubt, that pugnacity does not always require an actual obstruction in the way of some activity of the individual. The individual, on the other hand, may be inwardly prompted to be aggressive to certain objects in its environment. The ‘tearing to pieces tendency’ in children, as well as in some animals, is an expression of the urge for aggressiveness. If obstruction was the only stimulus for pugnacity, then our warfare were always defensive and never aggressive. But history points to the reverse. Moreover, it is not always that opposition to our activity flares up our anger; sometimes we calmly deflect our activity from the obstructed course. This shows that it is not only the obstructing stimulus which excites the instinct, but it is the inner disposition which when aroused treats some features of the environment to be obstructing its activity.

Again, as we noticed above, fear, as it requires the actual presentation of its object, presupposes among the higher organisms a previous experience of the nature of its object. This fact also divests fear of its position as a purely innately determined reaction

pattern which instincts necessarily are at every level. For, it is not the mere presentation of its stimulus which gives rise to the fear activity, but the stimulus must be experienced as painful. Thus it is that the perception of a new object with which painful experience is not associated does not give rise to fright. A previous experience of the dangerous or painful character of the object is, therefore, necessary, before the object can become capable of eliciting the response of fear. All undomesticated animals are frightened away by man. But they show such a reaction to their human visitors because of their experience of man's predatory nature. Glen D. Higginson writes, in his *Psychology*, about certain animals which having no non-human enemy in the locality, do not show any fearful reaction when approached by man for the first time. 'Penguins, for instance,' says Higginson, 'furnish a striking illustration of this point. Scott observed them in the waste areas of the Antarctic. Of the behaviour of these odd creatures toward their first human and animal visitors he writes: "They waddle forward, poking heads to and from in their usually absurd way, in spite of a string of howling dogs straining to get at them. They come a few steps. The dogs make a rush as far as their harness allows. The penguins are not daunted in the least. The final, fatal steps nearer are taken. There is a spring, a squawk, and a horrid red patch on the snow. Nothing can stop these silly birds. Members of our party rush to head them off. The penguins only squawk and duck"—Last Expedition.' He further quotes from W. Beebe, *Galapagos and Arcturus Adventures*, regarding the undaunted behaviour of Albatross, Mocking-Birds and Sea-Birds in response to his first visit to them. Beebe writes 'No tameness of horse and dog has ever impressed me with anything like the thrill which these creatures give, in accepting the first human being they had ever seen as something which it was inconceivable could harm them.' All these considerations show that fears are not instincts or inner drives or dynamic urges for a definite course of activity in regard to an object, for the reason that they are not self motivated or self initiated mechanisms, which instincts by their definition originally are.

What fears then are? Fear can be treated as a chain of reflexes. A reflex activity, as is well known, is an activity aroused by the application of an external stimulus to a receptor organ. It works through a neuro-muscular mechanism connecting certain end organs with

certain definite motor organs. The impulse started in the receptor is conducted by a definite pathway to a certain muscle or gland, resulting in the activity of the latter. The reflexes, thus, are mechanical responses elicited by the actual presentation of a stimulus. They do not have any end-result or goal to which they point. Some biological purpose of the organism may be subserved by the reflex activity, but the purpose is merely incidental to the reflex itself. A chain of reflexes is a series of such neuro-muscular arrangements giving rise to a complex activity. Fear also, as we noticed above, is always aroused by the presentation of some stimulus. It is difficult, on this ground, in certain cases to classify a certain reaction as a response of fear or a type of reflex; for example, the response of the withdrawal of finger from heated stimulus. The activity without any doubt is a case of simple reflex; but it can also be viewed upon as a response of fear—a recoiling from a dangerous object. May it not be said then that when we take to flight on observing a lion left-at-large, the total response is the activity of a compound reflex mechanism, a chain of reflexes? It may be said that flight is not the only response of fear but it may sometimes give rise to immobility or the total arrest of movement. But this fact can also be explained from the same supposition. For, a complicated reflex involving a number of reflex arcs, in which the response of the one supplies stimulus to several others, may give rise to the neutralisation of action through the arousal of reflex activities competing with and counteracting each other.

I have tried above to explain fear as a chain of reflexes. But there is one fact which makes fear appear as a somewhat distinct pattern of behaviour from the reflexes. While the reflex follows on application of the stimulus invariably and automatically, fear does not, as stated above, follow on such a mere application of the stimulus. The mere loudness of a noise or the mere removal of physical support does not give rise to fear unless the above stimuli are also known to be painful. Hence fear in order to be aroused to activity, requires an apprehension of the meaning of objects derived from experience. No such condition is to be noticed in case of a reflex action. But this difference is due to the fact that activity on the higher plane of life is not pure and altogether innately determined. All innate reaction patterns get modified and complicated owing to the presence of intelligent activity in the higher organisms. Thus it is to be noticed that our reflex activities too admit of some regulation and control from the higher

cortical centers and do not appear to be as rigid and uniform as among the lower animals. On the lower plane, fear as a reaction pattern is identical with reflex and gives rise to the same activity of simple avoidance or contraction which is experienced in the reflex activity of withdrawal from a heated stimulus. Thus on the level of insect behaviour fear is to be treated as a purely reflexive activity following from a certain type of stimulus. In case of higher organisms also we can regard fear to be of the type of reflexive activity, though partly modified with respect to its condition of stimulation by the presence of intelligence or the ability to profit from experience, still never possible without stimulation.

It may be pointed out here that while reflex activities follow on the application of a physical stimulus, fears do not always necessitate for their arousal the actual presentation of a painful stimulus. They may be started, on the other hand, by the mere thought of an object. But this fact is nothing peculiar to fear. Reflexes also may be initiated on the mere idea of the stimulus. For example, the mere thought of tamarind starts the reflexive activity of salivation. As is well known, such reflex activities are explained by the process of 'conditioning.' We do not hereby subscribe to the behavioristic view by accepting its principle of conditioning literally which means the substitution of the original physical stimulus innately determined to elicit a response by another physical stimulus not originally potent to arouse the response. We mean by the principle only this much that the idea of the object may serve as a symbol for the object and in this way be conditioned to arouse the response. Thus when fear is aroused by the idea of the fearful object, the idea works only as a substitute-stimulus. Like the reflexes, fear also, therefore, is not hereditarily determined to be elicited by the thought of the object arousing it. Originally, as on the lower plane, fear always appears as a consequence of the presentation of a physical stimulus.

We notice further that the fearful reaction is characterised by that uniformity and rigidity of behaviour which enters into our concept of reflex action. Thus the typical responses of fear appear in an identical manner in all individuals and on all occasions; the flight is always of the same general nature, involving the same muscle system, and so is the immobility. On the other hand, we notice that a variety of motor reactions are used to bring satisfaction to any other instinct. You may, thus, devise different plans of attack to be aggressive in your behaviour. In other words, all modes of reaction may be

utilised in their different settings to fulfil the end of the pugnacious instinct. The total achievements of physical science with all its discoveries and inventions are being harnessed by the militant nations to the one end of devising new weapons of attack. But no such variety and diversity of responses are to be found in a nation declaring itself *hors de combat*. The modes of attack are becoming different, but the way of flight or surrender is always almost the same. Hence it is to be noted that while aggressiveness is an indication of our strength, an expression of the 'indomitable will' to conquer external reality, flight is a symptom of impotency, a recoiling of the life impulse in face of the stubbornness of nature. Fear as a mode of reaction can be retraced, therefore, to the infancy of life, when nature could easily quell its stirrings, when life had not evolved its complicated weapons of attack and could show itself only through the mechanical pseudo-activities of tropisms and reflexes.

T. S. ELIOT'S "MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL"

RABINDRAKUMAR DASGUPTA

“THE spirit of the present generation is in a marked degree anti-traditional,” said Edmund Gosse in the course of his lecture on *The Continuity of Literature*. Certainly it would have pleased Mr. Gosse, if he could live now to see that in the present-day literature of England there is a great traditionalist who likes to remember the past not only in critical theory but also in poetic practice. Mr. Eliot might say with Edmund Gosse, “. . . I view with alarm this intellectual antinomianism, and I cannot help connecting it with a certain neuresthesia which is prevalent to-day.” “We shall often find,” says Mr. Eliot, “that not only the best, but the most individual parts of his (any poet’s) works may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously.” In order to appreciate his *Murder in the Cathedral*, a tragedy written on Attic lines, we are required to enquire into the nature and extent of his traditionalism.

Mr. Eliot, as his essays and poems show, is, to borrow that memorable phrase of G. K. Chesterton, “a conservative in revolt.” “He is the most revolutionary man in poetry during my lifetime,” says Mr. W. B. Yeats about his junior contemporary. Even his traditionalism is something quite different from what we generally mean by that word. Mr. Gilbert Murray, in his *Classical Tradition in Poetry*, suggests that tradition is something which is quite unavoidable. It would creep into poetry without the poet’s being conscious of it. But Mr. Eliot thinks otherwise. He says in his essay on *Tradition and Individual Talent* that tradition is no mere handing down and if so it must be discouraged. Tradition is a matter of much wider significance. It cannot be inherited, you must obtain it by great labour. We cannot turn the past to our purpose without toil, we must do it by the sweat of our brow. Again, his traditionalism is no imitation of the past, but a creative readjustment and revaluation of it. A poet can follow tradition without surrendering his individual talent. “The past should be altered by present,” says he in the same essay, “as much as the present is directed by the past.” What Mr. Eliot wants is a “perception not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence, a feeling that

the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer, and within it the whole of the literature of one's own country, has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order." It is the consciousness of the main current of literature and a creative appreciation of it which makes a poet truly traditional.

By tradition Mr. Eliot never means only classical tradition. It is the accumulated literatures of ages and countries, the entire legacy of the past, that really constitutes the literary tradition. Now, let us survey his play in this light and determine the nature and extent of his conforming to the tradition of the Greek tragedy.

Originally written for production at the Canterbury Cathedral during the Festival of June, 1935, the *Murder in the Cathedral* was afterwards brought down to Notting Hill Gate and was staged there in the playhouse of Mr. Ashley Dukes. The play is divided into two parts, with an interlude in between them. In the first part the action takes place in the Archbishop's Hall on December 2, 1170. The sermon of the Archbishop on Christmas morning forms the Interlude. The second scene is in the Cathedral, on December 29, 1170. The drama begins with the chorus of women of Canterbury which helps us to understand the entire background of the action. The speeches of the Priests which follow are also informative. Then the Herald reports that the Archbishop has arrived in England. The most interesting portion of the first scene is the temptation of Becket, where the four tempters, obviously the personifications of the different passions of his mind, tempt him with four different allurements. The second scene is full of stirring incidents. In their first visit the four Knights charge Thomas with treachery and disloyalty, which the Archbishop denies with good argument. The murder of Thomas which takes place on the stage is followed by long speeches from the four Knights in which they try to justify their action.

The structure, then, is Greek, in more than one way. The play begins when the catastrophe is already imminent, there is the chorus and the herald. Outwardly the play seems to disobey some canons of Greek tragedy, at least as Aristotle has formulated them in his *Poetics*.

First, Mr. Eliot does not observe the unities of time and place. In fact he seems to be negligent of the principles of Greek tragedy and Corneille and Racine whose plays were nominally founded on the practice of the Greek dramatists. Here lies the peculiarity of Mr. Eliot's

classicism. He would alter the past if the exigencies of his art require it. "The unities," says one of the speakers in Mr. Eliot's *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry*, "have for me, at least, a perpetual fascination. I believe they will be found highly desirable for the drama of the future. For one thing, we want more concentration. The unities do make for intensity, as does verse rhythm." But Mr. Eliot would like to modify the laws of unity. It is not the unities, themselves, but the artistic purposes which they serve, that matter. He can put up with the violation of the unities of place and time if by their violation something is gained which we could not have if the laws were observed. He thinks that "the unities are not three separate laws; they are three aspects of one law." In his opinion one may violate the unities of time and place both if one observes more closely the unity of action, or, to borrow Mr. Eliot's own phrase, unity of sentiment. Not that Mr. Eliot totally disproves the validity of the two laws. "The laws of unity of place and time," says he in his essay, *Apology for the Countess of Pembroke*, "remain valid in that every play which observes them in so far as its material allows, is in that degree and respect superior to plays which observe them less." The laws of time and place never seem to constitute the chief virtue of Greek tragedy. It is the unity of action which is the great lesson of Greek drama. Aristotle never enjoins the three unities. In fact he does not mention more than one, namely, that of action. "The unity of place," observes S. H. Butcher in his *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, "is nowhere even hinted at in the *Poetics*." Schlegel, in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, notices the undue emphasis that has been mistakenly laid on the unity of place and shows that the principle was not adhered to throughout in the Greek drama.

As regards the unity of time and place, it ought to be remembered that it formed no essential artistic point amongst the Greek dramatists. It is perhaps more a circumstantial necessity than an artistic device deliberately adopted; and Mr. Eliot, a creative traditionalist as he is, did away with it without losing the unity of action or atmosphere.

Another apparent infringement of the principles of Attic tragedy is the violence shown on the stage. When we witness a performance of the play, it occurs to us that this in some degree takes away from the 'Greekness' of the tragedy. The Greek tragedians did not provide for any atrocity on the stage. They used to transform the horrible

incidents into highly poetic narrative put into the mouth of the messenger. All drama, written for the stage, is bound to be spectacular. Greek tragedy, although it is full of dramatic situation, is rather descriptive than spectacular. It was not death and murder, but the pity and agony of it, with which the Greek dramatists were chiefly concerned.

"The heart of life," says Masefield, in his preface to *The Tragedy of Man*, "can only be laid bare in the agony and exaltation of dreadful acts." The actual demonstration of the dreadful acts on the stage would take away from the 'exaltation' of it. The function of tragedy, at least of Greek tragedy, is not to freeze the blood with moving accidents but to enable us to see beyond the immediate action and to have a vision of that agony and moral contest which is universal and eternal. When a murder or death is actually shown on the stage, the spectators are apt to be too much concerned with the particular incident to have that mental poise to reflect on its moral significance. They cannot push their sight beyond the limits of the actual horror. It is a sense of pity and terror, and not shaking horror and dread, that the Greek tragedians intended to create. "Fear and pity," says Aristotle in his *Poetics*, "can be produced by spectacular means; but it is much better to produce them by the way you write your play." It cannot be denied that the murder of Thomas in the *Murder in the Cathedral*, even if theatrically effective on a modern stage, is the one un-Greek element in the play. But to show violence on the stage is not a serious transgression of the laws of Greek drama. And the *Murder*, though it lacks a great virtue of the Greek tragedy, is not without its precedents in Greek literature. We are only to remember that the appearance on the stage of the 'dreadful' chorus of the *Eumenides* of Æschylus was responsible for a number of casualties in the audience.

But those minor departures from the Greek practice should not blind us to the fact that the *Murder* is one of the most Greek of the English tragedies modelled on the classical lines, even more Greek than many such plays which are most scrupulously based on the tragedies of Greece. There is something genuinely Greek about the very conception of the play. As a literary thinker Mr. Eliot has many things in common, or rather, chances to have many things in common, with ancient Greece. First, according to Mr.

Eliot drama ought to be a thing of religion. "I believe," says one of the speakers in *The Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry*, "that the drama has something else to do except to divert us." "I say," continues the same speaker, "that the consummation of the drama, the perfect and ideal drama, is to be found in the ceremony of the Mass. Drama springs from religious liturgy, it cannot afford to depart far from religious liturgy." Again, Mr. Eliot is a great supporter of poetic drama. Without categorically decrying the dramas written in prose, Eliot seems to agree that the dramatist who is not a poet is so much the less a dramatist. By 'poetic drama' Mr. Eliot does not mean a mere technical fusion of the poetic and the dramatic. "The same plays," says *D* in his *Dialogue*, "are the most poetic and the most dramatic, and this not only by a concurrence of two activities, but by the full expansion of one and the same activity." Nothing is perhaps more akin to the Greek conception of the drama.

The third Greek element in Mr. Eliot's theory of drama is his emphasis on technical points. A study of his *Elizabethan Essays* would show that he is a supporter of convention in art. He does not think that verse is a restriction upon drama. According to him, every dramatic representation is artificial. Unlike the advocates of realistic drama, who would hold that only prose can express the full gamut of modern feelings, Mr. Eliot believes that verse is the legitimate and proper medium of dramatic expression. "The tendency," says *A* in his *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry*, "at any rate of prose drama, is to emphasise the ephemeral and superficial; if we want to get at the permanent and universal, we tend to express ourselves in verse." Greek tragedies, to be properly appreciated, did not require to await the interpretation of the actors. The play was the thing. Mr. Eliot, in what may be called his ballet-theory of drama, contends that a good drama should stand on its own legs and that the dramatist should not depend on anything but the spoken word. This brings us to his love of form and technical excellence. "The emotion of art," says he, in his *Tradition and Individual Talent*, "is impersonal. And the poet cannot reach this impersonality without surrendering himself wholly to the work to be done." Is not this only another way of putting Aristotle's saying that beauty is a matter of size and order? The Greek tragedians would hold that beauty-making is as technical a matter as masonry, and Mr. Eliot's acceptance of this view constitutes one of the main points of his classicism.

The above analysis of the mind of Mr. Eliot shows that his writing a drama on Attic lines does not follow from his love of Greek tragedy and a deliberate intention of imitating it, but from his personally sharing the very dramatic principles on which the Greek tragedies were based.

The *Murder* has been called a Christian tragedy. In many respects the play resembles a mediæval miracle. The temptation scene is reminiscent of the Morality plays. The Greek elements exist side by side with the native elements, and we cannot make out whether the play transplants the Greek tragedy or replants the miracle. Perhaps it does neither; perhaps it does both. But Mr. Eliot's choosing his theme from the history of England does not make the play in any sense un-Greek. The story of Thomas à Becket holds the same position in modern England that the stories of Orestes held in ancient Greece. The passage of about 800 years has lent the story of Thomas the heroic splendour of a mythological figure. The *Murder* holds a unique position amongst such plays, for it is Greek without forgetting the tradition of England, English without having any prejudice against receiving from foreign literature. The Greek form in his play is no imposition; it naturally requires it. The *Murder* like Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, is Greek on national grounds, Greek because it is most definitely English. The play, as I have already said, was written for a Christian Festival of June, just as the Greek tragedies were written for the Greek festivals. The hero of the play is a great national figure of England just as the heroes of the Greek tragedies were considered as great national figures.

"It is difficult to see," says Mr. Bonamy Dobree in his essay on Thomas Hardy, "how a writer of tragedy can, at any rate while writing tragedy, be a Christian." It is only to superficial observers that the essence of all tragedy seems to be a sense of divine injustice. It is not the injustice of the gods but the inscrutability of the divine will which the ancient Greeks considered to be really tragic. But it is a mistake to hold that every tragedy must have the same grounds for pity. The tragedy of *Antigone* is different from the tragedy of *Agamemnon*.

But when we consider the *Murder* the conclusion would be almost irresistible that Becket is not a tragic hero. "As she consciously faces death," says Mahaffy about *Antigone*, "for an idea, she may

rather be enrolled among the noble army of martyrs, who suffer in the daylight of clear conviction, than among the more deeply tried who in doubt and darkness have striven to fight out a great mystery, and in their very failure have purified the terror and the pity of awe-struck humanity. A martyr for a great and recognised truth is not the best central figure of a tragedy in the highest and proper sense. The *Antigone* is, therefore, not a very great tragedy, though it is a most brilliant and beautiful dramatic poem." If *Antigone* is less tragic, the *Murder* cannot claim to be called a tragedy at all. For when *Antigone* dies, she feels in her heart of hearts a desire for living, and in the death of one who lays down her life for her affection for her departed brother, allowing her passion for her lover to dry up in her breast, there is surely a sense of waste, a 'sense of tears in mortal things.' Aristotle would not allow any tragedy to have anything in it which may provoke the spectators to rise in indignation against the will of the gods. But *Antigone* and, as will be seen later on, the *Murder* have nothing in them to suggest the injustice of providence. In both the plays it is the injustice of man, the rotten moral and political system of the world, which is responsible for the final catastrophe. But still the *Murder* has something in it which seems to mark it off from the Greek tragedies. It is true that many of the Greek tragedies suggest predestination, but certainly the predestination and the premeditated divine scheme, of which Becket speaks, are strictly Christian ideas: "A martyr, a saint, is always made by the design of God, for His love of men, to warn them and to lead them, to bring them back to His ways. A martyrdom is never the design of man; for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, not lost it but found it, for he has found freedom in submission to God."

Again in the *Murder*, though the play opens in an atmosphere of impending gloom, there is no sense of irony of fate. The chorus has a definite premonition of the fate of the Archbishop, and the Archbishop himself is always ready for martyrdom. Becket does not perish from the remorseless machinations of a blind-eyed fate, he wilfully brings his own death upon him in obedience to the Divine will.

"To make, then break, this thought has come before
The desperate exercise of failing power.
Samson in Gaza did no more." (Thomas.)

But in Milton's *Samson Agonistes* the Christian element is never allowed to supersede the Greek thought. For Samson's death was unavoidable. Thomas welcomes his end with joy. But Mr. Eliot is not wholly un-Greek:

"However certain our expectation,
The moment foreseen may be unexpected
When it arrives." (Thomas.)

But elsewhere Thomas, rather Mr. Eliot, speaks in terms of a philosophy which was unknown to the Greek dramatists:

"Neither does the actor suffer
Nor the patient act. Both are fixed
In the eternal action, an eternal patience
To which all must consent that it may be willed
And which all must suffer that they may will it
That the pattern may subsist and the pattern is the action
And the suffering, that the wheel may turn and still
Be for ever still."

Though the idea might be found in a Greek Philosophy, this is not what the Greek tragedians teach us. The ideas contained in this passage are Christian ideas, rather, more definitely, Hindu ideas.

The "complication" of a Greek tragedy consists of those incidents which in the *dénouement* precipitate into the lamentable death of the hero. The gloom of Greek tragedy is the gloom of death. There is death in the *Murder*, but the death here is a fulfilment and not a frustration. The real conflict in the *Murder* is an internal conflict between egoism and self-surrender. The struggle is not between life and death, but between worthy death and unworthy death:

"Can I neither act nor suffer without perdition." (Thomas.)

But where then lies the tragedy? It is the tragedy not of the hero but of humanity in general. The pity of it does not lie in the murder of the hero, but in the fact that people murder him. In a Christian

tragedy the devil is the real tragic figure. There is something wrong in the state of England. The time is out of joint. It can no longer accommodate goodness and righteousness. There is 'corruption in the dish':

"It is not we alone, it is not the house,
it is not the city that is defiled.
But the world that is wholly foul."

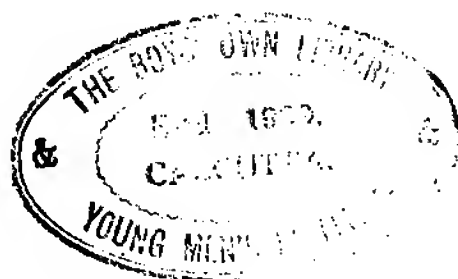
But still a sense of supernatural agency is there, only that it ultimately makes for the fulfilment of benevolent desires:

"Even now in sordid particulars
The eternal design may appear."

The particulars may be sordid, but the whole scheme, means good. But at some places in the tragedy hover the clouds, though rather less thick and dark, of Greek fatalism. The chorus speaks of "supernatural vermin" and Thomas himself, as we have already noticed, speaks of the unexpected turn of events.

The play does not lack a tragic sense. It arouses pity and tear in our mind and also provides a catharsis of them. "We mourn," as the hero himself says in his sermon, "for the sins of the world that has martyred them, we rejoice that another soul is numbered among the saints in heaven, for the glory of God and the salvation of man." Is not there something definitely Greek in such an idea? Anthropologically speaking, there is something definitely Greek about the *Murder*, something which emulates in Greekness many Greek plays themselves. The beginning of the action reminds us of that 'cycle of life and death and return from death' out of the conception of which Greek drama arose. "Every autumn," says Prof. Murray, "these men should see the crops cut, the fields bare and hard, the trees without leaves, a dead world everywhere round them and the years of stock of food beginning to dwindle away, and then the thought that the spirit would be reborn and bring deliverance, the dread that he might fail to return and the world remain dead." Greek tragedy arose out of a subtle philosophical complication of this idea. "Tragedy," to quote Prof. Murray, "is full of the religion of the suppliant, the man and woman who is stricken down by the world and has no help left but prayer. This conception seems very

Greek tragedy to life again under modern conditions and in a real drama." It is true, he does not scrupulously conform to the Greek tragedy, as, according to him, to conform merely would be, for the new work, not really to conform at all ; it would not be new, and would, therefore, not be work of art. Very like Ben Jonson, Mr. Eliot holds the classical authors not as commanders but as guides. He trusts tradition but he does not lose faith in his own times.



SOME REMARKS ON GREEN'S METAPHYSICS

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“THE metaphysical system of Green,” says Mr. A. J. Balfour [*Mind*, Vol. IX, 1881, p. 76], “is evidently a species of simplified Kantism; Kantism purged of ‘things-in-themselves’ and denuded of the complicated architectonic structure with which its first author encumbered it.” Critics of Green are not very few who have avowedly sought to rank Green in the same line with the Kantians or with those who are qualified by the much abused term ‘Neo-Kantians.’ Anyway, making all allowance for the sincerity of purpose by which these critics were prompted to study Green, we must say—and we shall try to show—that these writers had laboured under grave misunderstandings. But however much we disagree with these critics in their estimation of Green we are not so much shocked to read their writings as we are when we go through Dr. C. D. Broad’s *Five Types of Ethical Theory*, where the writer has been pleased to speak of Green as a “thoroughly second-rate thinker who has probably made many under-graduates into ‘prigs’ ! [p. 141]. With all our regard for Dr. C. D. Broad, both as a critic and as a thinker, we must say that Dr. Broad has not only misrepresented but also vilified Green who ought to have received more sympathetic treatment and unbiassed appreciation in the hands of a thinker like him. My intention is not so much to defend Green as to disentangle him from some of the gravest charges that have been brought against him—to show that Green did not always mean what he had often actually said, and when his teaching is purged of the seeming inconsistencies which meet us on the surface, we are admitted into a mind that is full of pregnant meanings.

We do not think that Green, as he stands before us to-day, needs vindication against the depreciatory remarks of Dr. Broad. It is not too much to say that Green is more vindicated than refuted in the hands of his critics. The fundamental point which should, on no account, be overlooked while studying Green with any amount of seriousness is that the central problems of Green are not the same as

those of Kant. No doubt, Green has found "the irrefragable truth" in the well-known dictum of Kant, *viz.*, "understanding makes nature." But he has added that "so soon as we have been brought to the acceptance of that proposition, Kant's leading fails us. We might be forward, from the work thus assigned to understanding in the constitution of nature, to infer something as to the spirituality of the real world. But from any such inference Kant would at once withhold us" [*Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 43].

Queerly enough, most of the critics of Green have quite forgotten this. They have most uncritically confused the central issues that had occupied the two thinkers. It is not through Kant that Green should be explained and understood. With more propriety we should say that though it is through Kant that we are more conveniently introduced to Green, it is through Green that Kant can be better understood. Green has made use of Kant not to identify himself with him notwithstanding the fact that his own language and expressions have often betrayed him. It is not fair for one to be so much hypercritical as to obscure the central issues of a writer whom one criticises by the passing expressions often made incautiously, and especially, of a writer who had not lived long enough to amend or justify himself. Kant's theory, it must not be forgotten, is *Epistemology*, that of Green is *Metaphysics*. Kant sought to show *how* knowledge is possible, or, in other words, what are the conditions, nature and limit of *knowledge*. Green, on the contrary, asked *how* a thing is real, or, what are the conditions and nature of *reality*. Professor Pringle-Pattison has opined that Green's mistake lies in transforming "Kant's theory of knowledge into a metaphysic of existence" or, in other words, in making a theory of knowledge into a "ready-made ontology" [*cf. Hegelianism and Personality*, 2nd Ed., p. 23]. A similar argument, we believe, has been advanced by Mr. Balfour, in *Mind*, January, 1884. The critics of Green—and, we venture to say, not with the exception of Professor Pringle-Pattison and Mr. Balfour—have laboured, as we have already observed, under the false impression that Green's metaphysics is a "species of Kantism." It is no wonder then that they should find so much fault with Green. Indeed, so long as the mistaken belief, *viz.*, that Green's metaphysics is a "simplified Kantism," and the attempt to approach Green through Kant, are not abandoned, the critics will always find an unbridgable gulf fixed between thought and reality in Green's philosophy.

Certainly, Epistemology can by no means take the place of Metaphysics. The critics may rest assured that Green would have been no less emphatic than they themselves in maintaining that. But the difficulties for the critics will always cling so long they do not disabuse their minds of the sad confusion as to the central issues of the two thinkers. Professor Pringle-Pattison has, with some propriety at last, observed: "The ambiguity which thus clings to Green's central conception is incident,.....to the source from which he derived it. That source, as is well known, was the Kantian philosophy read in the light of the Hegelian system" [*Hegelianism and Personality*, p. 5]. But this fact notwithstanding, there is no denying the fact that Green's central conception is more obscured by the critics themselves than by the passing unguarded expressions of Green himself.

For Kant *understanding makes the object of knowledge*. For Green thought underlies, and is the formative principle of, all reality. To the thinking subject the *appearance* of facts and their *existence* "must be one and the same. Their appearance, their presence to it, is their existence" [*Proleg.*, p. 54]. For Kant understanding prescribes its own forms, *viz.*, the categories, to all that comes within its scope, and makes a world for itself, while for Green thought permeates all, whether known or not known to the finite individual. Kant believes that the recognition of a principle underlying all experience, though it carries us beyond all experience, does not enable us to have an apprehension of the real nature of things; while Green, on the contrary, holds that when we know objects in relation to such a principle, we have the knowledge of the real nature of them. Kant has made a distinction between 'percept' and 'concept.' 'Concept,' he says, is empty without 'percept,' but 'percept' without 'concept' is *blind*, implying thereby a sort of reality [of 'percept'], however meagre that might have been. For Green, on the contrary, 'percept' without 'concept' is empty. 'Mere feeling' and 'mere thought' are in truth phrases that represent no reality. Each is an abstraction which "may be put into words, but to which no real meaning can be attached" [*Proleg.*, p. 50]. Kant has a great gulf fixed between 'form' and 'matter' of knowledge; Green sees—though his vision is blurred very often by the dualistic mist—the inseparability of 'form' and 'matter.' The following passage may be cited as an example. Referring to the questions in support of

'thing-in-itself,' Green says: "They are due to the abstraction of the 'matter' from the 'form' of experience. This abstraction we inevitably make in reflecting on the process by which we obtain such knowledge as we have, but it deceives us when we make it a ground for supposing a like separation of elements in the world of experience" [*Proleg.*, p. 49].

It is most unfortunate that Green should use the term 'understanding' instead of 'thought.' Quite in keeping with the problem he has in hand, Kant has every justification for using the term 'understanding' as he has taken up the problem of knowledge. There would have been no objection to Green's using the term 'understanding' had he really believed that 'knowing' makes the reality of a thing. But this is undoubtedly far from being his real teaching. For true idealism, he believes, "*ego* and *non-ego* are correlative factors of one reality—thought" [*cf. Works*, Vol. I, p. 433]. While criticising John Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, he has observed: "To say that it [thought] is the *prius* of things is, after all, only relatively true. It is true as a correction of the assertion that things are the *prius* of thought, but may in turn become as misleading as the assertion of which it is the corrective. What Hegel had to teach was, not that thought is the *prius* of things, but that thought is things and things are thought" [*Works*, Vol. III, p. 144]. Evidently, Green is here in agreement with Hegel though he does not always see eye to eye with him. The relation of thought and things as conceived by Green is further exemplified in such expressions as "thought conceived as separate from the object, which is nothing without it and without which it is nothing" [*Works*, Vol. I, p. 433], and "If it is true that there would be no intelligence without nature, it is equally true that there would be no nature without intelligence [*Proleg.*, p. 40]. Green here warns us not to identify 'thought' which is one with reality with the discursive understanding which, he believes, "is the creature of a false philosophical abstraction, and is related to true thought as the imaginary to the real" [*Works*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33]. "If thought and reality are to be identified," he says, ".....thought must be other than the discursive activity exhibited in our inferences and analyses, other than a particular mode of consciousness which excludes from itself feeling and will" [*Works*, Vol. III, pp. 142-43].

Professor Sidgwick [*Mind*, Vol. X, 1901, p. 21] has characterised Green's metaphysical system as a "species of Mentalism." There are similar other critics, for example, Mr. Balfour, though he believes Kant to be the "philosophical progenitor to whom Green would in the main trace the leading characteristics of his theory," insists that it is to Berkeley's general conception of the universe that his theory bears the strongest resemblance [*cf. Mind*, Vol. IX, 1884, pp. 91-92]. We do not know how this can be maintained when passage after passage can be presented to show how clearly Green has held that 'thought' bereft of 'things' and 'things' stripped of 'thought' are alike abstractions [*cf. Proleg.*, p. 40]. Again and again has he reminded us that 'thought' that is one with reality is not to be identified with our discursive reasoning. So long, he has insisted, as appeal is made to our discursive reasoning instead of being directed to an investigation of the objective world, "our idealism, though we may wish it to be 'absolute,' remains merely 'subjective.'" This, he believes, is the chief fault he should venture to find with Dr. Caird and apparently with Hegel [*cf. Works*, Vol. III, p. 143]. Whether Green is correct or not in his estimation of Dr. Caird and of Hegel, that is not a point to be discussed here.¹ But this is a clear evidence which might have led the critics to think twice before taking Green for a mentalist. "To assume," writes Green, "because all reality requires thought to conceive it, that therefore thought is the condition of its existence, is, indeed, unwarrantable. But it is another matter if, when we come to examine the constituents of that which we account real—the determinations of things—we find that they all imply some synthetic action which we only know as exercised by our own spirit" [*Works*, Vol. III, p. 145]. "The nature of that thought, which Hegel declares to be the reality of things, is to be ascertained, if at all, from analysis of the objective world, not from reflection on those processes of our intelligence which really presuppose that world" [*Works*, Vol. III, p. 144].

That Green does not think that the objective world comes into existence with my thought or with the thought of any other indivi-

¹ Readers may find interest in the following remarks of Edward Caird in this connection. "I venture to think," writes Caird, "the censure thus indicated [by Green] is not valid against Hegel; and also that it is not valid against my brother, except in so far as he does not always guard sufficiently against a possible misunderstanding of the unity in question, the unity of thought and reality, as if it were simple sameness" [Memor of Principal Caird, in *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, by Principal Caird, p. cxxi; *cf. also pp. lxxvii-lxxviii*].

dual, will be evidenced in the following passage: "I do not 'make nature' in the sense," he says, "that nature=a succession of states of consciousness, beginning with my birth and ending with my death. If so, the 'objectivity' of nature would doubtless disappear; there would be as many 'natures' as men. But only by a false abstraction do we talk of such a succession of states. Their reality lies in eternal relations; relations which are there before what I call my 'birth' and after my 'death,' if 'before' and 'after' had any proper application to them; and only through these relations are they known; only through them do they form an experience" [*Works*, Vol. II, p. 32].

The simple but profound truth that Green has to tell us is this: A 'thing' is nothing if it is not a unity of 'one' and the 'many.' It is the prerogative of 'thought' and 'thought' alone to unite 'one' and the 'many.' Where there is such a unity—and assuredly, all that exist are nothing but such unities—there is 'thought.' 'Thought' sustains everything and everything is an expression of 'thought.' It cannot be denied that unfortunately the teacher has very often obscured himself and at the same time confounded his students by his misleading expressions. On more than one occasion Green has spoken of 'activity' of thought as if, with Kant, he believes that thought like an architect relates and arranges the supposed 'matter' of experience. Green has never made any absolute distinction between 'thought' and 'feeling' or 'understanding' and 'intuition.' On the contrary, he believes in—rather insists on—the inseparability of the two. The distinction, he argues, "may be put into words but to which no real meaning can be attached" [*Proleg.*, p. 50]. "A fact consisting of mere feeling.....is a contradiction, an impossibility" [*ibid.*, p. 53]. Mere feeling, "as a matter unformed by thought, has no place in the world of facts, in the cosmos of possible experience" [*ibid.*, p. 55]. It is needless to multiply expressions from the author's own pen to show that, however much we are confounded at the first blush by stray passages, a dispassionate and sympathetic enquiry cannot but reveal the profound truth that underlies all his writings.

It is instructive to recall Mr. Bradley's learned controversy on 'terms' and 'relations' in *Appearance and Reality*, Ch. III. Mr. Bradley has spared no pains to show the impossibility of existence and non-existence, at the same time and in the same sense, of the one

without the other. He has, therefore, concluded that both are contradictory ideas representing no reality. Mr. Bradley is always under the impression that thought is essentially discursive ; it always gnaws at and disintegrates the unity that is found in immediate feeling. This is the fundamental difference between the two thinkers. If thought simply dismantles the unity, then Mr. Bradley is certainly right in exposing the maze of inconsistencies into which we are inveigled in understanding the world in terms of thought. Mr. Bradley has, we must say, not only misrepresented the nature of thought ; he has also made a false abstraction of ' thought ' and ' feeling.' Green, in a sense, might admit the contention of Mr. Bradley, though, however, it would appear to him to be one-sided. ' Mere thought ' and ' mere feeling,' he has repeatedly told us, are alike abstractions. " Each in its full reality includes the other. It is one and the same living world of experience which, considered as the manifold object presented by a self-distinguishing subject to itself, may be called feeling, and, considered as the subject presenting such an object to itself, may be called thought " [*Proleg.*, p. 55]. Notwithstanding this, Green always prefers to regard *thought* as the determining principle of reality, instead of *feeling*. " We demur to the independent reality, or reality as determined by something else than thought, which is thus ascribed to feeling " [*ibid.*, p. 57]. Green has evidently in mind the loose sense in which the term ' feeling ' is used, *viz.*, feeling as distinct and separate from ' thought.'

We once again repeat : Green is often so much absorbed in Kantian thought as to forget the very truth which underlies his whole philosophy and on which he insists with all emphasis while criticising Locke, Hume, Kant and others. ' Activity of thought,' ' presence to mind,' thought as ' the relating principle ' and similar other expressions, which are abundantly found all through his metaphysical works, are very apt to suggest that the so-called ' matter ' of experience as distinct and separate from ' form ' has not, in spite of his reiterated assertions to the contrary, ceased to cast its spell on him. Dr. H. Haldar has rightly observed that Green has been " led into various difficulties by following Kant too closely " [*cf. Philosophical Review*, Vol. III, 1894, p. 172, *Green and his Critics*]. Green writes : " The unification of the manifold in the world implies the presence of the manifold to a mind, for which, and through the action of which, it is a related whole " [*Proleg.*, p. 93]. But what are we to understand

by the term 'manifold' ? Is it something equivalent to 'matter' of experience ? But this is what Green rejects. The expressions like 'presence to a mind' or 'the action of a mind' are certainly quite misleading. "Every reader of Green," writes Dr. Haldar, "knows that passage after passage can be quoted from his writings in which he speaks of *feelings* being converted into felt *things* by the relating activity of the self. But one is utterly at a loss to understand how the self can manufacture felt *things* out of feelings" [*Philosophical Review*, Vol. III, 1894, p. 171]. We must repeat here again what we have already observed. The fundamental truth that Green is to teach is the inseparability of 'form' and 'matter,' 'unity' and 'multiplicity,' and where there is such unity-in-multiplicity—in fact, everything is of such a nature—there is thought. Or we may express the same idea in different words: everything is but an expression of thought though varying in diverse degrees. This is the irrefragable truth which underlies Green's thought. Subject to the above, there is some truth in Professor W.D. Lamont's observation that "Green was seeking a formative principle immanent in the matter..... What he has actually supplied us with, however, in his theory that the understanding makes nature, is a form separable from the matter, and therefore a matter separable from the form, in spite of his denial that this is so" [*Introduction to Green's Moral Philosophy*, p. 187].

Professor Pringle-Pattison seems to have believed that Green's doctrine of the universal self is a "thorough-going Pantheism" [cf. *Hegelianism and Personality*, pp. 225-29]. Mr. Balfour, too, finds in it a "resemblance" with "a species of Pantheism" [*Mind*, Vol. IX, 1884, p. 91]. We ask in wonder: If at last Green is so fated as to be taken for a Pantheist, what had he wasted so much paper and ink for? In vain had he advanced his trenchant arguments against all naturalistic explanations of the self and searched for the universal self that is immanent in all but which at the same time transcends all—that self which is neither one of them nor the product of them all—that for which everything is what it is but which is never constituted by any one of them or all of them taken together? How Green can be called a Pantheist is beyond our apprehension. If Green believes that the universal self is manifested in the world, he has always unambiguously held that the universal self ever transcends it. Professor Pringle-Pattison writes: "God may, nay, must be, infinitely more . . . than we know ourselves

to be " (Italics mine) [*Hegelianism and Personality*, p. 235]. There are, indeed, more than one passage in Green's writings which may be quoted to show that Green is here perfectly in agreement with Professor Pringle-Pattison. For example, Section 182 of the *Prolegomena* may be referred to here. But Professor Pringle-Pattison, as we understand him, has probably called Green's doctrine Pantheism in the sense of 'acosmism.' Professor Pringle-Pattison, we know, is always against all Absolutistic or Pantheistic explanation of the universe that tends to suppress and even negative the reality of the finite world. Quite in conformity with the Christian Theology he advocates the reality of the physical world, of the finite individual and the infinite God who is personal and whose infinite wealth is manifested in the physical world, God has manifested His infinite grandeur with the express intention of sharing it with the finite individuals who are capable of partaking of God's vast riches in their own limited way. All that God has done is out of love, for God is all love.

Mr. Fairbrother has rightly shown that there are many arguments advanced by Professor Pringle-Pattison against Green which are uncalled-for and which Green would fain have urged against any one. He has shown at length that there are passages [which Professor Pringle-Pattison himself has written and which have been advanced as corrective to Green's supposed Pantheism] that strangely resemble, nay, even some of them seem to be the 'reproduction of,' Green's teaching [*cf. The Philosophy of T. H. Green*, pp. 160 ff.]. "Are the words 'critic' and 'plagiarist' interchangeable terms?", he asks cynically. When one reads these passages, "it is difficult to avoid a feeling of helpless bewilderment" [*ibid.*, p. 166]. These passages, writes Mr. Fairbrother, "bring out a curious misunderstanding, common to all the metaphysical (at least) criticism of Green's teaching, viz., that he is Pantheistic. As a consequence, a large portion of so-called 'criticism' is not only a 'beating the air,' but reproduces more forcibly perhaps and eloquently than Green's severely scientific style admits, the very doctrine the *Prolegomena* was written to teach us" [*ibid.*, p. 162].

An impartial observation may reveal that Professor Pringle-Pattison's criticism of Green is not altogether unwarrantable. The main point in which Professor Pringle-Pattison has to differ from Green has, however, been greatly obscured by other collateral issues in

respect of which Professor Pringle-Pattison mistakenly believes he is not in agreement with Green. Green never minimizes the reality of the physical world. What he has actually said is, as Professor Bosanquet has rightly hinted [*cf. The Meeting of Extremes in Contemporary Philosophy*, Ch. I, p. 5], that the physical world is found, on reflection, to be more than we at first take it to be. The only valid idealism, he writes, is "that idealism which trusts, not to a guess about what is beyond experience, but to [an?] analysis of what is within it" [*Works*, Vol. I, p. 449; also *cf.* Vol. III, *Memoir*, p. lxxx]. Certainly, Professor Pringle-Pattison will accept this, as he himself also believes that the physical world is found to be the manifestation of divine wealth which is not known as such until we reflect philosophically on it. As to the reality of the finite individuals, we believe, Professor Pringle-Pattison has little to find fault with Green if only he recalls Green's arguments against the naturalistic interpretation of the finite individual and the main arguments he has advanced in favour of moral philosophy and religion. A finite individual, Green has repeatedly urged, is neither a physical fact, nor a product of any one or all of the physical facts. This unique nature of all finite individuals is at once the basis of morality and religion. We believe, Professor Pringle-Pattison has nothing to say against this. But the question at issue is the relation between the Infinite and the finite—between God and the finite individual. Professor Pringle-Pattison is always at pains to show that, though we are created after the image of God, we can never hope to be—nay, even know fully—God. God with his infinite grandeur is always more—infininitely more—than any one of the finite individuals, however much he has elevated himself. On the contrary, Green, speaking of the moral elevation or the development of the 'capability' of human spirit, maintains that there cannot be any clear-cut and absolute barrier between God and the finite individual. He says: "There must be eternally such a subject which is all that the self-conscious subject, as developed in time, has the possibility of becoming; in which the idea of the human spirit, or all that it has in itself to become, is completely realised. This consideration may suggest the true notion of the spiritual relation in which we stand to God; that He is not merely a Being who has made us, in the sense that we exist as an object of the divine consciousness in the same way in which we must suppose the system of nature so to exist, but that He is a Being in whom we exist; with whom we are in principle one; with whom

the human spirit is identical, in the sense that He is all which the human spirit is capable of becoming " [*Proleg.*, pp. 215-16].

It is one of the most deplorable facts that in many of our renowned thinkers theological bias has very often got the better of their philosophical insight. This may be witnessed in Professor Pringle-Pattison. If in God all the perfections are realised and if in Him all the individuals are to find their highest reality ; if, again, the aspirations and the implications of their life are not to be regarded as illusory, then their inner being can never be less divine or less infinite ; they are potentially the Infinite. If, the process of self-realisation has to be stopped by an arbitrary fiat like ' thus far and no further,' our life is no better than a wild goose chase and its aspirations and meanings but a ludicrous mockery. We are not content with what we actually have ; we cry for more. But, at the same time, we are so much engrossed in our paltry possession that we falter to grasp the richer and worthier wealth. We murmur when our petty acquisitions pale into insignificance in the presence of the richer wealth. We do not want to be shut within our narrow boundary but at the same time hesitate to break the barrier. We are afraid of the brighter light and the purer air lest they dispel and sweep away the gloomy but bewitching clouds that hide our true ' self ' from ourselves. Until this self-destructive attitude is given up, truth will ever evade our grasp and we shall be left in a hopelessly irreconcilable position. If it is sincerely believed that we are not really what we apparently seem to be and if our best experience is honestly believed to be our only guide, then we can have no cause of worry if with our inner growth and expansion the trashy and shoddy things are gradually cast away. We do not know how long theology will make us forgetful of our own ' self ' and keep us away from truth. Green has seen with the eye of a philosopher that self-realisation is the ultimate truth and the basis of a true moral philosophy. If we reflect upon our ' self ' we can understand this profound truth. In no other way but by reflecting upon ourselves, nowhere but within us, and never except by being the Real, can we hope to know the Real which is what each of us potentially is and can aspire to be. The whole process may be most imperfectly illustrated by a very crude analogy. A child is potentially a man and it has to be a man. But the child is not the man. To attain to his manhood it must pass through certain stages of life. The different stages of life, though they all point to the highest perfection, have their own reality in the growing process.

No doubt, from the point of view of the perfect stage of life, all the intermediate stages are found to be imperfect, yet none of them can be said to be unreal.

It is desirable that we should say a few words on Green's use of the term 'vehicle' in explaining the relation of the universal self to the finite selves. Green has used the term more than once. But it is quite misleading, implying apparently that the universal self *needs* realisation, for which it *requires* the finite 'selves' as its instruments or means. The deeper truth of Green's thought is, I take it to be, this: Whenever we speak anything of the universal self, we make a confusion of standpoints. We forget, in other words, that what is true of us finite individuals is not true in the same sense and in the same way of the universal self. What is true of our experience as finite individuals cannot be true of the universal self though we are in reality the universal self. This double nature of ours is at once the cause of our elevation and also of our confusion. From the point of view of the finite individuals, the universal self is the true being of every individual which is to be gradually realised. The conception of self-realisation is a finite conception—a conception which can have meaning and applicability to one who is less than the highest reality. It is illegitimate to say that the highest reality has any need for self-realisation. It is eternally perfect. The finite individuals have history, but the highest Reality has no history of its own.

Professor E. Caird's criticism of Green's *Prolegomena* [*Mind*, Vol. VIII, 1883, p. 544, *Professor Green's Last Work*,] is both interesting and valuable in more than one respect. It affords us an opportunity to see side by side the two thinkers who are closely allied with each other and who, it is generally believed, represented the Hegelian School at Glasgow and at Oxford respectively. Referring to some of the passages where Green has confessed that "as to what that [universal] consciousness in itself or in its completeness is, we can only make negative statements" [*Proleg.*, p. 58] and "of a life of completed development, of activity with the end attained, we can only speak or think in negatives" [*ibid.*, pp. 196-97], Professor Caird has argued: "It is true that we cannot explain the spiritual principle, which is implied in all explanation, by reference to anything else than itself, but this does not imply that we only know *that* it is, and not *what* it is" [p. 560]. We fully agree with Professor Caird in so far as he believes that though a full knowledge of the

'spiritual principle' is beyond all finite experience, still it is not altogether beyond our ken. It is not unknowable to us, though to a great extent it is unknown to us. But I venture to add that probably Green is also quite in agreement with us here. Though he has admitted that we can only make negative statements about the universal consciousness he has immediately added: "That there is such a consciousness is implied in the existence of the world; but *what* it is, we only know through its so far acting in us as to enable us, however partially and interruptedly, to have knowledge of a world or an intelligent experience" [*Proleg.*, p. 58]. The difference between Green and Professor Caird has been very aptly shown by Dr. Haldar. Green, says Dr. Haldar, "is content with tracing the world up to a spiritual principle of unity," while Professor Caird "maintains that it is also possible to show that the world is the manifestation of spirit" [*cf. Neo-Hegelianism*, p. 78].

"Green was the recognised leader of the Hegelian School as represented at Oxford," says Professor H. Calderwood [*Mind*, Vol. X, 1885, p. 73]. Green, however, has never directly treated of Hegel anywhere as he has treated of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Spencer and Lewes. Queerly enough, in his *Prolegomena*, Hegel's name is conspicuous by its absence. It is said that "Green was one of those who held that, without a knowledge of German philosophy, 'a writer was outside the main stream of thought'" [*The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy*, by J. H. Muirhead, p. 170]. If the personal reminiscences of such a noted thinker as Professor Sidgwick are not to be supposed to be of little weight, then it will be found very interesting to note the following. "I remember," says Professor Sidgwick, "writing to him after a visit to Berlin in 1870, and expressing a desire to 'get away from Hegel': he replied that it seemed to him one might as well try to 'get away from thought itself.' I remember, on the other hand, that in the last philosophical talk I had with him, he said, 'I looked into Hegel the other day, and found it a strange *Wirrwarr*'—the sentence startled me; and the unexpected German word for 'chaos' or 'muddle' fixed it firmly in my mind" [*Mind*, Vol. X, 1901, p. 19].

So far as we are acquainted with Green, it appears to us that, in spite of his great admiration and regard for Hegel's philosophy, Green is not wholly reconciled to Hegel's thought. No doubt, Green's philosophy has been developed in the light of Hegel's teachings. But the

main points in which Green differs from Hegel are (a) his distrust in Hegel's dialectical method and (b) his greater fealty to himself and to the physical world towards which Hegel has always borne a sort of step-motherly feeling. "What is the real?" Green rightly argues, is a "futile question" which "we can only answer by saying that the real is everything" [*Proleg.*, p. 29]. Though Professor S. S. Laurie considers this to be "a mere play on words" [*Philosophical Review*, Vol. VI, 1897, p. 113, *The Metaphysics of Green*,], we take this to be the truth that Hegel and Green have taught us. Everything is real though varying in multifarious degrees; everything is the expression of thought—thought that is free from the "infirmity of discursive reasoning"—which is not only apprehensive but at the same time constitutive of reality, which includes feeling and will.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Wardha Scheme of Education

The annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education began on Dec. 8 with Sir Jagdish Prasad in the chair. The agenda included consideration of the views of Provincial Governments on the Sapru Committee report, the Wardha Scheme of education and other subjects such as adult education, village libraries and educational broadcasting.

It is learned that the meeting gave its general approval to the unanimous conclusions reached in Simla by the sub-committee on the Wardha Scheme of Education presided over by Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier, Bombay. That sub-committee served in the main to clear misconceptions and misunderstandings which had gathered round the scheme.

It was emphasised by that committee that the scheme was not intended to make the schools self-supporting; nor did it imply that education was to be subordinated to production, but it stressed the value of education through manual activities. One criticism against the scheme was that it was exclusively secular and failed to take into consideration religious education at all. This again, it was explained, was a misconception. Nowhere did the scheme, as formulated in the Zakir Hussain report, state that religious education should be neglected; no change in the present system, by which religious education could be given by any community in the schools outside school hours, was implied.

It was also made clear that the Wardha Scheme did not guarantee employment by Government to pupils who left school at the end of the seven years' course. It was not vocational and was not primarily concerned with unemployment. Its main value lay in the new orientation it gave to education by emphasising the value and necessity of education through manual activities freed from the domination of books.

Forest Research Institute

Research work carried out by the Forest Research Institute shows that the Indian paper industry may take on a new line if the wrapping paper, which has been manufactured at the Indian Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, and is now being subjected to further tests, justifies hopes of its commercial possibilities.

Experiments carried out at the Institute have shown that a very good cheap wrapping paper can be manufactured by a mixture of indigenous mechanical wood pulp and chemical grass pulp, raw materials for both of which are available in India in abundance. Neither old newspapers nor waste pulp, now largely based in the manufacture of wrapping paper, will be required for this process.

It is not known whether in other countries wrapping paper has been made by this process, for the usual method of manufacture is to use mixtures of mechanical and chemical wood pulps. Probably, India is the first and the only country to adopt this new process.

Wrapping paper is, no doubt, being made in certain Indian paper mills, but not by the above process and, also, on a limited scale only. The manufacture is confined chiefly to the requirements of the individual mills themselves for packing their own products.

The significance of the new process is that it is hoped to build up a new industry, based on the utilization of indigenous raw materials and thus to replace the large quantities of this class of paper at present imported from outside. It will be difficult, no doubt, to replace the use of old newspapers because of their extreme cheapness but it can at least be hoped that a good proportion of cheap wrapping paper which is at present imported from outside and, to a certain extent, such old newspapers as are used for the wrapping of sweetmeats, provisions, etc.

It may be mentioned that in 1937-38 alone the total imports of cheap wrappings and packing paper amounted to 11,468 tons. In addition, 48,800 tons of old newspapers used for wrapping, valued at about Rs. 47,50,000 were also imported.

The production in India of this kind of paper, principally for use of the mills themselves, has hardly exceeded 3,000 tons per annum and is, therefore, negligible. Moreover, it is made chiefly from the tailings and waste pulp and old newspapers.

Scholarships for Indian Pilots

Three scholarships for advanced training of Indian pilots are being offered, two by Imperial Airways and the third by Sir Homi Mehta, vice-chairman, Indian Transcontinental Airways. The scholarships will be awarded at the discretion of the Selection Board.

Candidates for the scholarships must have studied up to the Matriculation standard, must be unmarried and between the ages of 21 and 30, and must be in possession of an Indian pilot's licence.

Successful candidates will be required to pass a medical examination before being selected. The training will be in England. They will be given free transport and a subsistence allowance of £250 per annum.

All study fees and flying costs will be met and the training, which is expected to take about two years, will be for the purpose of qualifying the candidates in advanced flying including the second class navigator's licence and ground engineer's A and C licences.

Only applications from holders of B class pilot's licence will be entertained.

Andhra University Convocation

"I thought to myself that if these boys and girls, who took the pledge of worthiness and made solemn promises in the vast assembly, would, in their day-to-day life, throughout their activities, transmute their energies and talents into service of our nation, how soon would our nation enter upon the heritage of liberation?" remarked Mrs Sarojini Naidu, addressing the graduates at the 12th Convocation of the Andhra University.

"The purpose of education is to draw out, not only individual capacity

but also those racial characteristics that mould you from generation to generation," Mrs. Naidu added. "The Andhras have a great quality of devotion, as manifested when the call came for sacrifice in national cause. The Andhras have faculty of dreaming and doing.

"Universities are not luxuries but seats of learning and sanctuaries of our life; seats of learning in the day of our struggle are the very foundation and source from which we draw inspiration, manifold and co-ordinated to the service of progress, whether intellectual, economic, political or spiritual. Therefore, let no one deery a university as imperfect."

Speaking about women she declared: "To day no woman of India need beg for concessions and favours or wait for crumbs to fall. The days are gone when women for generations had exiled themselves from the heritage of responsibilities. Women, who for the sake of shelter had subordinated all their duty to the nation, have returned to the path of consciousness. To day the responsibility of women is very great and grave. Women have come in their proper progressive manifestation of woman "Sakti." Women of India will stand as peace makers. I charge you to be pioneers of the great ideal of national unity and stand as peace-makers."

Miscellany

NEO-IDEALISM IN HOCKING'S MAN AND THE STATE

An idealist who is ever prepared to examine and assimilate the realities is William Hocking. In his *Man and the State* (New Haven, 1926) human nature has been taken to be a complex of contraries which lead inevitably to self contradictions and paradoxes and which at their best can be described as "noble inconsistencies." The state as based on such a human nature finds itself placed within a sphere of interests which are at once mystical and positive, monistic and pluralistic. The theoretical position may be described as that of the neo-idealist or neo-realist according to the exigencies of the moment. A philosophy that tries to do justice to the multiplicity of factors constituting the personality,—the pluralistic universe, the diversities of the *psyche*, individual or social, cannot but be eclectic to a certain extent, a system of compromises and *rapprochements*. As a document of neo-idealistic speculation Hocking's work represents indeed the contemporary world of facts and ideologies in an efficient manner.

According to Hocking man is a creature of feeling and impulse far more than pure reason, of instinct and emotion, of the subconscious and the sub rational. The irrational susceptibilities of man are of no less worth than his conscience and reason. The state is "externalised reason," as Kant, Hegel, Green and Bosanquet maintain, but within certain limitations. In Hocking's analysis the state does not embody the whole of the reason or conscience of its members. Then, again, reason and conscience may be embodied in groups other than the state. And finally, the state incorporates much that is neither reason nor conscience. There is plenty of unreason mixed in all state actions. The reason that is in the state cannot exclude unreason. The state includes both processes. Even within the common law there seems to be much that is not simply describable as reason.

The most thoroughly positive aspect of the state is its use of physical force, says Hocking. The force of the state exists, in the language of Kant and as approved by Hocking, to "hinder the hindrances" to free and rational action. Force is thus a necessary adjunct of reason: as we demand reason, we must employ force. Force can be justified only when the force-brandishing group is my group or our group, i.e., when its force is my force and when its will is my will externalized. We contest any force used upon us by an alien will; we fall in with any force that is ours. The state is not reason served by force; it is will-force served by reason. Force-using, therefore, cannot be described as the essential and defining mark of the state.

Hocking agrees with Treitschke who in his *Politik* considers the *staatsbildende Trieb* (state-making drive) to be an *angeborene Gabe* (inborn gift) or natural impulse of man. He, therefore, takes the state to be a natural institution. But, on the other hand, he quotes Emerson's *Politics* also where it is said that the institutions of the state are not aboriginal, and that every law and usage was a man's expedient to meet a particular case. The state, according to Hocking, is, therefore, no less artificial than

natural. The dualism is explained in the following manner. It is the nature of man to become artificial. The state is the natural court in which instinct slowly resolves itself into reason. The state originates in man's natural impulse to become the conscious arbiter of his own social destiny.

The position of Kant, Green and Bosanquet who hold that the state cannot make men just and must limit itself to external, i.e., physical action is not accepted by Hocking. He would rather agree with Hobbes in so far as the state does concern itself with justice and not merely with just behaviour. The state actually promotes the existence of justice. The tendency of justice to propagate itself is most effective where men are held together in continuous association. This continuity is provided by the state.

The most characteristic function of the state is its function as educator, and its chief contribution to history is its product in men. The form of the state's aim is the making of history; its substance is the making of men. Men cannot be made without the long circuit of history. But in any case the heart and focus of all ultimate value is in persons, not in such abstractions as society, culture, history.

The purpose of the state is to establish the objective conditions for the will to power in human history. These objective conditions are, first, economic, and secondly, social. Nothing can be socially right which is economically wrong, and nothing can be economically right which is socially wrong. Both these conditions are satisfied by the maintenance of justice and securing of freedom. The state exists to secure the freedom or the way of the will to power in history.

In the dualistic psychology of man as conceived by Hocking there can be no power-over without power-for. It is the historic destiny of despotism to prepare the way for liberty, and it is the destiny of liberty to make its way through use of the structures which despotism has created. The will to power, again, is not purely egoistic and arbitrary. The individual is not mature until he thinks the group and thinks for it. The overflow of the will is the prophecy of the state. Pure despotism is, therefore, as unthinkable as entire statelessness. The will to power is in all men. There are entire stocks composed apparently of the will-less and the supine. "Even these are not devoid of political faculty." As soon as the state falls, every man discovers that it is the first task of the human instinct to provide it.

In political psychology it is not enough to be convinced of the sociability of human nature as a simple and an absolute category. Sociability admits of forms and degrees. Besides, there are the anti-social aspects of the social instinct. Sociability grows as the mind matures and tends to decline with its further growth. It has its reversals and apparent self-contradictions. It is liable to satiation, leading to a revulsion from companionship. In spite of his idealism Hocking has to admit that the universe is pluralistic and that one man is not as good as another. The value of any group to its member depends not alone upon its extent but also on the amount of thoughts and sentiments which he can "presuppose" in all his communications with it. The greater the numbers of a group, the lower its "level of presupposition," and hence the greater the chances of revulsion, antipathy, exclusiveness, separatism, anti-sociability.

It is this level of presupposition that creates anti-social bonds in social intercourse, such as are condemned as cliques, cabals, factions, sects, clans, castes, sects, parties, camarillas and even clubs. These smaller bonds or groups are at first hated by the generality, the larger associations, e.g., the church, the state, the University, etc., because they absorb and even

monopolize the loyalty of their members. The smaller groups are easily suspected as breeders of disaffection. In course of time, however, they begin to be tolerated, nay, finally, sanctioned and encouraged. They are felt to be very necessary to the large group itself. The small group, just because it is a place of deviation from the larger, is normally a breeding place for new ideas and creations. It is this creativeness of the small groups that enables them to enrich the larger associations. In social psychology, then there is a place as much for the aberrations, centrifugal forces and abnormal activities as for the normal and the centripetal.

The dualistic nature of the mind and personality finds in Hocking's terminology a characteristic expression when applied to the phenomena of religion. His religious ideal appears to be embodied in Buddha, because Buddha recognized that the *Nirvana* he had won through his enlightenment was an incomplete good without the ministry of teaching which followed it. The theoretical indifference to the good of historical action was thus denied by the very life of Buddha. Hocking discovers here a "noble inconsistency" and this ideal embodies his "principle of alternation." The two poles of personal realization and social service are found here in co-existence. This principle of alternation is, with Hocking, as we have observed throughout, really the fundamental law of human mentality. It is manifest not exclusively in the religious domain but in all other fields of thought and action as well. The analysis of the *psyche* such as we find in Hocking renders not great exemplars like Buddha alone but every normal human being the incorporation of "noble inconsistency."

So far as the purely religious field is concerned, it is questionable, however, if Hocking can make a special claim for the Western world. "The capacity to be good worshippers without ceasing to be good citizens, warriors, scientists, economic providers," says he, "gave Western civilization its mature strength" (p. 426).

Exactly the same observation can be made in regard to the Indian civilization as developed through the ages in history. Be this as it may, the dualistic psychology maintained by Hocking enables him to see the church and the state as necessary to each other. The co-existence of religion and politics is a postulate of his social analysis. Indeed, religious consciousness is alleged to contribute to the vitality of political life.

Paradoxes are natural in pluralistic psychology, full as it is bound to be of inconsistencies, noble or ignoble, and self-contradictions. Accordingly, Hocking is in a position to announce that religion is a factor in progress and that an honest religion is the natural ally of an honest revolution. The following dictum is almost Taoistic in its mystical paradox: "The abandonment of the world becomes a contribution to the work of the world." In any case he has demolished the doctrine of antagonism between the church and the state as well as of their mutual independence. The principle of alternation helps the realist to find the points of *rapprochement* with the idealist.

Hocking is not an absolutist out and out. His rationalism or idealism is limited. He believes that the state is an organization of reason and conscience. But he believes also as a realist that the bad government is a familiar fact and that the bad state is among the possibilities. The realistic idealism leads to the position that the bad government is usually a mixture of good and evil. The dualistic psychology of reason and unreason is in evidence once more. Since both are co-existent it is not expedient to accept the leadership of the irrational, i.e., the cult of violence and revolution. It

is maintained that the ideal state desired by the revolutionists, namely, the state which develops the "secret striving toward perfection" in every man and which compels every man to be a workingman is already being born within the life of existing states.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party held at Moscow (1930) condemns what is known as the opposition organized by the Right under the leadership of Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky. All the three leaders retract and are permitted to maintain their position on the Central Committee. Their attitude and the treatment meted out to them are thus entirely different from those of Trotsky as condemned at the tenth anniversary of the revolution in November, 1927.

The First Five-year Plan, Gosplan No. I (started in October, 1929), liquidates the well-to-do classes in 1929 and the *kulaks* (larger peasants) in 1930. By 1930 Stalin is in a position to notice the "dizziness" among the leaders of Bolshevism on account of the successes of the planning. The scheme of collectivization (which, however, is not to be taken as identical with statalization or nationalization) embraces 30% of the total cultivated area. (Not more than 3% of the total cultivated area belong to the "state farms" at this time). All the same, Stalin's social philosophy has not been advancing along the lines of orthodox communism. There is no emphasis on levelling or equalization as regards wages and social position in his ideology.

His economic ideas as proclaimed in June, 1931, favour the rewarding of skill, initiative and ability and are directed against the doctrine of wage-equality. He is championing the payment of wages according to results. This involves automatically the alleged bourgeois or capitalistic, i.e., pre-communist and non-communist system of unequal payments for unequal work. It is nothing but the economics of piece-work payments as known the world over. Besides, Stalin is planning the promotion of workers irrespective of party memberships. This plan cuts quite deep into the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship and takes Soviet Russia ahead along the lines of conventional democracy. Altogether Lenin's "New Economic Policy" is being carried a step further.

In a conversation with Ludwig published in the summer of 1932 Stalin maintains that Peter the Great advanced the *zamindars*, i.e., landowners and merchants at the cost of the peasants who were retained in the position of serfs. Lenin on the contrary, advanced the industrial workers. According to Stalin the rôle of heroes, great men or specialists is great in socialism. Marx in his *Poverty of Philosophy* recognized their value in the socialistic progress of the world. The Communist Party of Soviet Russia has two million members. But the leaders of all Soviet organizations are just a few, namely, 70. Each one of these leaders is a specialist, says Stalin.

He is emphatic that the Russian people is not lethargic. The West-European idea about the alleged Russian passivity and idleness was derived from the conduct and luxurious life of the Russian landlords and dukes who squandered away their money in the princely hotels of Paris.

Stalin does not believe that peasants' revolts can accomplish much. They can never lead to success unless and until they are connected with industrial workingmen's revolts. The leaders of both these revolts are to be the workmen and not the peasants.

The distinction between the U.S.A. and Europe are well recognised by Stalin. The Europeans are away behind the American people,—although both are bourgeois and capitalistic,—in efficiency as regards industry, technique and public life. Besides, the methods of production in American factories are more democratic. There it is often difficult to distinguish outwardly the engineer from the worker.

Marxism, as interpreted by Stalin at this stage, does not believe in equalitarianism, the gospel of the German anarchist, Stirner. In Marx's *Criticism of the Gotha Programme* (1875) Stalin finds equalitarianism condemned as primitive and as a phase of peasant communism. Marxist socialism is declared by him to be the doctrine of "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." Stalin is here continuing the Leninian interpretation of Marxism (*The State and the Revolution*, 1917).

The French revolution liquidated feudalism and consolidated capitalism, according to Stalin. But the Russian revolution seeks to liquidate capitalism and consolidate socialism.

The first five-year-plan is completed in 4 years and 3 months in December, 1932.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Soviet Russia's pact with France (1935) indicates a great ideological *rapprochement* between the communism of Gosplan II, i.e., the second five-year-plan (1933-1937) and the bourgeois democracy of Western Europe as embodied in France. In any case the Stalinism of this period is socio-politically moderate enough to be assimilated by the leaders of the French republic as quite respectable. Or, if there be still any ideological differences between bourgeois France and Bolshevistic Russia, those differences are not treated as important enough in view of the common enmity to the growing might of Germany under Adolf Hitler since 1933. The international conjuncture of today has led to the Russo-French pact without reference perhaps to the internal political philosophies of the two states. Altogether the European situation has come back to the conditions of the Franco-Russian *Entente* organized against the German Empire in 1894.

Soviet Russia's advances towards *rapprochement* or formal political contacts with bourgeois states had already been apparent in Litvinov the Foreign Commissar's attempts at cordiality with Western Europe, e.g., in 1933. In 1934 Russia entered the League of Nations by seeking. The pro-French tendencies of Russia were strengthened in 1934 when *Le Front Populaire*, the Popular Front Party, was established in France. It was intended to be an organization not only of communists but of all socialists.

* For the achievements of the first five-year plan, see H. E. Barnes, *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), pp. 998-1010. See also *Bolshevism, Fascism and Capitalism* by different authors (New Haven, 1932), pp. 28, 51.

and liberals as well. The common bond was the campaign against Fascist organizations. *Le Front Populaire* was not a class-party. It was eclectic in its socio-economic ideologies. And yet Soviet Russia's leaders began to take interest in this French party organized as it was without a class philosophy. In 1935 Dimitrov took the French Popular Party as the model and established the *United Front* for Russia. It comprised as in France communists as well as non-communists. All peasants and workingmen and any anti-Fascist group could be members indifferently. It is in the milieu of this political ideology of communists offering *camaraderie* to non-communists of all brands that the Russo-French pact was concluded. Apparently communism should appear to have been thinning all the time since Lenin established his N.E.P. in 1922. The position is elucidated in Dimitrov's *Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International* (1935).

Perhaps the recent tendencies in Russian political philosophy should be described as neo-bolshevistic or neo-communistic. The leaders—the Stalinists—have come to grasp the realities of the world-forces. The might of Germany, Italy and Japan individually or collectively against the interests of the Russian fatherland is being appraised as too serious for indulgence in ideological luxuries. This is why all the patriotic, nationalistic, i.e., anti-foreign emotions and passions are being organized by the diplomats of the communist rulers of Russia in exactly the same manner as, say, was attempted by the statesmen of Czarist Russia against Japan (1904) and against Germany (1914). Even without renouncing communism they are allying themselves with non-communists at home and abroad. The position of Dimitrov's *United Front* is, politically speaking, i.e., without reference to its economic and social policies, "nationalistic" in fundamentals. About 1935, then, Stalinism may be said to stand definitely for nationalism as contrasted with internationalism. The workingmen have a fatherland to save, and the workingmen of Soviet Russia are being taught to save it from the other countries.

The alliance of communists with non-communists against the Fascists is in evidence in Spain and in China during 1936-38. Dimitrov's *United Front* may then be said to be functioning in the international sphere also. During 1936 André Gide, the French man of letters, visits Soviet Russia and observes a fall from communistic ideals. Other observers especially refugees from Soviet Russia condemn the Stalinism of this period as moderatist, anti-Soviet, anti-communist. Russia has to be purged of extremists. The trial and execution of Zinoviev, Kamanev and other stalwarts in 1936 take place to crush anti Stalinism. In 1937 also the purge is continued and embraces Radek, Sokolnikov and others including Marshall Tukachevsky.

In 1938 Dimitrov's *United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War* argues for unwavering devotion to principles and objectives. But flexibility of tactics is recommended for different nations, cities and localities. In so far as Dimitrov represent communism, he is not at all absolutist but a thorough-going relativist and *Realpolitiker*. His arguments, moderatist as they are, seek to cry Trotsky and the leftists down. In the estimation of Trotsky and Trotskyians the policy of the popular or united front is a naked and open betrayal of communism, because it is nothing but class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Dimitrov and other Stalinists may, on the contrary, describe their position as one perhaps of "strategic retreat."

It is to be understood, however, that this retreat has been going on since Lenin's N.E.P., i.e., since the inauguration of Leninism No. II in 1922. The communists have never been able to go back to their philosophy of Leninism No. I (1918-21). But all the same, Russia has been advancing towards industrialization, social progress, democracy and freedom. Exactly what brand of communism continues still to be the ruling ideology of Stalin and the Stalinists belongs to the metaphysics of political science, into which we need not enter for the time being.

Be it noted that in February, 1938, the first Parliament of Soviet Russia met at Moscow. The constitution is bi-cameral as in bourgeois countries. The suffrage also is not exclusively proletarian on communistic, i.e., it enfranchises all the bourgeois elements and other "class-enemies." The "dictatorship of the proletariat" has ceased to exist in the constitutional law of communist Russia.

Communism will have to be defined afresh during the period of Gosplan No. III, the third five-year-plan which commenced in 1938.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

VOLPE vs. CROCE vs ITALIAN POLITICAL HISTORY

Professor Gioacchino Volpe of Rome has been at work demonstrating the one-sidedness and unhistorical philosophisms of Croce. In Volpe's historical analysis in *L' Italia in Cammino* (Italy on the Way), Milan, 1931, Croce's *Storia d' Italia* (History of Italy) from 1871 to 1915, has failed to satisfy anybody. Croce's work is an eulogy of pre-war Italy executed in the manner of an advocate. The Italian people described in this work is the product of Croce's imagination, his philosophical idealism. Italy is supposed to have been the paradise of liberals and democrats engaged in government by discussion. A bold and far-sighted statesman like Crispi is treated as a disturber of the general tenor of Italian life, as deviation from the norm. With him the Italian people is alleged to have entered upon the pathological and irrational phase. In Croce's philosophizings, again, *il nazionalismo italiano è una malattia* (Italian nationalism is a disease). Croce has as little sympathy for Bismarckism as for industrialism and fails to understand the larger developments of the same tendencies in England and France. Naturally, therefore, he has no appreciation for the spirit of imperialism and nationalism of which D'Annunzio is the spiritual father. Volpe characterizes this work not as the history of Italy for the period indicated in the chapters but a biography of Croce or rather a series of his likes and dislikes, and more especially of his ideological prejudices. It has turned out to be a concrete embodiment of Croce's fierce hatred of and bitter antagonism to the Italy of today, i.e., post-war or Mussolinian and Fascist Italy. In Croce's idealism Giolitti the liberal is the hero of Italian history.

It is the other side of the shield in Italian history from the *Risorgimento* (1871) to Italy's participation in the Great War (1915) that is exhibited by Volpe in *L' Italia in Cammino*. He seeks to present a non-idealistic, non-philosophical and objective picture of the defects and ambitions of the Italians of those four decades. The growth of nationalism and the attempts at industrialization in Italy are described by Volpe with care. Extra-Italian, i.e., "colonial" undertakings are exhibited as slowly but naturally emerging in Italian political consciousness. It is demonstrated that *il liberalismo*

giolittiano was neither the exclusive feature of Italian political thought and action nor a very happy and heavenly phenomenon.

The immediate antecedents of the Fascist regime are thoroughly analyzed by Volpe in his *History of the Fascist Movement* (Rome, 1936). The double character of fascism as, first, socialistic and secondly or simultaneously, also nationalistic, is exhibited in the analysis of "interventionism," i.e., participation in the Great War as well as of the *fasci d'azione* (unions of action) during 1914-15.

The name Fascism (from *fascio*, a union of forces more or less homogeneous, but held together by discipline and by ideals, and having a common aim in view) takes us back to the historical phase in which Fascism was really born, and to the *Fasci d'Azione Rivoluzionaria* created by Benito Mussolini in 1914-15 in the months of struggle for the intervention of Italy in the War. The *Fasci* were composed of elements from the left socialists, revolutionaries, syndicalists and the lower middle class and workmen who had broken with the other parties. These *Fasci* represented popular or revolutionary "interventionism."

We see, under pressure from the interventionist groups, the nation advancing independently of, and against, their legal representative and turning directly to the Government and to the King supporting the Minister Salandra who had prepared for intervention against Parliament who obstructed him, and imposing the return of Salandra to the Government after his dismissal. When the war came it awoke patriotic sentiments and recalled the *Risorgimento* as an actual fact, and its outstanding men, above all those who were the incarnations of the volunteer spirit and the popular movement: Mazzini and Garibaldi.

At the same time it was great test for the old governing classes, who during the sixty years of Italian unity had hardly changed at all. From this test they emerged more or less exhausted and discredited in spite of the final victory, not having prepared the country militarily, morally, or finally diplomatically for this terrible ordeal, and seemed incapable of adapting themselves spiritually or mentally to a new system of government and to the necessities of the times. In the face of the mass of men that the War had mobilised and raised up and educated, that oligarchy of leaders seemed more and more afraid and helpless. They had created for themselves a species of "trust" for the exercise of power, reserved for the different alternating groups which for fifty years had governed Italy. The parliamentary system itself was no less vitiated and discredited in its functions and actions. In the *Camera dei Deputati*, when called upon to legislate on the events of war, a majority, or at any rate a strong minority, were adverse or badly disposed, to the war, and gave the government more trouble than help, and the country more material for scandal than courage to resist.

The Italian nation came out of the war with the psychology of a conquered people. Disillusionment embittered the soul of the nation and resentment broke out against the allies who tried to reduce to nothing the merits of Italy and the just fruits of victory. Liberals, conservatives, parliamentarians, journalists and writers reproached their opponents with the futility of the sacrifices of the war, poured out irony and sarcasm on the enthusiasms, hopes and illusions of the interventionists, laughed at the "glorious day" as May 24, 1915 was called, when the interventionist minority impelled by its ideals imposed its will for war in a manner which was almost revolutionary.

Following the internal schisms in the bourgeoisie, the socialist leaders with even greater boldness, decided that the moment had arrived for their

war, no longer on the frontiers, but within the country. They looked towards Russia as master and guide, hoisted the hammer and sickle, decided to regulate the actions of the party on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, and invoked the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as being the only means of giving the victory to socialism. They believed that the bourgeois regime was bankrupt and that the working classes should be its rightful heirs.

All these factors must be taken into account, and others besides, in order to explain Fascism which had already begun to take form in the mind of the creator of the "*Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria*," Benito Mussolini. Interventionism and the abandonment of the socialist party had not been for him a passage from one camp into another, but was the result of weariness of too long waiting, disdain for the accommodating spirit and the revolutionary incapacity of the old socialism, which had fallen into the hands of politicians with a parliamentary and bourgeois mentality; the hope of bringing about by other means and in other ways, but always in the spiritual orbit of socialism, that revolution that others had shown themselves too unwilling or too incapable to accomplish.

The new socialism of Mussolini, which was above all a fighting creed, accepted all national values. The national sentiments were not however permitted by him to put too much into the shade that socialism which he repudiated energetically as a party, as a doctrine and as a philosophy fundamentally materialistic. During the War he kept up his socialism as a sentiment, as sympathy with the working world, as a hope of liberating the masses from the yoke of the party and from political corruption, and as the will to promote self-advancement in the manner of the syndicalists.

BENGY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Nature of Self.—By A. C. Mukerji, M.A., Reader in Philosophy, Allahabad University. Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 352.

The work is a brilliant and scholarly exposition of the Sankarite Advaita with special reference to its theory of the Self as the unobjective light that illuminates all objective contents. The author's treatment is both critical and constructive and has the rare merit of being alike a lucid and a powerful defence of the Advaita view of the self against rival objectivistic theories which confound the self with its contents. The author is to be congratulated on his successful tackling of one of the most difficult problems of philosophy and on his clear and correct exposition of a philosophical system that has baffled even some of the best exponents of Indian Thought. Indian scholars who swear by Sankara have not always been as faithful to Sankara's teachings as one would expect, and to the present author must go much of the credit of rescuing Sankara from the misunderstandings that have been made current by some of the recent expositions of Indian Thought.

The work is divided into nine chapters, Chapter I dealing with the Ego-centric Paradox, Chapters II and III dealing with Psychological and Epistemological Theories of the Self, Chapters IV and V dealing with the Rational and Quality Theories of Consciousness, Chapters VI, VII and VIII dealing respectively with Consciousness and Change, Consciousness and Self-consciousness, and Absolute Consciousness, and Chapter IX giving the author's estimate of Hegelian Absolutism. There is a concluding essay entitled "The Rôle of Reasoning in Advaita Philosophy," it is added as an appendix to the main work.

The author states his own position in the last chapter (pp. 306-11) as follows:—

"All knowledge and experience has for its ultimate implication an absolutely identical, eternal, infinite, unobjectifiable experience which may be called foundational consciousness. As unobjectifiable it is not conformable to the categories according to which objects are known; and in this sense alone it may be said to be beyond thought and speech." But it is not beyond knowledge as mystics and agnostics (*cf.* Kant) think. On the contrary, it is "an immanent principle" of experience, though not reducible to "the forms and conditions in which objects exist and are known." "It may so far be called an undefinable universal, or the ground-category which annuls the correlativity of the relational categories, including that of universal and particular. It is, therefore, best described *negatively*, by

denying of it all the predicates that are attributed to objects," and though it may also be described *positively* by the help of metaphors taken from the world of objects, such descriptions can never be anything but "metaphors designed for aiding the finite discursive intellect."

"It may seem difficult," the author remarks, "to distinguish between Hegelian Absolutism" and the Advaita view which he has expounded in his work. And yet closer examination reveals a radical difference of outlook. Both Hegel and Hegelians repudiate "immediate experience as a test of truth and reality." Sankarite Advaita, however, emphasises immediacy as a necessary presupposition and foundation of all experience. "The term self-consciousness," the author notes, "may be used in three different senses." It may mean the self as we are conscious of it in psychological introspection. It may also mean the consciousness of self mediated by that of the not-self. Lastly, it may be taken to mean "unobjectifiable immediate experience" as the presupposition and foundation of all consciousness of objects. "Kant," the author remarks, "uses the term 'self-consciousness'" sometimes in the sense of "the original transcendental apperception," and sometimes again as "the consciousness of the subject...mediated through, or reflected back from, the consciousness of the object." This "fatal ambiguity in Kant's doctrine of apperception" contains according to the author, the germs of development on two different lines. "In the history of post-Kantian Idealism we get a brilliant development of the latter aspect of Kant's teachings, while for an equally brilliant exposition of the former aspect of Kant's thought, one may turn to the Advaita philosophy of India."

In the above brief summary we have stressed only the main thesis which the author works out in the different chapters. The reader, however, who goes through the whole work will find this developed against a background of comparative philosophy which is as illuminating as it is instructive and interesting. What will strike the reader in particular is the thoroughness of the author's treatment and the precision and correctness with which the author presents the different theories, both Western and Eastern. It is not unoften that the reader comes across expositions of Indian Thought that either misinterpret the real sense or sacrifice intelligibility to an overnice literalism that conveys no meaning. To the credit of the present author be it said that he steers clear of both these extremes. He never asserts without quoting authorities and his quotations are never garbled and mutilated to suit preconceived views. This makes the work a very reliable introduction to Indian Philosophy, and will, we believe, be welcomed as such by all earnest students of the Philosophy of India.

Though the work as a whole is one of the very best that has been written on the subject, there are some observations of the author that call for comment. What the author says, e.g., of the Prābhākara view of knowledge on page 248 may appear to the careful reader to be a misreading of the Prābhākara theory. According to the author's statement, Prābhākara is supposed to have held that "knowledge is known, not as something known, but as knowledge inferred from the knowledge of objects." That knowledge is known not as an object known, but as knowledge of objects, is undoubtedly Prābhākara's view, but that it is known as knowledge not by direct introspection but by *inference* from the knowledge of objects, is certainly not the Prābhākara theory and is obviously a

confusion of the Prābhākara with the Bhātta theory. What the author says about Bradley's theory of appearance on page 301 also calls for further elucidation. Bradley no doubt says that none of our categories deliver reality in its completeness, but he does not say that our categories give nothing but appearance and that in this respect "one category is as bad as any other." As a matter of fact Bradley is emphatic about the degrees of adequacy and truthfulness of the different categories and has thus both a positive and a negative side to his theory of appearance. It may be that Bradley is not quite consistent in all that he says about appearance, but this does not justify putting him on a par with Sankara and ascribing to him an out-and-out negative theory which he expressly repudiates.

S. K. MAITRA.

The Nāṭakalakṣhanaratnakosha of Sāgaranandin (Vol. I—Text)—Edited by Prof. Myles Dillon, Lecturer in Sanskrit and Comparative Philosophy, University College, Dublin. First Edition (1937). Cloth-bound. Royal 8vo. pp. xx. + 147. Price 15s. Published by the Oxford University Press.

Until 1922, the existence of Sāgaranandin's Nāṭakalakṣhanaratnakosha was practically unknown to us, and only in 1923 appeared a report about the discovery of the work in Nepal by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi in the *Journal Asiatique*. In the opinion of the late lamented Professor, the original palm-leaf MS. of the work appeared "to date from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries." Prof. Lévi also maintained "that the text does not seem to derive from the Daśarūpa (tenth century)...and that it appears, on the other hand, to be one of the sources drawn upon by the author of the Sūhityadarpaṇa, which probably dates from the fourteenth century.

What we knew before the publication of Sāgaranandin's work, was simply a collection of few stray quotations ascribed to him by Ranganūtha (in his commentary on Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya) and probably also by Rucipati (in his commentary on Mūrāri's Anargharāghava). The learned Editor of the work under review has pointed out in his short Preface that Sāgaranandin mentions the name of a drama 'Dūtāṅgada' (p. 42), and endeavours (though not without some hesitation) to identify this Dūtāṅgada with the celebrated shadow-play of the same name by Subhaṭa. He has not entered into any lengthy discussion about the date of the work, but simply comes to the conjectural conclusion: "The Ratnakosha may be as early as the thirteenth century." He, however, assures us to give us fuller details in the second volume of the work which is expected to contain "a translation of the text with an introduction and notes." And we, too, reserve our comments for the present and eagerly await the publication of this companion volume.

The work is divided into nineteen different sections, and deals with the technique of the ancient Indian stage. It is evidently 'a work of the Bharata school and "constitutes a valuable commentary on some chapters of the "Nāṭyaśāstra" of Bharata. We are extremely thankful to the learned Editor for having very carefully traced the original sources drawn upon by the author,

As the present printed edition of the text is based on a solitary modern transcript (entrusted to the Editor by Prof. Lévi), some of the readings do

appear to be corrupt. But this is a flaw which cannot possibly be removed unless other MSS., containing a fairly accurate text, are discovered. But we are really sorry to find that even the Preface of the present edition (p. ix, line 16) contains misprints.

The volume is nicely got up. We hope it will find its proper place in every Library which treasures Oriental publications.

A. S.

Ourselfes

[I. *The Late Sir Brojendra Nath Seal*.--II. *The Late Mr. N. G. Majumdar*.--III. *Professor Giuseppe Tucci*.--IV. *Mr. Aldous Huxley*.--V. *Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose*.--VI. *The Director of Agriculture, U. P., on Indian Barleys*.--VII. *School Broadcasts and the University*.--VIII. *A New Ph.D.*.--IX. *Jubilee Research Prize in Science for 1938*.--X. *Indian Science Congress*.--XI. *Radhikamohan Educational Endowment*.--XII. *Gold Medal for Research Scholar in Bengali*.--XIII. *Senate's Representative on the Bengal Council of Medical Registration*.--XIV. *Readership in Sanskrit Philology*.]

I. THE LATE SIR BROJENDRA NATH SEAL

Acharya Sir Brojendra Nath Seal passed away at the age of 75 at Calcutta on Saturday, December 3, 1938. In the domain of speculative thought and reasoned metaphysics his fame stands unique. He was looked upon by his admirers as a living encyclopædia of knowledge.

Brojendranath was the son of Mr. Mahendra Lal Seal, a reputed scholar and lawyer. Brojendranath read at the General Assembly's Institution. After completing his University education, he started as a professor of a college and acted as principal of several colleges in different parts of India, such as Morris College (Nagpur), Berhampore College (Bengal) and Victoria College (Cooch Behar). He was for ten years the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University (1920-30). He was also a member of the Executive Council, Mysore Government (1925-26). His work as the George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Calcutta was, however, the most significant part of his life inasmuch as his influence created a host of research workers in this country. He was a delegate to the Orientalists Congress, Rome, in 1899 and opened the discussions at the first World Races Congress, London, in 1911.

In this way, both in practical and speculative spheres, he proved his wide knowledge and helpful visions. His contributions are numerous. They cover a wide field such as Positive Science, Ethnology, Mathematics, Philosophy, Comparative Religion and so forth. Each of them bears witness to his great scholarship and judgment:

The extensivity and depth of his scholarship in Eastern as well as Western philosophy had ever been an abiding source of inspiration to all his students. His classes afforded evidences, ample and unmistakable, of his acute analytical acumen on the one hand and of the cosmic sweep of his synoptic outlook on the other. Whenever he would, in course

of the class-lectures, refer to the 'synthetic genius of the Hindu mind, he would naturally appear as the best living embodiment thereof. He once confided to his students his hearts' desire thus: "It is one of the cherished ambitions of my life that I may found in this country a school of philosophical research, which will not merely carry on its work in accordance with the age-long 'tol' tradition but would, by means of the critico-comparative method, avail of and add to the world's stock of knowledge." There is no gainsaying the fact that Dr. Seal was at his best in his class-lectures on Indian Philosophy and here it is that his characteristic genius would appear in *excellis*.

His students, countrymen and admirers offered to Dr. Seal their ardent tribute of respect at a public gathering of philosophers, on an All-India platform, in connection with the Silver Jubilee of the Calcutta Philosophical Society on the 19th December, 1935, which roughly synchronised with the septuagenary celebration of the Grand Old Teacher. Offerings of tribute came from far and near and from people of widely diversified careers and tastes. The following testimony from Sir Michael Sadler of the University Commission fame is particularly interesting:

"May one of his pupils (for pupil I was during the year 1917-19 and shall always revere him as one of my 'Gurus') express in a few words love and admiration for Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal, and gratitude, which grows with the years, for his guidance in my thought and for what he taught me during many long and intimate discussions about education and about the needs and genius of India !

"He was, indeed, guide, philosopher and friend to me. More than fifteen years have passed since we last met in the flesh. But the feeling of his presence is still strong in my mind. So close was the friendship which he allowed to grow up between us, that I can still turn to him as if I were at his side and can hear the kindly tone of his voice. 'Guru' indeed he was to me, and I bless his name ! There are streets and lanes in Calcutta, there are paths and terraces in Darjeeling, which were the background of our talks. And, as if I were still in Bengal, I can see what I saw then and hear once more what I have heard.

"In several volumes of the report of the Calcutta University Commission, and notably in Volumes 7, 9, 10, and 12, there are writings from the pen of Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal which are of permanent

value and will, I hope, be reprinted (at least in part) in a future issue of his works. A report, like that of the Calcutta University Commission, may wear the look of a Mausoleum, but it is really an Arsenal. Much, written sixteen years ago, by Indian statesmen, scholars and philosophers, is published in these volumes, especially in the volumes containing the Evidence and Documents, which has not lost its force with the lapse of years. The historian will, in future, turn to many pages of these volumes for precious materials, contributed by Indian scholars and publicists who had deep knowledge of India's minds and faith in India's future. And among the documents to which he will turn with eager attention, are the replies to several of the Commission's questions, written by Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal.

"The linguistic skill which many Indian scholars show in their command of the English language is deeply admired. This power of speaking and writing, in a language not his own, Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal possesses in a high degree. But even more remarkable than his command of the English vocabulary is the fact that in English he writes a style of his own. His English has the distinction of his personality. When you read one of the most characteristic sentences in an essay written by him in English, you say to yourself ; 'That is written by Dr. Seal and no one else but Dr. Seal could have written it.' Every word as well as the cast of thought which determined the choice and order of his words, bears the authentic mark of his personality.

"That personality we honour and love. We salute him with reverence and gratitude."

II. THE LATE MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR

The loss that Indian scholarship has suffered by the tragic and untimely death of Nanigopal Majumdar is irreparable. Few archæologists in India possessed such a wide equipment as he had. He was a good Sanskrit scholar, had a thorough training in Ancient Indian History and Culture and was a perfect master of both Brahmi and Kharosthi epigraphy. He had his training in field work under such an eminent archæologist as Mackay. After having passed the B.A. and M.A. Examinations with credit and having specialised in

Archæology he joined the Post-Graduate Department in 1920. He was on the Post-Graduate staff for about five years, and during this period he published an article entitled *Notes on Vajra* in the *University Journal of Letters* and notes on the *Sue Vihar Inscription* in *Sir Asutosh Commemoration Volume (Orientalia)*. During this period he also prepared a critical *List of Kharosthi Inscriptions* which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. This list contained many improved readings of inscriptions already published and thus formed an important contribution to the study of Kharosthi Inscriptions.

He next joined the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, and during his short stay there, worked hard as is proved by his edition of the *Inscriptions of Bengal* which is a valuable contribution to our study of the ancient history of Bengal. It was Vol. III of a series, which unfortunately he did not live to complete. While at Rajshahi he re-edited the *Nalanda Copperplate of Devapala* and brought it out as a *Memoir* of the Society. From Rajshahi he went on deputation to Mohenjo-Daro during the winters of 1925-26 and 1926-27, and it was the appreciation of his work at Mohenjo-Daro by Mr. Mackay, who was in charge of the excavations, that won for him a permanent post in the Archaeological Department in 1927. When the Department temporarily stopped its work of excavation in Sind for want of funds, Mr. Majumdar was transferred to Calcutta as the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. Subsequently post was amalgamated this with that of the Superintendent of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Department, and Mr. Majumdar had to perform the duties of both the offices during the last years of his life. As a Superintendent of the Indian Museum he re-arranged the galleries and brought out two useful guide books to the exhibits in the Bharut and Gandhara galleries in the Museum. During this period he went on deputation for a short while for the exploration of the pre-historic sites in Sind and the result of his investigations has been published in his *Report on the Exploration in Sind*. These investigations suggested possibilities of fresh discoveries relating to a period which even preceded the earliest Mohenjo-Daro epoch.

During the last few years the Post-graduate Department got him back as an honorary lecturer. The University received a

service of greater significance through his assistance in inaugurating a scheme of excavations of ancient sites in Bengal. The work of excavation began last year at Bangarh in Dinajpur district.

The work he accomplished was enough to establish for him a lasting reputation. But he had only completed the first stage of his career which was full of promise. He had chalked out a way and entered upon a new stage full of immense possibilities when he fell by the hands of assassins in course of his second explorations in Sind. We share the great loss with the bereaved family.

III. PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TUCCI

Professor Giuseppe Tucci has been appointed a Special University Reader to deliver a course of six lectures on the "Classification of the Tantras."

IV. MR. ALDOUS HUXLEY

Mr. Aldous Huxley has been appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer in Comparative Religion for 1939. He will deliver a course of lectures on Comparative Religion next year in accordance with the terms and conditions attached to the Lectureship.

V. DR. GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE

Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., who acted as the Head of the Department of Psychology, has been appointed University Professor of Psychology for a period of five years. He has not been placed on probation in view of his long and satisfactory record of service. Dr. Bose is allowed to do private practice, subject to the condition that it does not interfere with his duties at the University.

VI. THE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE, U. P., ON INDIAN BARLEYS

The Director of Agriculture, U. P., has enquired if the University is prepared to undertake the work of testing the malting and brewing qualities of Indian barleys, for the purpose of determining their prospects as an article of export. On the strength of the observations made by Dr. M. N. Goswami, Dr. es. Sc., Head of the Department of Applied Chemistry, the University has agreed to take up the investigation, provided necessary funds are supplied for the purpose.

VII. SCHOOL BROADCASTS AND THE UNIVERSITY

The Director, All-India Radio, Calcutta, has invited the co-operation of the University in introducing School Broadcasts and fitting certain schools with Broadcast sets. He has enquired whether the University would be ready to subscribe the sum of Rs. 2,000 promised by the former Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, to give effect to the scheme. A Committee consisting of the following gentlemen has been appointed to go into the question and favour the Syndicate with a report :—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.

W. A. Jenkins, Esq., D.Sc.

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
D.LIT., M.L.A.

J. R. Stapleton, Esq., Director, All-India Radio, Calcutta.

VIII. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Manmohan Ghose, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the strength of his thesis "Karpuramanjari" (main) and "Paniniya Siksha" (subsidiary). We congratulate Dr. Ghosh on his success.

IX. JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR 1938

Mr. Nisakanta Ray, B.A., who submitted a thesis entitled "Life of a Tube-Well with Special Reference to Choking and Its Cure," will be awarded the Jubilee Research Prize in Science for the year 1938, at the next Convocation.

X. INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

The Twenty-sixth session of the Indian Science Congress will be held in Lahore from the 2nd to the 8th January, 1939. The Executive Committee will soon proceed to the election of delegates to represent the University on the occasion.

The delegates from this University will have to enrol themselves as members for the session as early as possible to facilitate the arrangements of their stay in Lahore.

XI. RADHIKAMOHAN EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENT

The following gentlemen, whose term of office as members of the Governing Body of the Radhikamohan Educational Endowment expired on the 15th November, 1938, were re-nominated for a period of three years by the Collector of 24-Parganas in accordance with the Rules of the Endowment:—

Professor Phanindranath Ghosh, M.A., PH.D., SC.D., F.INST.P.

Jotindramohan Ray, Esq., B.A., C.E. (ROORKEE), M.I.E. (IND.)

Satyacharan Law, Esq., M.A., B.L., PH.D., F.Z.S., F.N.I.

XII. GOLD MEDAL FOR RESEARCH SCHOLAR IN BENGALI

Babu Ramesh Chandra Basu of Mayurbhanj State has offered to make over to the University 3 per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 for the annual award of a gold medal to the best Research Scholar in Bengali Language and Literature, to be called after his deceased wife "Sarojini Basu of Midnapur Medal." The offer has been thankfully accepted.

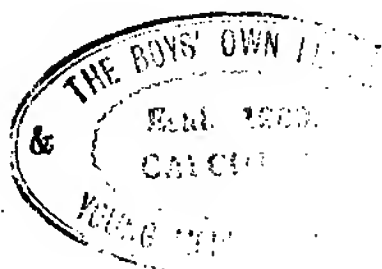
XIII. SENATE'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE BENGAL COUNCIL OF MEDICAL REGISTRATION

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B.A., M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.), has been declared duly elected as a representative of the Senate of this University from among the members of its Faculty of Medicine to the Bengal Council of Medical Registration.

XIV. READERSHIP IN SLAVONIC PHILOLOGY

Dr. Stanislaw Schayer, Professor of Indology, J. P. University, Warszawa, has suggested the institution of a Readership in Slavonic Philology in this University as a means of developing Indian as well as Polish scientific research. The Polish Ministry of Public Instruction, in agreement with the Warsaw University, has proposed in this connexion to delegate to India Dr. Maryla Falk, an eminent lady Indologist, who is the author of various papers published in English, French, German and Italian. She was formerly a Reader in Polish Literature and Language in Rome.

The University has informed Dr. Stanislaw that it accepts the offer with thanks and that it will extend necessary facilities when she visits India.



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Prefaces, by Prof. Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.).
Demy 8vo 264 + xii. Rs. 3.

Foundations of Living Faiths, Vol. I (*Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures*), by Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 526 + xiv. Rs. 5-8.

The Changing Face of Bengal (*Readership Lectures*), by Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 294 + viii (with 22 maps). Rs. 4.

Rabirasmi Part I (in Bengali) by Charu Bandyopadhyay, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 452. Rs. 3.

Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., D.Litt. and Phil. (Leiden), Dip. Lib. (Lond.),

Girisnatya Sabityer Basista (in Bengali) by Amarendranath Ray Demy 8vo pp. 110 + 8. Re. 1-8.

Political History of Ancient India by Prof. Hemendra Raychaudhury, M.A., Ph.D.

Calendar, Part I, 1938. D/Demy 16 mo. pp. 1334 + xvi.
Rs. 7-8.

Lectures on Girishchandra by Hemendranath DasGupta, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Paniniya Siksa, by Manomohan Ghosh, M.A. D/C 8vo pp. 90 + lxvi + 8.

Sangitiki, (in Bengali) by Dilipkumar Ray, D/Cr. 16mo pp. 292. Rs. 2-0.

Bankim Parichaya, (in Bengali) D/Pcap. 16mo pp. 242. As. 8.

Patanjali Yoga Darsana, Royal 8vo pp. 731. Rs. 5-0.

Books in the Press

AUGUST, 1938

1. History of the Bengali Novel, by Prof. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
2. The Problem of Minorities, by Dr. Dharendraanath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan by Dr. Dineshchandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
4. The Evolution of Indian Industry, by Dr. Robinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Decline of the Saljuqid Empire, by Dr. Sanaulla, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Barrister-at-Law.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Report on the Condition of Girls' Education in India, by Miss J. P. Dasgupta, M.A., B.T., Dip. Ed.
8. General Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, edited by Mr. Manindramohan Bose, M.A.
9. Patua Sangit, edited by G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S.
10. The Spirit of Indian Civilization by Dr. Dharendraanath Ray, M.A., Ph.D.
11. Studies in Tantras, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D.Litt.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Bharate Karu Silpa, by Mr. Asitkumar Haldar.
14. Prasthanabheda, by Madhusudan Saraswati, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshana-tirtha.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharitiya Banaushadhir Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc. and Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXI.
18. Nyayamanjari, edited by Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.
19. Sree Chaitanya Chariter Upadan, by Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.

21. University Questions for the year 1931.
22. *Khandakhadyaka*, Sanskrit Text, edited by Mr. Prabodh-chandra Sengupta, M.A.
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XI. SCIENCE

4. ANTHROPOLOGY

The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India, by B. C. Mazumdar, B.L. Demy 8vo pp. 90. 1927. Re. 1-8.

In this monograph, the author has furnished a comprehensive view of all the tribes of Central India, and has suggested some new propositions regarding the origin of the racial characteristics of the *Sabara-Kol* people.

It has been shown for the first time in this book how a large number of aboriginal tribes of the highlands of Central India are inter-related and bear genetic affinity to one another and how their social and religious institutions tend strongly to prove that the area aforesaid has been the land of their racial characterisation.

Prof. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., of Cambridge writes to the author :

Many thanks for your valuable and interesting little book on the Sabara-Kol people. I hope to make use of it in the future, but for the present I am engaged with New Guinea.

This distinguished anthropologist also writes to the Registrar, Calcutta University :.....This little book strikes me as being a careful attempt to clear up some of the problems of that complicated region (the highlands of Central India), and as such, is useful.....The University has done well to publish the book.

Sir Edward A. Gait says in his letter to the Registrar, Calcutta University :.....I may say at once that I quite agree with his (author's) main point, viz., that the Kols, or Munda-speaking peoples, have been in occupation of the highlands of Central India for many centuries.

This noted scholar speaks of the author in his letter to him : It is wonderful how you manage to write on so many subjects without being able to use your eyes. Very few have been able to overcome a handicap like this so successfully as you have.

L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, Esq., C.I.E., writes to the Registrar, Calcutta University :

I have read with very great interest Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's monogram on the Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India.

I consider the thesis put forward of the origin of the racial characteristics of the Sabara-Kol race as most able and interesting. The author has given convincing evidence that this race is not to be confounded with the Dravidian races; the point is one of great importance not only to students at the University but to advanced scholars of Ethnology and they owe a great debt to Mr. Mazumdar for his study and research.

The original habitat of the Sabara-Kol race has been proved with great skill and knowledge.

If I may be permitted to add a personal note I would say that in 1905 I spent six months in the Feudatory States then included in the Chota Nagpore Division and devoted considerable time to compiling notes on the various aboriginal races I came in contact with more especially notes on the Kharwars of Sirgaja. I am therefore in a position to corroborate Mr. Mazumdar's remarks on the Kharwars and in my opinion he has very clearly established the original habitat and inter-relationship of the Sabara-Kol race and what is more important that the race is not a Dravidian race.

A History of American Anthropology, by Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 239. 1934. Rs. 2-8.

This book was originally presented and approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Yale University in Ethnology during the session 1929-30.

Culture and Kultur Race Origins or the Past Unveiled, by H. Bruce Hannah, Bar.-at-Law. Demy 8vo pp. 158. 1919. Rs. 3-12.

Besides other cognate matters, the book generally deals with race-origins, race-developments, and race-movements, and differentiates, not only between Barbarous Races and Culture-Races, but also between Barbarous Races that were or are civilised and those that were or are uncivilised.

8. AGRICULTURE

Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal, by Sir William Willcocks. Demy 8vo pp. 134. 1930. Re. 1-8.

Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal, by Sir William Willcocks.—The Calcutta University issues under the above title a series of four lectures by Sir William Willcocks. Irrigation is undoubtedly the oldest applied science in the world and the author, a well-known authority on the subject, has spent a lifetime on irrigation works. We may therefore be sure that when Sir William has something to say on the subject, that something will be worth listening to. In sketching the past history of overflow irrigation in Bengal, which was evolved some 3,000 years ago, the Author stresses the "team work" required of everyone.

He says, "the following of such water from field to field, and the becoming as much interested in one's neighbour's property as one's own, elevated everyone engaged in it. Such work was a better field for developing character than any school."

In putting these facts in detail before his readers he increases interest and as he aptly puts it: "inherited love for co-operation did not descend from the clouds: it came with the distribution of the muddy waters from overflow canals."

A further interesting feature that Sir William develops, and this with the backing of an equally sound authority, viz., Dr. Bentley, Director of Public Health in Bengal, is the fact that the increase of irrigation with muddy flood water coincides with the decrease of malaria in Bengal.

Very interestingly indeed does Sir William unfold the history of overflow irrigation in Bengal in his first lecture. In his second and third lectures, Sir William deals lucidly and at length on the restoration of this overflow system, discussing both theory and practicability in his usual thorough manner.

His lectures prove conclusively that overflow irrigation serves to combat malaria, enrich the soil, provide an abundant harvest of fish, and prevent congestion of rivers feeding the canals, and if his lectures have helped to stir the Irrigation Department, which has shut its eyes and ears for ages to these apparent advantages, Sir William will be hailed by future generations as the saviour of the Bengal peasantry.

Illustrating his fourth and last lecture with a series of tables, Sir William shows that the total cost of restoration in our day will approximate Rs. 346 lakhs—surely not an impossible expenditure when we consider the untold benefits and undoubted prosperity that must accrue to the Province."—*Review of Indian Engineering*, January, 1931.

Problems of Rural India, by N. Ganguly, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Lond.), formerly Prof. of Agriculture, Calcutta University, Member of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. Royal 8vo pp. 166. Rs. 2-4.

Agricultural Indebtedness in India and its Remedies, by Satischandra Ray, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 493. Rs. 7.

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